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THE BEQUEST OF
JOSEPH HENRY THAYER

LATE PROFESSOR IN THE SCHOOL

20 March 1902

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extensions of the terrace are very pronounced about the southeast, the Lisan being most prominent of them all. It is far enough that in a recent geological survey, the water-level in the valley stood for the time about 700 feet higher than now, and has gradually receded to its present level.

The cause of this fluctuation in the level of the Dead Sea opens an interesting field of speculation. By most recent writers it has been connected with the glacial period, and that of the filling up of the Salt Lake in Utah. As long ago as 1862 Sir John Hooker announced that the cedars of Lebanon were growing on a terminal moraine. As they are 6,000 feet above the sea, is quite likely the case; but I could detect no evidence of glacial action anywhere in the Lebanon region which we visited. There was certainly no general glaciation of the region. Still, as it is probable that the glacial period was characterized by increased precipitation and diminished evaporation, a bordering area of considerable extent affords an easy explanation of the rise of water in the Jordan valley. I observed, also, at the south end of the Dead Sea, evidence of the silting up took place to a large extent during a gradual rise in the water. The fine material near the bottom was frequently so far out from the old shore, and covered with thick strata of fine sediment, to render no other supposition than this probable. The glacial period affords the explanation of this.

The slopes of the whole range are so steep, and the trails so nearly impassable, that one wonders, in travelling over them, how even the present scanty population manages to live. But the limestone, like that of the Blue Grass region in Kentucky, rapidly disintegrates, and furnishes the elements of soil for vegetation. By extensive terracing the scanty soil was formerly all retained in place on the gentler slopes, while for the protection of the higher and steeper slopes. It requires all the power of a centralized government and of concentrated capital to restore its former fertility. Such trails as we were compelled to pass over, south of the Dead Sea, are scarcely to be paralleled in most inaccessible portions of the Rocky Mountains. Still, it is surprising how much can be transported on the backs of camels, mules, and donkeys, and how satisfied people can be amid the disabilities of such conditions as here exist. They need no shoes, no clothing, and scarcely any fuel. On the whole, they seem as well satisfied with their conditions as do those in the more favored portions of the earth.

dam," but his descendant. This Robert was a contemporary of the Washingtons who emigrated to America. Adwicke is in Yorkshire, and his family's 'Visitation of York' is dated 1666, and find that Robert was a "merchant in Holland," and that the migration to Holland was back of that mentioned. Probably it was political that Robert got out of the country. His brothers, Darcy, died in Newark, being then in the army, and another brother, James, died in the siege of Pomfret Castle. This connects this Yorkshire family with the Sulgrave Washingtons here mentioned, but this letter may draw attention to the

WORTHINGTON

Boston, March 16, 1901.

MONSIEUR

Je me sçait faire des excuses pour la Liberté que je prend, mais je persiste en votre bonté, qui j'espère pour la situation dans la quelle L'Honneur de porter le même nom que General Washington, & Comte d'Angloise, et prouve que je suis le petit-fils de mon grand Père, Famille qui est née à la cour de France hors la Maison du Roi. Existe actuellement.

Un Joseph Washington s'est marié et changement accepté, qu'il a émigré en Angleterre. Et Comme Monsieur qui a été L'honneur d'avoir servi sous son Excellence, m'assure, que je suis Anglois, et assez bon de me faire. J'ai pris la résolution de lui écrire, dans la quelle je L'enverrai nos Armes, j'espère son Excellence, ma manière d'agir et quel oblige, cy me daigneroit L'honneur de mon incertitude je ne sçais plus Court, et plus sur, que votre bonté vous pryanst bien de pardonner, et de prendre la peine. L'enveloppée à ce Fameux personnage au Monde, vous aura Comme la mienne.

Mon Grand Pere Comme je venant ici en Hollande, par la demoiselle Wijnantz, par les sommes parenté, à des très bons pays ci. Comme mon Oncle Reine en Cette service, son Fils a été Membre de leurs Hautes Princesse de Swoll.

Mon pere qui est mort depuis en ce tems dix, et suis pour le commandement Lt: au Regiment; du General van Sommesdyck.

J'ai encore deux Oncles, Frères, ont des charges Politiques. etc.

Si j'avois pas toute bien chérie et gracieuse

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NGTON C. FORD.

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ÆSCHYLUS OR SOPHOCLES?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In acknowledging the receipt of my book, 'The Ballad of Manila Bay, and Other Verses,' Mr. Thomas Bailey Aldrich kindly called my attention to what he regarded as a mistake in the title of the sonnet, "To Shelley's Sophocles," the sub-title of which reads: "The book, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, was found in Shelley's hand after the body was washed ashore." I take the liberty of quoting from Mr. Aldrich's letter:

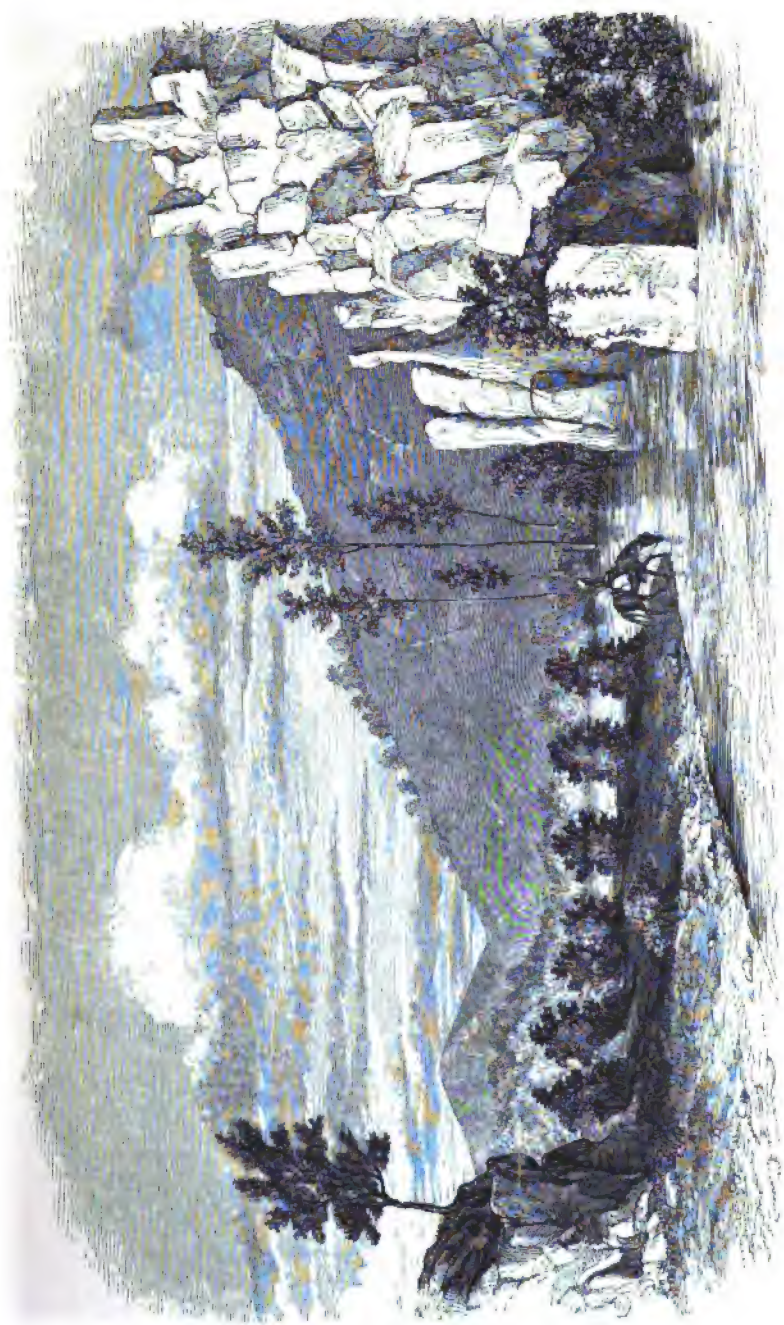
"Are you not mistaken about the volume of Sophocles being 'found in Shelley's hand'? When the body was washed ashore in the Bay of Spezia, it is said that a volume of Aeschylus was found in one pocket of Shelley's jacket, and in the other Keats's poems, 'doubled back, as if the reader, in the act of reading, had hastily thrust the book away.' Such, at least, is the statement of Mr. Symonds in his life of Shelley (English Men of Letters)."

I find also that Professor Woodberry, in the first volume of his Centenary Edition of Shelley's Poetical Works (Memoir, p. lxxxii.), has given in full the quotation from Trelawny: "The tall, slight figure, the jacket, the volume of Aeschylus in one pocket, and Keats's poems in the other, doubled back, as if the reader, in the act of reading, had hastily thrust it away, were all too familiar to me to leave a doubt on my mind that this mutilated corpse was any other than Shelley's."

On the other hand, Professor Dowden, in the second volume of his life of Shelley (p. 529), thus comments in a note: "The 'Sophocles' of Trelawny's 'Recollections' (1858) is changed to 'Aeschylus' in his 'Records' (1878). Mr. Garnett, in his article on 'Shelley's Last Days,' also says 'Aeschylus.' In August, 1886, I had in my hands the volume preserved at Boscombe Manor as that found in Shelley's pocket, and I made certain that that volume is Sophocles."

To confirm the accuracy of my own note-taking in the Bodleian, I wrote to my friend Mr. W. R. Morfill, professor of Russian literature in the University of Oxford, and examiner in English literature for the University of Cambridge, and his reply has just come:

"As regards the Shelley volume, I have gone fully into the matter for your benefit and inspected carefully the documents. The evidence comes from Lady Shelley, the poet's daughter-in-law, and may be relied upon. The book is a copy of *Sophocles*, Oxford edition, 1809, two volumes bound in one. It is true that Shelley held it in his hand, and was clasp ing it when his body was found. This is attested in documents under



SOURCE OF THE JORDAN.

NARRATIVE
OF THE
UNITED STATES' EXPEDITION
TO
THE RIVER JORDAN
AND THE
DEAD SEA,

BY
Thomas H. ...
W. F. LYNCH, U. S. N.,
COMMANDER OF THE EXPEDITION,

WITH
MAPS AND NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

A NEW AND CORRECTED EDITION.

PHILADELPHIA:
LEA AND BLANCHARD,
1849.

(977)

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STEREOTYPED BY J. FAGAN.  
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PRINTED BY T. K. AND P. G. COLLINS.
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(2)

**This Narrative**

**IS**

**RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED**

**TO**

**JOHN Y. MASON,**

**EX-SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,**

**AS**

**A SLIGHT TRIBUTE TO HIS PRIVATE WORTH**

**AND PUBLIC EXCELLENCE.**

**(iii)**





## P R E F A C E.

---

THE object of the Expedition, the narrative of which is here presented, was unknown to the public, until a very short time prior to its departure from the United States, when the indications were such as to induce me to apprehend that it was not appreciated. Nevertheless, I had an abiding faith in the ultimate issue, which cheered me on; for I felt that a liberal and enlightened community would not long condemn an attempt to explore a distant river, and its wondrous reservoir,—the first, teeming with sacred associations, and the last, enveloped in a mystery, which had defied all previous attempts to penetrate it.

As soon as possible after our return, I handed in my official report, and, at the same time, asked permission to publish a narrative or diary, of course embracing much, necessarily elicited by visiting such interesting scenes, that would be unfit for an official paper. To this application, I was induced by hearing of the proposed publication of a Narrative of the Expedition, said to be by a member of the party. The permission asked, was

(v)

granted by the Hon. J. Y. Mason, Secretary of the Navy, with the remark, "I give this assent with the more pleasure, because I do not think that you should be anticipated by any other, who had not the responsibility of the enterprise."

Feeling that what may be said on the subject had better be rendered imperfectly by myself than by another, I have been necessarily hurried; and the reader will decide whether the narrative which follows was elaborately prepared, or written "currente calamo."

To E. Robinson, D. D., of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, I was indebted for letters to his friends in Beirût, and for much information furnished from his copious store. I have also to thank Professor Haldeman, of Columbia, Pa., for some valuable suggestions, which I adopted.

To Mr. Stephens, of New York, the author of one of the most interesting books of travels which our language can produce, I return, in this public manner, my acknowledgments for a timely letter, written when the equipment of the Expedition was under consideration.

While I am responsible for everything here advanced, it is proper to say, that I have occasionally used the notes of other members of the Expedition; and am particularly indebted to Mr. Bedlow, who accompanied the land party down the valley of the Jordan.

The drawings are by Lieutenant Dale and Passed-Midshipman Aulick,—some of them complete, and some

outline sketches. To Messrs. Gilbert and Gihon, of this city, who undertook the illustrations, I am indebted for the beautiful wood-engravings which accompany the volume. They are all true to nature; each scene was taken upon the spot it was intended to delineate, and every portrait is a likeness.

The maps were prepared by Mr. F. D. Stuart, of Washington, from copies furnished by Mr. Aulick, from the labours of Mr. Dale and himself.

Through fatigue, privation and sickness, the officers and men of the Expedition acquitted themselves manfully; and the only drawback to our grateful recollections is, that one who shared our labours has not been spared to participate in the gratification of our return. Lieutenant Dale was an able and accomplished officer, and, by his death, the profession has been shorn of one of its proudest ornaments. His wife has since followed him to the grave; but, in his name, he has left a rich inheritance to his children.

I am wholly unskilled in author-craft, and have sought rather to convey correct ideas, than to mould harmonious sentences. I send this forth, therefore, in trepidation, yet with a confiding trust in that charitable construction which the people of this country have never denied to any one who honestly does his best.

PHILADELPHIA, May, 1849.

---

A new edition of this work being called for, the author has made some slight changes, and corrected several errors that were discovered in the first impression.

July 3, 1849.

**LIST**  
**OF THE**  
**MEMBERS OF THE EXPEDITION.**

---

W. F. LYNCH, Lieutenant-Commanding.  
JOHN B. DALE, Lieutenant.  
R. AULICK, Passed-Midshipman.  
FRANCIS E. LYNCH, Charge of Herbarium.  
JOSEPH C. THOMAS, Master's Mate.  
GEORGE OVERSTOCK, Seaman.  
FRANCIS WILLIAMS, "  
CHARLES HOMER, "  
HUGH READ, "  
JOHN ROBINSON, "  
GILBERT LEE, "  
GEORGE LOCKWOOD, "  
CHARLES ALBERTSON, "  
HENRY LOVELAND, "

HENRY BEDLOW, Esq., and HENRY J. ANDERSON, M.D., were associated with the Expedition as volunteers, after its original organization,—the first at Constantinople, and the other at Beirût. More zealous, efficient, and honourable associates could not have been desired. They were ever in the right place, bearing their full share of watching and privation. To the skill of Mr. Bedlow, the wounded seaman was indebted for the preservation of his life; and words are inadequate to express how in sickness, forgetful of himself, he devoted all his efforts to the relief of his sick companions.

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the progress of the  
house and the President  
to see the effect of any  
change in the relations of  
the two.

THE HOUSE

The House of Representatives  
is composed of members from  
each State and Territory.  
The number of members from  
each State is determined by  
the number of Representatives  
to which it is entitled.  
The House of Representatives  
is the lower branch of the  
legislative power.  
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The House of Representatives  
is the lower branch of the  
legislative power.

THE SENATE

The Senate of the United States  
is composed of members from  
each State and Territory.  
The number of members from  
each State is determined by  
the number of Senators to which  
it is entitled.

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# EXPEDITION TO THE DEAD SEA.

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## CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTORY.

ON the 8th of May, 1847, the town and castle of Vera Cruz having some time before surrendered, and there being nothing left for the Navy to perform, I preferred an application to the Hon. John Y. Mason, the head of the department, for permission to circumnavigate and thoroughly explore the Lake Asphaltites or Dead Sea.

My application having been for some time under consideration, I received notice, on the 31st of July, of a favourable decision, with an order to commence the necessary preparations.

On the 2d of October, I received an order to take command of the U. S. store-ship "Supply," formerly called the "Crusader."

In the mean time, while the ship was being prepared for her legitimate duty of supplying the squadron with stores, I had, by special authority, two metallic boats, a copper and a galvanized iron one, constructed, and shipped ten seamen for their crews. I was very par-

ticular in selecting young, muscular, native-born Americans, of sober habits, from each of whom I exacted a pledge to abstain from all intoxicating drinks. To this stipulation, under Providence, is principally to be ascribed their final recovery from the extreme prostration consequent on the severe privations and great exposure to which they were unavoidably subjected.

Two officers, Lieutenant J. B. Dale and Passed Midshipman R. Aulick, both excellent draughtsmen, were detailed to assist me in the projected enterprise.

In November I received orders to proceed to Smyrna, as soon as the ship should in all respects be ready for sea; and, through Mr. Carr, U. S. Resident Minister at Constantinople, apply to the Turkish government for permission to pass through a part of its dominions in Syria, for the purpose of exploring the Dead Sea, and tracing the River Jordan to its source.

I was then directed, if the firman were granted, to relinquish the ship to the first lieutenant, and land with the little party under my command on the coast of Syria. The ship was thence to proceed to deliver stores to the squadron, and Commodore Read was instructed to send her back in time for our re-embarkation.

In the event of the firman being refused, I was directed to rejoin the squadron without proceeding to the coast of Syria.

The ship was long delayed for the stores necessary to complete her cargo. The time was, however, fully occupied in collecting materials and procuring information. One of the men engaged was a mechanic, whose skill would be necessary in taking apart and putting together the boats, which were made in sections. I also had him instructed in blasting rocks,

should such a process become necessary to ensure the transportation of the boats across the mountain ridges of Galilee and Judea.

Air-tight gum-elastic water bags were also procured, to be inflated when empty, for the purpose of serving as life-preservers to the crews in the event of the destruction of the boats.

Our arms consisted of a blunderbuss, fourteen carbines with long bayonets, and fourteen pistols, four revolving and ten with bowie-knife blades attached. Each officer carried his sword, and all, officers and men, were provided with ammunition belts.

As taking the boats apart would be a novel experiment, which might prove unsuccessful, I had two low trucks (or carriages without bodies) made, for the purpose of endeavouring to transport the boats entire from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Galilee. The trucks, when fitted, were taken apart and compactly stowed in the hold, together with two sets of harness for draught horses. The boats, when complete, were hoisted in, and laid keel up on a frame prepared for them; and with arms, ammunition, instruments, tents, flags, sails, oars, preserved meats, and a few cooking utensils, our preparations were complete.



## CHAPTER II.

### FROM NEW YORK TO PORT MAHON.

ALL things being in readiness, on the 20th of November we dropped down from the Brooklyn Navy-Yard, abreast of the Battery, and waited for a change of weather.

Friday, Nov. 26, 1847. At 10 A. M. weighed anchor, and at 10.15, with a fresh breeze from W. N. W., under a press of sail, we stood down the bay of New York. Around us the ruffled water was chequered with numerous sails, and the shadows of detached clouds flitting before the keen and cutting wind, fit harbinger of the coming frost. Before us, the "Narrows" open into Raritan Bay, and thence expand into the wide-spread and magnificent ocean.

At 2, P. M., passed the light-house; at 2.30 discharged the pilot; 2.45 braced our yards to the fresh and favouring breeze, and bade, as God in His mercy might decree, a temporary or a final adieu to our native land.

In a few hours the low lands were sunk beneath the horizon, and at sunset the high lands of "Navesink" were alone visible above the agitated surface of the water. The dry wind sweeping over the land, which had been saturated by the rains of the two preceding days, caused an evaporation so great as wonderfully to increase the refraction. The setting sun, expanding as it dipped, and varying its hues with its expansion,

assumed forms as unique as they were beautiful. Now elongated in its shape, and now flattened at its ends, it would, at times, be disparted by the white crest of an intervening wave, and present alternately the appearance of golden cups and balls, and jewelled censers tossing about upon a silver sea. As the minutes advanced, the western sky, tint by tint, became one glorious suffusion of crimson and orange, and the disc of the sun, flattening, widening, and becoming more ruddy and glowing as it descended, sunk at last, like a globe of ruby in a sea of flame.

I took this as an auspicious omen, although we sailed on Friday, the dreaded day of seamen. Why superstition should select this day as an unlucky one, I cannot conceive. On the sixth day, Friday, God created man and blessed him; and on Friday, the Redeemer died for man's salvation: on Friday, Columbus sailed from Palos in quest of another world: on the same day of the week, he saw the realization of his dream of life; and returned upon a Friday, to electrify Europe with the wondrous tidings of his discovery. As a harbinger of good, therefore, and not of evil, I hailed our departure upon this favoured day.

With the setting sun, all vestige of the land disappeared, and nothing remained but a luminous point, which, from the solitary light-ship, gleamed tremulously across the waters. As it sunk beneath the waves, our last visible tie with the Western World was severed. How gladly on our return, perchance a tempestuous night, shall we hail that light, which, flickering at first, but at length steadfast and true, welcomes the weary wanderer to his home!

Without the least abatement of affection for, I turned with less reluctance than ever from, the land of my

nativity. The yearnings of twenty years were about to be gratified. When a young midshipman, almost the very least in the escort of the good Lafayette across the ocean, my heart was prepared for its subsequent aspirations. In truth, in our route across the Atlantic, in the silent watches of the night, my mind, lost in contemplation, soared from the deep through which we ploughed our way, to that upper deep, gemmed with stars, revolving in their ceaseless round, and from them to the Mighty Hand that made them; and my previous desire to visit the land of the Iliad, of Alexander and of Cæsar, became merged in an insatiate yearning to look upon the country which was the cradle of the human race, and the theatre of the accomplishment of that race's mysterious destiny; the soil hallowed by the footsteps, fertilized by the blood, and consecrated by the tomb, of the Saviour.

Twice, since, at distant intervals, I contemplated making the desired visit. But the imperative calls of duty in the first instance, and a domestic calamity in the second, prevented me. As I have before said, in the spring of the present year I asked permission to visit the lands of the Bible, with the special purpose of thoroughly exploring the Dead Sea; the extent, configuration, and depression of which, are as much desiderata to science, as its miraculous formation, its mysterious existence, and the wondrous traditions respecting it, are of thrilling interest to the Christian.

The same liberal spirit which decided that the Expedition should be undertaken, directed ample means to be furnished for its equipment. With our boats, therefore, and arms, ammunition, and instruments, I felt well prepared for the arduous but delightful task before me.

The boats "Fanny Mason" and "Fanny Skinner," of nearly equal dimensions, were named after two young and blooming children, whose hearts are as spotless as their parentage is pure. Their prayers, like guardian spirits, would shield us in the hour of peril; and I trusted that, whether threading the rapids of the Jordan, or floating on the wondrous sea of death, the "Two Fannies" would not disgrace the gentle and artless beings whose names they proudly bore.

Tuesday, Nov. 30. Spoke an English brig bound to New York. She had many passengers on board, and had evidently been a long time at sea. Poor fellows! they were sadly out of their reckoning, and we endeavoured to correct their longitude, but the wind blew so fresh that I fear we were not understood. There are few things more exciting than the meeting of two ships on the lonely waters. Approaching rapidly, and as rapidly receding, but a few moments are allowed for friendly greeting; but, in that brief interval, how many thoughts of home and its endearments crowd the mind of the anxious wanderer!

Thursday, Dec. 2. The wind freshened into a steady gale; fragments of clouds flitted hurriedly across the sky; and the ship, now riding upon the crests, and again sunk in the hollow of a wave, rolling and plunging, dashed furiously onward, like a maddened steed, instinct with desperation.

The deep colour of the water, its higher temperature, and the light mist which shrouded its surface, showed that we had been for some days in the Gulf Stream, that wonderful current which originates from the multitudinous waters that are swept across the Atlantic before the trade winds, and impinge against the western continent; thence, sent with a whirl along the

southern coast of the United States, they are intercepted by the Bahamas, and turned rapidly to the north and east, until, encountering the Grand Bank, they are deflected easterly towards the Azores, and thence, pursuing different routes, one branch seeks the Mediterranean, and the other is lost in the sluggish Sargossa Sea.

Our chronometers, invariably ahead of the reckoning, proved that we were accelerated by the current half a mile an hour. We occasionally met with patches of sea-weed (*fucus natans*), and one morning found several mollusca upon a branch of it.

Between the coast of the United States and the inner edge of the Gulf Stream, we were swept forty miles to the southward, attributable, perhaps, to the great polar current setting along our coast to the south-west. This eddy current of the Gulf Stream may be the cause of the increase of cold experienced by navigators on reaching soundings.

We were favoured with fresh north-westerly gales, frequent rains, and a heavy sea, but there had been no great falling of the barometer. When under close reefed topsails and a reefed course, with a high sea running, the barometer had only fallen  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch. On the approach of an easterly gale, a few days previous to our departure from New York, it fell  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch.

This day, tested thermometrical barometer, No 2. Temperature of air,  $68^{\circ}$ ; of surface of the sea,  $70^{\circ}$ ; of the sea, at 100 fathoms,  $63^{\circ}$ . Barometer, 30.6. Water boiled at 212.95. Salt hygrometer floated at 1.4. Latitude,  $38^{\circ} 40'$ , north; longitude,  $43^{\circ} 00'$ , west.

Tuesday, Dec. 7. The barometer gradually fell, and the weather became more and more tempestuous.

Wednesday, Dec. 8. In the morning watch we were compelled to heave to, the ship labouring excessively. In the afternoon, the barometer had reached its minimum, 29.72, when the wind shifted in a sudden squall. Although the wind was fierce, the sky was cloudless, and the sea exhibited in magnificent confusion its toppling waves, with their foaming crests and driving spray, which sailors call spoom-drift, flashing in the sunlight. The interest of the scene was heightened by several sperm whales sporting in the wild chaos of waters, and exhibiting their glossy backs as they rose occasionally to the surface, and blew high in air volumes of water from their capacious nostrils.

Thursday, Dec. 9. The fitful airs throughout the day indicated, apart from our observations, the near vicinity of the land.

Friday, Dec. 11. This morning, made the islands of Corvo and Flores, the north-westernmost of the Azores, and by sunset we had reached the meridian of Flores, its brown and furrowed sides undecked with a single flower, and giving no indication of the origin of its name. Fearing that we should be becalmed if we ran to leeward of it, and the sea setting heavily upon Corvo, I determined to run between them, although we had no chart of the islands, and no one on board knew whether or not the passage was practicable. To this, I was induced by two considerations: In the first place, from the rounded summits of the islands, they were evidently of volcanic origin, and shoals are rare in such vicinities. In the second place, the sea ran so high, that it must break over any intervening obstacle, and present a distinct and prohibitory line of foam. We therefore stood boldly through, and, as if to cheer us, the rays of the setting sun, intercepted by a rain-cloud which had

swept over us, arched the passage with the best-defined and most vivid rainbow I have ever seen. It was so striking, that every draughtsman on board was immediately employed, endeavouring to catch the flitting beauties of the scene.

In the middle of the passage, the bow had faded away with the setting sun, leaving the sky less brilliant, but far more beautiful. In the east, directly ahead, rose the planet Jupiter, lustrous as a diamond, cresting with his brilliant light the line of vapour which skirted the horizon. Near the zenith, shone the moon in her meridian; lower down, the fiery Mars; and in the west, the beautiful Venus slowly descended, enveloped in the golden hues of the sun, which had preceded her. The gorgeous sun, the placid moon, the gem-like Jupiter, and the radiant Venus, bespoke the enduring serenity and the joys of Heaven; while the agitated sea, crested with foam, breaking loudly on either shore, which, in the gathering dimness, seemed in dangerous proximity, told of the anxieties and perils of this transitory life.

We passed through unimpeded, at a glorious rate, and the next day, at 4 P. M., were abreast and in sight of the island Graciosa, the last of the group in our line of route, its rude outlines dimly seen through its misty shroud. The barren faces of these lofty islands present no indication of their fertility. They abound, however, in cereal grains, and produce an excellent wine. They are frequently resorted to by our whalers, and by homeward-bound Indiamen, for supplies.

A case of varioloid made its appearance on board, but so slight as to create no alarm, and in the opinion of the surgeon, did not require isolation. I had my misgivings, for it is but the milder type of a disease as insidious as it is loathsome; and, with the concurrence

of the surgeon, purposed to have every officer and man vaccinated the first opportunity.

Friday, Dec. 17. Made Cape St. Vincent, the "Sacrum Promontorium" of the Romans, the south-western extremity of vine-clad Portugal, as it is of Europe also. This is the second time we have made land upon a Friday. It was off this cape that Admiral Jarvis gained his celebrated victory, and from it was derived the title of his patent of nobility.

During the night, the wind hauled to the southward and freshened to a gale, making it necessary to stand off from the shore. At 4 A. M., without an instant's warning, the wind shifted in a squall, taking the sails aback, the most perilous position, with a heavy sea, in which a ship can be placed. Fortunately the courses were not set, and the noble ship, although pressed down and deeply buried, obeyed the reverse helm and paid off before the wind. Had she been less buoyant and seaworthy, she must have inevitably foundered. The squall subsided into a steady breeze, and passing Cape St. Vincent, we were, at meridian, abreast of the coast of romantic Spain—its mountains, towering as they receded from the shore, wreathed their craggy summits with the mist which floated in the distance.

Sunday, Dec. 19. Made Cape Trafalgar, and sailed over the scene of the great conflict between the fleet of England and the combined fleets of France and Spain. Here, the great Collingwood broke the opposing line! There the heroic Nelson, the terror of his foes and the pride of his countrymen, nobly, but prematurely fell—his last pulsation an exultant throb, as the shout of victory rang in his dying ear. He died gloriously, for he fell in his country's cause, but prematurely for his own fair fame. Had he lived his noble nature would



have freed itself from the thralldom of a syren, and casting aside the seductions of the beautiful daughter of sin, his after life would have been as morally great, as his early deeds were unequalled in daring achievement.

We have *now* a mottled sky above us, and ride upon a tumultuous but not a stormy sea. The waves, like clumsy, living things, rush and tumble along in the utmost seeming disorder, and we have only the sweep of the wind and the surge of the sea, as the waves topple and break around and before us.

*Then*, the atmosphere was pure and the sky serene, and the gentle and undulating waves pressed the sides of the huge armaments they supported, their aspect lovely and their rippling sound melodious. The light breeze, bearing fragrance on its wing, wooed the upper sails of the advancing fleet in its soft embrace, and slowly propelled it towards the opposing line. A few brief moments, and how changed the scene! The balmy air became murky, sulphurous, and stifling, and one dark cloud, concealing earth, and sea, and sky, enveloped the commingled fleets, from whence came forth incessant flashes and resounding peals, which rivalled the red lightning and the loud thunder of an elemental strife. From amid this sound, frightful, yet stirring to the human heart, and appalling to every other creature, came other sounds, yet more harrowing — the shout of defiance, the shriek of agony and the yell of despair, — and fish, and bird, and every other living thing fled precipitately from the scene, leaving man, the monarch of creation, to slay his fellow man, the image of his august Creator! Such is battle! and he who rushes into it, impelled by other than the highest motives, perils more than life in the encounter. It is a glorious

privilege to fight for one's country; but, the seaman or the soldier who strikes for lucre or ambition, is an unworthy combatant.

As the day advanced, the weather became tempestuous; huge clouds, swollen with rain, rose in rapid succession, and sweeping over, discharged themselves in heavy gusts. A mist of varying density, wreathed along the coast, was here and there disparded by a bold promontory, or sharp projecting rock.

Fearful of being swept by the rapid currents upon the northern shore of the straits, into which we had now fairly entered, we hauled more to the southward, and soon, looming through the mist in gloomy grandeur, the mountains of Africa, lofty and majestic, rose upon the view.

Keeping thence the mid channel, we soon passed Tarifa, the southern point of Europe, where the Saracens first landed under El Arif, from whom it derives its name. The waves were dashing wildly against its battlements, encircling them with a line of foam.

Twice has this narrow strait been covered with Saracen flotillas. First, on their invasion of Spain, when they subjugated its fairest and most fertile portion; and secondly, when, overcome by the wily Ferdinand and the peerless Isabella, they fled disorderly from a land they had held so long, and loved so fondly. The Martello towers erected along the coast, attest the fears long entertained, and the vigilance long exercised to guard against invasion.

2.30 P. M. The clouds and mist, driven before the freshening wind, have left us a clear atmosphere. Ahead, is the blue expanse of the Mediterranean, held by the ancients, as its name imports, to be the centre of the earth. On either bow, is Calpe and

Abyla, the pillars of Hercules, and termini of two continents.

2.40. The strong current, and yet stronger wind, have propelled us so rapidly onward, that the "Rock" and the bay of Gibraltar are now in full view to the east and north. As the bay opened, the towns of St. Roque and Algesiras greeted us to the north and west. The former, directly ahead, as we steered for the anchorage, is situated on the summit of a high, rounded hill, separated from the surrounding ones by a luxuriant, circular valley. It is the most picturesque, and needs but foliage to be the most beautiful town, at a distance, I have ever beheld.

4 P. M. Anchored immediately abreast of the town of Gibraltar.

The rock of Gibraltar, abrupt on this, its western side, and on the other absolutely precipitous, has a summit line, sharp and rugged, terminating with a sheer descent on its northern face, and sloping gradually to Europa point at its south extreme. From an angle of the bay, this rock, 1400 feet high and three miles long, presents the exact appearance of a couchant lion;—his fore-paws gathered beneath him, his massive, shaggy head towards Spain, his fretted mane bristling against the sky, and his long and sweeping tail resting upon the sea.

Upon the debris on its western side, about one-third the distance from its northern end, the town is built, tier above tier, containing a crowded population of 15,000 souls, in a most contracted space. The houses, built of stone and covered with tile, are mostly small and incommodious, and their fronts are coated with a dark wash, to lessen the glare of the sun, which, from meridian until it sinks beneath the mountains of Anda-

lusia, shines full upon them. With the exception of the upper part of the town, where alone the suburbs are, the confined and narrow streets and dwellings are badly ventilated; hence, in the summer season, epidemics are often rife and devastating.

The entire water front of the bay is one continuous line of ramparts, and, from numerous apertures, the brazen mouths of artillery proclaim the invincible hold of its present possessors. It is said, that there is not one spot in the bay, on which at least one hundred cannon cannot be brought to bear. Its northern face, too, is excavated, and two tiers of chambers are pierced with embrasures, through which heavy pieces of ordnance point along the neutral ground upon the Spanish barrier. This neutral ground, a narrow isthmus, at its junction with the rock, but soon spreading out into a flat, sandy plain, separates, by about half a mile, the respective jurisdictions of Great Britain and Spain.

Just within the Spanish barrier is a small village, containing fifty or sixty houses, a few constructed of stone, but most of them of thatched straw. What a contrast it presents to the cleanliness, order, and air of comfort which pervade the fortress, so short a distance from it! Ill clad, lazy men, lounging in the sun; homely, dirty, dishevelled women, with yet filthier children, seated in the door-ways; and hordes of importunate beggars, who, the dogs excepted, are the only active inhabitants of the place, all too plainly bespeak an unhappy and misgoverned country.

South-west of the barrier, on the northern margin of the bay, are the ruins of fort St. Philip, erected during the siege of Gibraltar by the combined land and naval forces of France and Spain. Immediately north, on the first ridge of a mountain chain, which becomes

more and more lofty in the distance until it is lost in the Sierra Nevada, is a rounded stone or semi-column, upon which, it is said, the Queen of Spain took her seat when the batteries opened upon the town and fortress of Gibraltar, solemnly protesting that she would not rise from it until the allied banners waved in the place of the blood-red flag of England. Like many another rash and inconsiderate vow, it was necessarily broken, and the mortification of defeat was enhanced by the recollection of her folly.

About a mile west of the barrier, a narrow gully in the sand, which, in the winter, is partly filled with water, and in the summer perfectly dry, indicates the bed of the river Mayorgo, on the banks of which the populous city of Carteia once stood. Between these banks, how many a proud Roman and Carthaginian galley has passed, as the place fell alternately into the possession of either power! Of the thousands who inhabited that city,—of the houses they dwelt in, and the walls, towers, and citadel which encircled and defended them, not a single vestige now remains. How transitory and fleeting is the life of man! In the midst of terrestrial cares, he is swept from existence, and the memory of the most favoured is scarce treasured beyond the first anniversary of his fall. Alas! "What shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue!"

We here took observations, to ascertain the rate of our chronometers, and purchased some chemical tests and an herbarium, for the Expedition. Having only stopped at Gibraltar for some mathematical instruments, ordered from London, we were in hourly expectation of their arrival, when an untoward event compelled us to sail without them. One of the officers had been violently ill for some days, and the skill of the surgeon was baffled to detect the character of the

disease, when, on the morning of the fifth day, it developed unequivocal symptoms of the small-pox. My first thought was to seek a place, to which those who might be attacked could be removed as soon as taken, and thereby, as much as possible, retard the dissemination of the pestilence among the crew. My next consideration was to protect the crowded town and garrison, where we had been so hospitably received. I therefore immediately interdicted all communication with the shore, and, as soon as the weather would permit, sailed for Port Mahon, where the flag-ship was, and where there are extensive hospitals. The sick man knew, however, that before it could be reached, he must pass the ordeal. His feelings can be better imagined than described. Prostrate with a disease as malignant as it is loathsome; with a body inflamed and swollen, and a mind so racked with fever, that reason, from time to time, fairly tottered on her throne, he must naturally have longed to exchange his hard and narrow berth, and the stifling atmosphere of a ship, soon to be tossed about, the sport of the elements, for a softer and more spacious couch, a more airy apartment, and, above all, the quiet and the better attendance of the shore.

After a boisterous passage of eight days, we reached Port Mahon, where the invalid was hoisted out of the ship, and taken in his bed to the Lazaretto, or Lazar House, the most cheerless, bleak, and dreary quarters ever occupied for such a purpose. The few dismal weeks he spent there, unable to read and incapable of writing, will, doubtless, be long remembered by him.

Fortunately, there was but one additional case; and the ship, by repeated fumigations, and various modes of ventilation, was finally purged of the foul and festering disease.

Mahon, so named from Mago, the father of Hannibal, is the chief town of the island of Minorca. It is beautifully situated at the north-west extremity of one of the most secure and spacious harbours in the world. This port, since the first introduction of a U. S. naval force in the Mediterranean, subsequent to the war with the freebooters of Barbary, has, with few exceptions, been the winter rendezvous of our squadrons stationed in that sea. Why it should be so, with the security of the anchorage its only recommendation, it is difficult to conceive. Other places there are, sufficiently secure, less isolated in their position, less tempestuous in their winter climate, abounding with classical associations and teeming with inducements to scientific research, far superior to Port Mahon. A place famed for the facilities it presents for acquiring, and the cheapness of indulging low and vicious habits:—famed for the circumstance that the senior officers, and all who can be spared from watch, abandon their ships and reside for months on shore; while many of the young and the inexperienced, and some of their superiors, spend much of their time and all their money in the haunts of the dissipated and the vile. I do not mean to reflect upon the respectable part of the population of Mahon, for there is not a more kind-hearted or gentle people in the world. But ignorance of the language compels most of our officers to keep aloof from a society, which, if it do not increase the refinement of their manners, should at least protect them from moral degradation.

Apart from all moral considerations, there are political ones why Port Mahon should not be the winter rendezvous of our squadron in the Mediterranean.

Within twelve years, difficulties were once anticipated with France, and twice with England;—with

the former power on the subject of indemnity, and with the latter on the questions of the north-eastern boundary and the disputed claim to Oregon. On these occasions, our depot was, and our squadrons mostly were, at this port, in a small island, two hundred miles distant from Toulon, the nearest point on the main land, and equi-distant from Gibraltar and Malta — all three strongholds of probable enemies. Its isolated position debars intelligence from the continent more frequently than once a month, and the first indication of hostilities might have been the summons of a hostile fleet.

It is true that our commanders have received directions not to winter at Mahon, but orders are fruitless while commanders of squadrons claim the privilege of exercising their own judgment without regard to the instructions of the authorities at home. We found the flag-ship here, and here it is believed that the squadron will winter.

The islands of Minorca and Majorca, with the small one of Ivica, closely contiguous, form the Balearic isles, from whence the Carthaginians and the Romans, as they successively conquered it, procured their Baleares or slingers. It is said, that in Mahon Hannibal took the well-known oath of vengeance against the unrelenting foe of his country.

The soil is thin, yet exceedingly productive; but so great are the trammels, alike on agriculture, commerce, and every branch of domestic manufacture, that the people are deplorably impoverished. Numerous beggars, and the yet more painful sight of abject poverty peeping from beneath the ragged skirts of pride, everywhere greet the eye. Every day presents scenes cal-



culated to make the philosopher moralize and the Christian weep. Alas! poor Spain!

Friday, Jan. 28. Lieutenant Dale and myself visited the talayots of Trepuco and Talatli, two Celtic ruins, with mounds and musæ or altars. The first is in the midst of a circular fort with five bastions, behind which, tradition says, the inhabitants of the island defended themselves against the Moors. We thought the circumvallations more modern than the mound, or the musæ or altars.

These ruins, and others on the island, are either monumental tombs or altars of sacrifice, on which human victims were most probably immolated. The Druids, or priests of the Celts, derived their religion, perhaps, from the Egyptians. How much labour and ingenuity that ancient people evinced in quarrying, transporting and elevating such enormous blocks! The exact manner in which they are placed with regard to the cardinal points, and being so accurately poised as to stand for many centuries, exhibit, also, no inconsiderable knowledge of geometry. Scarce a vestige remains of the nations that have subsequently possessed this island, while here stand these huge old stones and enormous piles, the mute, but expressive memorials of the most ancient people of all! Mr. Dale took exact sketches of the mound of Trepuco and the musæ of Talatli.

The Balearic isles, believed to have been settled by the Phœnicians, if not by the Celts long before them, have fallen successively under the yoke of the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Goths, the Saracens, the English and the Spaniards,—under the latter three times.

## CHAPTER III.

### PORT MAHON TO SMYRNA.

FRIDAY, Feb. 4th. At 10 P. M. left the harbour of Mahon with a light but favourable wind. Our stay had been so protracted that we gladly hailed the familiar sight of a boundless horizon before us. We had all become somewhat impatient of the many causes of detention that had interfered with our departure; and we were, of course, proportionately elated when at length we were again careering over the blue waves of the Mediterranean.

The breeze freshened as the night wore on, and we wended joyfully on our way, each congratulating the other on the prospect of a speedy disembarcation. The next day we passed south of Sardinia; and the morning after made the Island of Maritimo, and beyond it could see the blue outlines of Sicily. The day was at first clear and beautiful, but, with the ascending sun, a dim vapour spread along the sky, and, wafted by the wind, like a misty shroud, enveloped the larger island. To the eye, all was serene and peaceful, but beneath that veil the myrmidons of power and the assertors of human rights were engaged in deadly conflict. The Sicilian revolution had begun. Its end, who could foresee?

P. M. Passed the island of Pantellaria, the Botany Bay of Naples and Sicily, and accounted by some to be the Isle of Calypso.

To avoid danger in the shape of rocks and shoals at sea, it is ever best to shape the course directly for them, for then all are vigilant. We stood, therefore, directly for the shoal which marks the spot where, some years since, a volcanic island suddenly rose from the sea, and shortly after disappeared. We saw nothing of it.

During the night we shortened sail, but, with the fresh wind blowing, it was difficult to check the ship in her headlong velocity. At early daylight, the Islands of Gozo (the true Calypso) and of Malta were directly before us. To the eye they presented the barren aspect of rugged brown rocks, their surfaces unrelieved by tree or verdure; and the houses, built of the same material, and covered with tile, rather added to, than varied, the tiresome uniformity of the scene.

With a fresh and favourable wind, we sailed along the abrupt and precipitous shores, and came to anchor in the famous port of Valetta. Three promontories, their summits fretted with artillery, frown down upon the triune harbour. Along the city walls, from Castle Ovo to the extreme point on the right, are lines of fortifications, relieved here and there by some towering Saracenic structure, presenting, in graceful contrast,

“The Moorish window and the massive wall.”

Here, too, has Napoleon been! From Moscow to Cairo, where has he not?

We rowed around in our boat, and in the upper harbour saw a number of towering three-deckers and heavy line-of-battle ships moored in formidable array. One of the latter, some hours afterwards, passed us, outward bound; and by the side of our little ship she looked, indeed, like

a huge leviathan. She sailed by "majestically slow;" her hull, her armament, her spars and sails, presenting a perfect combination of graceful symmetry and gigantic strength. The deepest silence prevailed, broken only by the ripple of the water beneath her bows, and the occasional voice of her commander, who, whether despotic or humane, had the true urbanity of a gentleman. As with the gathering wind his ship swept by, he caught sight of our pennant and descried our uniform, when, instantly crossing the deck, he courteously and gracefully saluted us. If ever the republican dogs of war are to be again let loose, Heaven grant that it may be against a foe so well worthy of a grapple in the honourable trial at arms.

As we were not admitted to *pratique*, we saw nothing more of Malta, but left it at sunset. Having once before been there, I bear in vivid remembrance her many scenes teeming with interest. The bay and the cave, spots consecrated by the shipwreck and the miraculous preservation of the great Apostle of the Gentiles: her armory, with its shields and swords, and her rare and exquisite gardens.

Saturday, Feb. 12. At daylight, made the Island of Cerigo, the ancient Cythéra, upon which was wafted at her birth the Goddess of Love and Beauty. It is also reputed to have been the birth-place of Helen, the frail heroine of the Trojan war.

Passing under easy sail, between Cerigo and Ovo, leaving Candia (ancient Crete) to the south, we entered the blue Egean, and had the Group of the Cyclades before us as we turned to the north. In the course of the day we saw Milo, famed for its spacious harbour and its excel-

lent wine; Paros for its marble quarries, and Anti-Paros for its celebrated grotto, deemed one of the wonders of the world.

Sailing through the Sporadic group, we passed the Gulf of Athens, and saw Cape Colonna, (ancient promontory of Sunium, where Plato taught, and where are the ruins of a temple of Minerva.

Greece! poetic Greece! but that my soul is engrossed by one pervading thought, how I would love to visit thy shores! How *have* I loved to follow the muse in this favoured land! How delighted to pursue the arts, and trace the history of this wonderful people! How admired the chaste philosophy of Greece, springing with Corinthian beauty into life, amid the storms of sedition, and bending, like the brilliant Iris, her beautiful bow in the clouds which had overshadowed her sleeping oracles! The bold and inquisitive spirit of Grecian philosophy could not be fettered by a loose and voluptuous religion, however graceful in its structure and poetical in its conceptions. Grecian philosophy, reflecting the early rays of revelation, more powerful than the Titans, scaled the pagan Heaven, and overthrew its multitude of gods.

Did time permit, how I would love to look upon the Piræus and the Acropolis! Upon the place where Socrates, in the dispensation of a wise Providence, was permitted to shake the pillars of Olympus, and where the Apostle of Truth, in the midst of crumbling shrines and silenced deities, proclaimed to the Athenians the *Unknown God*, whom, with divided glory, they had so long worshipped in vain.

Continuing our route through the Sporades, between Ipsari and Scio, of sad celebrity, we rounded, on the morning of the 15th, the promontory of Bouroun, and entered the Gulf of Smyrna.

P. M. By a sudden transition from the fresh head-wind

without, we were now floating upon the placid bosom of a beautiful bay, with our wing-like sails spread to a light and favouring breeze.

Far beyond the shore, might be seen the snowy crest of the Mysian Olympus. We passed in sight of the first Turkish town, with its little cubes of flat-roofed houses, and its groves and trees, so refreshing to the eye after the Grecian isles, all brown and barren. It is the ancient Phocœa.

The bay was dotted with the numerous sails of feluccas, outward and inward bound. As we passed, the Bay of Vourla opened on our right,—and on the left, were some remarkable green hills,—and beyond them, a long, very long, low track, with a barely visible assemblage of white dots beyond. It was Ismir! Infidel Ismir! Christian Smyrna! The setting sun empurpled the neighbouring mountains, gilding here and shadowing there, in one soft yet glorious hue, lending a characteristic enchantment to our first view of an Oriental city.

The wind failing, we anchored about eight miles from Smyrna, near Agamemnon's wells. Abreast, was fort Sanjak Salassi, with its little turrets and big port-holes, even with the ground, whence protruded the cavernous throats of heavy guns, entirely disproportioned to the scale of the fortifications.

Our eyes were here refreshed with the sight of rich olive-groves; Turkish villages embowered among trees, many of the latter covered with blossoms, interspersed with the melancholy cypress (the vegetable obelisk), and backed by a range of verdant mountains beyond.

Wednesday, Feb. 16. The scene which this morning presented to our admiring eyes, was one of surpassing loveliness. To the north and west was a sheet of placid water, with cloud-capped mountains in the distance. Before us was the city, overshadowed by a lofty peak,

the snow-crowned summit of which glittered in the rays of the rising sun. On an abrupt platform, immediately beneath it, were the embattled towers of a once formidable castle; from thence, on a descending slope, which spread its base until it reached the water, the houses were thickly clustered; while here and there a swelling dome, and lofty, pyramidal spire, indicated a mosque, with its attendant minaret.

But on the right was the most exquisite feature. A narrow, but most luxuriant valley skirted the base of a range of mountains to the south, and, from the lofty barricade to the very verge of the bay, presented one enamelled mead of verdure and bloom. The grass and cereal grains had all the vivid tints of early spring, while the white and the pink blossoms of the nectarine and the almond were interspersed with the graver hue of the dark and abounding olive. While enjoying the scene, we heard the tinkling of bells, and looking to the left, beheld a caravan of camels rounding a distant hill. In a long line, one after the other, slowly, sedately, with measured strides, they passed along the road towards the west. Each one was laden with heavy packages, except two, which had women and children perched high upon their uneven backs.

11 A. M. Sail up and anchor off the city of Smyrna.

Thursday, Feb. 17. With the first dawn of day we were amused watching the deck of an Austrian steamer, which arrived, during the night, from Constantinople.

With the sun, up rose Turks, Greeks, and Armenians, shaking and settling themselves in their strange and gorgeous costumes. There were magnificent Turks with blessed beards, clothed in multitudinous garments, with a whole armory of pistols and daggers stuck in their sashes. One old fellow was particularly striking, in a drab-coloured capote and a white beard, smoking his chi-

bouque in dignified abstraction from the world around him. There were two or three Persians, with black beards of extraordinary unction, and high, black, conical caps. There was one, a perfect magician, with beard blacker than a raven's plume, and a lofty brow, pale as alabaster. There were Turkish officers and soldiers, Greeks and Armenians, all with the red tarbouch; and lastly, a sailor-looking man, with his hands independently thrust into his pea-jacket pockets.

They all passed near us on their way from the steamer to the shore. Among them were several women, with ugly, white muslin drawn over their faces,—closely veiled. One of the latter we were particularly anxious to see, as she accompanied a rich old Turk with a perfect boat-load of goods and chattels. As she passed, one hand was exposed from beneath the folds of the muslin. Do the Turkish ladies wear black gloves? *Credat Judæus Apella!* Let the circumcised Jew believe it! Can a Christian credit that she was a Nubian, of the deepest Cimmerian tint?

We landed and passed into the streets, the narrow, winding ways of Smyrna. How strange everything seems! After all one has fancied of an eastern city, how different is the reality! The streets are very narrow and dark, and filled with a motley and, in general, a dirty population—passing to and fro, or sitting in their stalls, for they deserve no better name. Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, seem to prevail.

But the most striking, living feature of the east is the long strings of camels, huge, meek-looking beasts, with long necks and small projecting heads, tramping along under enormous loads, with their great pulpy, India-rubber splay feet, threatening to bear down everything in their onward march. Again and again we were compelled to slip into the open stalls to avoid being crushed.



At length we adopted the precaution of each one keeping under the lee, as sailors term it, of a heavily laden camel, for it was not only necessary to avoid the camels and little donkeys, but also dirty, ragged, staggering, overlaid porters, whose touch threatened not only to communicate the plague, but also whole detachments of the insect tribes of Egypt.

We proposed entering a mosque, but as we were required to take off our boots, and the pavement was damp and dirty, we deferred the gratification of our curiosity until we had visited Constantinople.

We came to the same resolution with respect to a bath, the one we looked into being repulsive from its filth and slovenliness, and far too public for our ideas of propriety. Our consul, Mr. Offley, an honour to his name and to the position he fills, told us that he once took a Turkish bath, but never repeated the operation.

The city of Smyrna, so inviting in its exterior, is crowded, dirty, and unprepossessing within. The houses, excepting those on the Marina, or Water front, rarely exceed one story in height, and are dingy and mean; and the very mosques, so imposing from without, fall far short of the conceptions of the visitant.

The Smyrniotes have fair complexions, much fairer, we think, than the people of the Morea, and very much more so than the Kurds, Armenians, Syrians, and Jews.

The River Meles, sacred to Homer, in winter a foaming torrent, but in summer scarce a flowing stream, runs in a northerly direction, along the eastern limits of the city. On the line of travel to the East, it is spanned by the caravan bridge, the great halting-place of returning and departing caravans. As we saw it, the river was a shallow stream, not half filling the space between the widely separated banks. Kneeling on the sands, on each side of the river, above and below the bridge, were many hun-

dreds of camels, with their heavy packs beside them. It was the hour of feeding, and, arranged with their heads in the centres of circles, of which their tails formed the peripheries, without noise, they ate the dry straw which was placed before them. While we looked on, the hour elapsed, and the burdens were replaced on the backs of the patient animals. Although constituting a number of separate caravans, they were all, evidently, subject to the same regulations. At a given signal, they slowly raised first one foot and then another from beneath them, and then, with a peculiar cry, plaintive yet discordant, jerked themselves, as it were, to an erect position. The turbaned drivers, the uncouth, patient camels, and the tinkling bells, formed a scene truly Asiatic.

Turning from the throng of living beings, we passed immediately through an extensive grove of dark, funereal cypress, every interval between the tall, symmetrical trees being covered with Turkish tomb-stones. These are mostly two erect slabs of marble, one at the head and the other at the foot of each grave, their flat surfaces turned towards the highway and covered with Turkish or Arabic inscriptions, usually in gilt letters, recounting the name and character of the deceased. The head-stones of the males have invariably a carved turban, coloured red or green, according to the family of the deceased. On the head-stones of the females, carved rose-branches are generally seen.

Some of the old head-stones had carved on them the implements of the trades pursued in life by the tenants beneath. The hammer and the saw denoted the carpenter; the last, the shoemaker; the trowel, the mason, and the shears, the tailor. We were told, that in the vicinity of Constantinople there are some with the gallows carved on them, indicating that those beneath had, by that instrument, met their doom. It is further said,

that in the times of Turkish despotism, a man's family deemed it a sure and convincing proof of the wealth or talent of their ancestor, if he had been considered of sufficient importance to be executed.

The bowstring and the scimeter have now superseded the ignominious gallows. The day will come, and is coming, when the public mind in every enlightened community will shrink with horror from the infliction of the punishment of death. But, until the minds of men are more enlightened, and their conduct influenced more by holy aspirations than base, ignoble fears, there necessarily must be an inflexibly restraining power.

How beautiful is the moral of the eastern allegory in relation to punishment! The Brahmins represent Punishment as the son of the Deity, and the security of the four orders of the state. He rules with a sceptre of iron, and from the beasts of the field to the children of men, the order can never be violated with impunity. He is the perfection of justice. All classes would become corrupt; all barriers would be overthrown, and confusion would prevail upon the face of the earth, if punishment either ceased to be inflicted or were inflicted unjustly. But, while the Genius of Punishment, with his dark countenance and fiery eye, presses forward to extirpate crime, the people are secure if justice be impartial.

Crime, like a leprous cancer, spreads from individuals to nations. It should be the duty, therefore, of a Christian to oppose everything which tends to corrupt morals and promote licentiousness. History, with her grave and solemn countenance, constantly admonishes us, that, whatever may have been the immediate cause of national calamities, licentiousness of morals has always preceded and precipitated the catastrophe. The political revolutions which have most afflicted mankind were introduced by an era of national profligacy. Charles was the natural

precursor of Cromwell, and Cromwell the fit successor of Charles. The licentious cavalier was aptly followed by the stern and formal Puritan. The morals, the literature, the religion of the English nation had become utterly depraved, and the interposition of the Genius of Punishment, the Avenger of crime, the security of the four orders of government, became necessary, to chastise and to correct. The sufferings of the nation were terrific, but its crimes had been enormous.

But, as if to teach mankind a lesson which tradition could never forget, the crimes of the French people were permitted to accumulate until Paris rivalled Sodom in iniquity : and, perhaps, the sudden and consuming wrath which fell upon the city of the plain, was mercy compared with the protracted sufferings of this abandoned people. If the world shuddered at the enormity of their crimes, nations grew pale at the intensity of their sufferings. The Avenger of crime again exacted the full measure of retribution.

Alas ! man, whether in his individual or social capacity, is a frail and rebellious creature, and the sternest sanctions of the law have, in all ages, been required for the maintenance of peace and order. But, all the force of the law has, under every frame of government, been found insufficient to repress the spirit of insubordination. The strong impulse of the passions, and the hope of impunity, still impel daring and wicked men to commit the most detestable and atrocious crimes.

The Genius of Punishment, therefore, with his dark countenance and fiery eye, must yet awhile longer frequent the haunts of the children of men. These reflections have been indulged, in order to strengthen the mind to contemplate a dire necessity, and to prepare it for the recital of a shocking circumstance attendant on a legal execution here.

A criminal was recently condemned to death, and the mode adjudged was decapitation. He was led forth into one of the public streets, and duly prepared. The clumsy executioner, unable to strike off the head with repeated blows, deliberately, with a saw, severed the hacked and disfigured head from the convulsively writhing trunk.

The heart sickens at the recital. It is painful to hear, — most painful, on the best authority, to narrate an incident so harrowing. Were I to consult my inclinations, my pen should, like the sun-dial, note “those hours only which are serene.” But, if I speak at all, it is my duty to describe things exactly as I find them.

Such an event as the one above narrated would have shocked all England, even when her penal laws, like those of Draco, were written in blood; and an unhappy mother, starving herself, was hung for stealing a loaf of bread, wherewith to feed her starving child.

Even with such a fact before us, it is difficult to say whether the Ottoman government is most a despotic or a patriarchal one. Certain it is, that if the late barbarous execution were made known to him, the humane heart of the Sultan would shrink with horror, as much as that of any Christian. Unhappily, he is kept in most profound ignorance, and every thing calculated to give him pain, or excite his mind to inquiry, is sedulously excluded. Such is the account given by intelligent Franks, long resident in his dominions.

The country around Smyrna is highly cultivated, and the benignant soil and genial climate amply repay the toil of the husbandman. Less productive of the cereal grains, its vintage and its crops of fruit are most superior and abundant. Except the mountain sides, which are sparsely covered with brushwood, the frequent groves of cypress, each denoting a burial-place, and the clusters of orange trees around the villas of the wealthy, the surface

of the country is thickly dotted with the olive and the almond, the mulberry and the fig-tree. Smyrna is particularly celebrated for an exquisitely flavoured and seedless grape, and for the superior quality of its figs.

It is also one of the claimants for the birth-place of Homer, the blind old bard, whose fame was purely posthumous! The Grecian virgins scattered garlands throughout the seven islands of Greece, upon the turf, beneath which were supposed to lie the remains of *him*, who wandered in penury and obscurity through life, or only sang passages of his divine poem at the festive board of his contemporaries. We were shown his cave—but I will no longer trust myself to speak of him, whom

“I feel, but want the power to paint.”

We also visited Diana's bath, whence Acteon's hounds, like many a human ingrate after them, pursued and tore the hand that had caressed them.

Meeting with an acquaintance of one of the party, he invited us to his country-seat at Bournabat, which is the summer resort of the Franks, and a great place of attraction without the walls of Smyrna.

Mounted upon diminutive donkeys with enormous ears, in the course of the ride everybody's stirrups broke away, and everybody's pack-saddle turned so easily, that each one found it difficult to preserve his seat. Steering with a halter, our only bridle, we scoured along the road and soon entered upon a plain covered with rich plantations of olives and figs, with many nectarine and almond trees in full bloom, and villas, here and there, embowered in orange groves,—the flatness of the landscape relieved by clustering spires of the dark cypress, their tall stems expanding high in air, in graceful and luxuriant foliage.

We alighted before an elegant villa, and entering a porte-cochere, passed along an avenue bordered with fra-

grant shrubs and a variety of flowers, with orange-groves on each side, and up a lofty flight of steps into the main building, which was beautifully furnished in the European style. After a while, we were conducted through the garden, upon walks of variegated pebbles, set in diamond figures. We were thence led to a small kiosk, or summer-house, where pipes were brought by female servants of decided Grecian features. A queen-like old lady, dressed in a blue silk sack, trimmed with rich fur, and wearing upon her head a braided turban interwreathed with natural flowers and silver ornaments, was introduced to us by our kind entertainer as his mother. Presently, a silver salver was brought, with small dishes of the same material upon it, containing conserves of various kinds. Taking it from the servant, the superb old lady handed it to each of us in turn, not omitting her son. This is one of the customs of the East which so peculiarly differ from our own. Here man is indeed the sole monarch of creation; but his degradation of the female sex recoils fearfully upon himself.

After wandering about beneath the shade of the orange and the cypress, admiring the night-blooming cereus, and inhaling the fragrance of the rose and the jasmine, and examining the old-time Persian water-wheel and artificial mode of irrigation, we entered a saloon where an oriental collation of fruits and cream had been prepared for us. Although the month of February, the climate was that of summer.

Returning, we trotted merrily along the rich alluvial plain, carpeted with the young grain just springing from the earth. Near Smyrna, we observed a fig-tree thickly hung with shreds of cloth, of every hue and texture. It is a common practice among ignorant Muslims, who believe that a piece of a sick person's garment suspended

from a tree near the tomb of a Santon or Mahommedan saint, will promote the recovery of the wearer.

Emerging from the gloom of a dense cypress grove, which overshadows thousands of Muslim tombstones, we came upon the caravan bridge, which spans the Meles with its single arch. It was the same we had before seen, but at a different hour and under a different aspect. On the banks, below the bridge, were hundreds of camels reposing for the night. The setting sun shone upon the red and blue and yellow saddle-cloths, while the picturesque costumes of the Mukris or camel-drivers, grouped listlessly about, relieved the dun colour of the caravan with a pleasing effect. It was a rich, golden, oriental sunset, worthy of the pencil of a Claude Lorraine.

Returning through the city, the same strange scenes presented themselves as on our first arrival. The variety of costume; the filthy, unpaved lanes for streets, and the necessity of giving way before the onward tramp of a line of loaded camels or a mud-bespattering donkey. We were much assisted, however, by the consul's janissary, who did his best to clear the way before us. Consuls and other foreign officials in Turkey are allowed, as guards, a certain number of janissaries or kavashes, recognized and appointed for that purpose by the Turkish government. This janissary is always heavily armed, and possessing much authority, is very cavalier in his treatment of the common people. He is ever a Turk, and with his long, silver-mounted baton, preceding the consul or his guests, is the very picture of solemn self-sufficiency.



## CHAPTER IV.

### SMYRNA TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

FRIDAY, Feb. 18. At 5, P. M., embarked in the Austrian steamer "Prince Metternich," for Constantinople. When fairly under way, her decks presented as motley an assemblage as I ever beheld. Aft, on the larboard side, near the helmsman, were two groups of females, consisting of five Asiatics and two Africans. All, mistresses and slaves (for they bore that relation to each other), had the upper and the lower parts of their faces concealed by the "yashmak," a thin, white muslin veil, so arranged as to leave only the eyes and the upper part of the nose exposed to view. Their bodies were enveloped in the "ferejeh," a narrow-skirted cloak, of a thin worsted material, with a cape extending down behind, the full length and breadth of the body; five of them were yellow, and two a dingy purple, — the colour irrespective of mistress or slave.

One of the groups consisted of an Armenian family, and on this occasion their dress, in no particular, varied from that of the Turks. It is said, however, that in the capital the Turkish female may be distinguished by the red or yellow ferejeh, and the invariable yellow boot or slipper. In this group there was little distinction in the quality of dress, and there seemed to be very little reserve in the demeanour of the whites towards the blacks. Certainly the latter conceal their faces as studiously as their mistresses. They were all seated upon rugs, placed on boards elevated a few inches above the deck, and were busied

making preparations to pass the night in the positions they occupied.

In advance of them, extending to the break of the quarter-deck, were various groups of the most respectable class of male passengers; and beyond them, on both sides of the deck, for two-thirds the length of the ship, was clustered a heterogeneous assemblage of lower grade, consisting, like that on the quarter-deck, of Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Syrians. Many wore the turban either white or variously coloured, except the despised Jew, whose brows were enveloped in sable. But most of them had on the crimson tarbouch, with a long blue or black silken tassel pendent from the crown. Their under-dress was wholly concealed by the universal "Grego," a long, heavy, brown woollen coat, with a hood, and ornamented with scarlet cord and facings.

With their feet drawn beneath them, they were, like tailors, squatted (those who had them) upon rugs, with their baggage piled around them, and each with the stem of a chibouque, or a narghile, in his mouth.

There is no bar for the sale of intoxicating liquors on board. All is orderly and quiet, and there is neither quarrelling nor loud discussion. In sobriety, at least, the Turk is a fit model for imitation.

We swept with great rapidity up the beautiful Gulf of Smyrna, and early in the night entered the channel of Mitylene, between the Island of Mitylene (the ancient Lesbos) and the main. This large and fertile island, placed at the mouth of the Adramatic Gulf, derived its ancient name from one of its kings, who reigned before the Deucalion flood. It is the birth-place of Sappho, and was considered by the ancients the seventh in the Egean Sea. First governed by its own kings, and then by a democracy, it has been subject to the Persians, the

Athenians, the Macedonians, the Romans, the Venetians, and the Turks.

11 P. M. Enveloped in their Gregos, their cloaks and various coverings, the deck passengers, screened from the sight, sleep profoundly; and, from sheer weariness, we retired below to enjoy "the balmy blessings of the night."

Feb. 19. This morning, the deck presented a singular scene. Its whole surface was one uninterrupted range of tumuli, beneath each one of which reposed a human being. Not having been sheltered by awnings, their clothing, saturated by the rain which had fallen during the night, was reeking from animal heat, and rising and falling with the light or heavy breathing of the sleepers beneath.

"The low hung vapours, motionless and still,  
Rest on the summit of each tiny hill."

As the day dawned they severally arose, and the first act of each one was to throw himself on his knees, with his face, as he supposed, towards the Kebla of Mecca (some sadly erring in the quarter of the compass), and with many prostrations, which from time to time were repeated, commenced the morning prayer, a series of recitations from the Koran. Some stuck their daggers into the deck, a short space before them, which was respected as sacred by those who, having finished their devotions, wandered about the ship. The most of them were seemingly abstracted, but it was evident that some were satisfactorily conscious of being observed.

One thing may be said of the benighted Turk: he is never ashamed of his religion. No human respect influences him to shrink from an open avowal of his worship; and if outward observance be indicative of inward piety, the Turk is the most devout of human beings. His first act, when he awakes in the morning, is prayer; at three other stated intervals during the day, it is

repeated; and with the descending sun, for the fifth time, he prostrates himself in prayer.

Every public and private deed of record begins with "Bismillah," "in the name of Him;" and the salute of a Turk, when he meets a friend, is neither the "How are you?" "How d'ye do?" "How d'ye find yourself?" "How d'ye carry yourself?" and "How d'ye stand?" of the American, the Englishman, the German, the Frenchman, the Italian, and the Spaniard,—but simply "God preserve you!"

Immediately after their devotions, they resorted to their inseparable chibouque; but, as it is difficult to describe

"A Turk, with beads in hand and pipe in mouth,  
Extremely taken with his own religion,"

we turned to the east, and beheld Mount Ida, capped with snow, and its tributary range, which, in a graceful sweep, embraces the valleys of the Thymbrek and the Mendere, the Simois and the Scamander of the Iliad. A short distance from Eski Stambhol, are the ruins of Alexandria Troas, screened from the view by a thick growth of stunted trees and shrubbery. At Lesbos and here, St. Paul has been.\* On the left, bearing west, is the Isle of Tenedos, in one of the ports of which the Greeks concealed their fleet when they pretended to have abandoned the siege of Troy. Tenedos, more frequently even than Lesbos, has fallen a prey to the conqueror.

As we advanced to the north, with the coast of Phrygia on the right, we soon beheld that of Thrace in Europe before us, with the islands of Lemnos and Imbros to seaward. Immediately on the Phrygian shore, facing the broad expanse of the Mediterranean, are two conspicuous

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\* It was here that, in a vision, St. Paul was called to Macedonia—here he restored the dead to life—and here left his cloak, parchments, and books.—Acts, xvi. 9; xx. 9 and 10. 2 Tim. iv. 13.

tumuli, pointed out by tradition as the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus. The requiem of the heroic friends is sung by the surging waves, which break against the abrupt and precipitous shore.

To the north-east, on the extremity of the Phrygian shore, is the Sigæan Promontory, crowned with a castle, and disfigured with a town. On the opposite, or Thracian shore, with the Dardanelles between, is Cape Helles, with a corresponding fortress, and its unprepossessing town attendant. Near the European cape, was fought the great naval battle so fatal to the Athenians.

Turning to the east, we rounded Cape Janissary (the Sigæan Promontory), and entering the strait, saw the supposed bed of the Scamander, between which and the promontory, the Grecian fleet was hauled up, and the Grecian hosts encamped. A little beyond, is another barrow, said to be that of Hecuba; yet further is the Rhætian promontory, on which also is a mound, called the tomb of Ajax.

The plain of Troy, so familiar to every classic reader, now barren and unattractive, save in its associations, presents nothing to the eye until it rests upon Mount Olympus; and, in the distance, the imagination, fixing upon the spot where

“Silver Simois and Scamander join,”

fills the circumjacent plain with the lofty towers of “wide extended Troy,” the beleaguering hosts and their dismantled ships. Passing a point on the left, designated as the first in Europe whereon was raised the banner of the Saracen, we came to that part of the strait whence its other name of Hellespont is derived.

The strait, about five miles wide at its mouth, narrows gradually as we ascend, until, near the town of Dardanelles, the lofty, but gently swelling shores compress the

stream within the narrowest limits, and then receding, leave two prominent points, Sestos and Abydos, obliquely facing each other.

The Hellespont teems with more poetic and classic associations than any other stream on earth. Its shores were the chosen scenes of the greatest and most wondrous epic produced in any age or clime; and, separating two great continents, its swollen and impetuous waters have been repeatedly crossed by invading armies; by two Persian monarchs, by Philip's warlike son, by the crusading hosts of Europe, and by the Muhammedan conqueror of Constantinople.

Its rushing flood engulfed Leander within hearing, perhaps, of the thrilling shriek of the watchful and agonized Hero: and it is left to the imagination to decide whether the lover, paralyzed by fear, yielded unresistingly, or, with all that he coveted on earth in view, grappled with fate, and struggled manfully, until, with the water drumming in his ear and gurgling in his throat, he sank beneath the surface as the last heart-rending cry swept across the angry tide.

Here, too, turning from poetic fiction to prosaic fact, the noble bard of England successfully rivalled the feat of Leander; but for his reward, instead of the arms of a blooming Hero, found himself grappled in the chill embrace of a tertian ague.

We stopped, for a short time, at Sestos for the purpose of landing a number of passengers, and the scene was extremely amusing, although it rained incessantly. Numerous Turks, in the crimson tarbouch, or capacious turban, and yet more capacious breeks, with a miscellaneous crowd of Armenians, Greeks, Smyrniotes, and Syrians, were, together with their motley piles of baggage, huddled in seemingly inextricable confusion at the gangway,

whence the Italian baggage-master, swearing "*Per corpo di Bacco*," was endeavouring to drive them into the boats. In clamorous confusion it surpassed the richest scenes of Billingsgate.

In Mitylene, we received on board a dandy, who, in dress and smirking self-conceit, scarce fell short of the exquisite fop of Broadway in sustaining the delineation of the insect. His tarbouch was higher, and the long, blue silk tassel pendent from it was more flowing and redundant, his purple vest was more richly embroidered, his trowsers more capacious, and his red morocco boots more pointed, than any we had seen.

At Tenedos, where we had also stopped, we received on board a Turkish effendi (gentleman), chief of customs in the island. He had a large retinue of servants, who obsequiously attended upon him. He was now playing backgammon with a Greek officer in a faded uniform, who sported the largest, fiercest, and most fiery moustache we had ever seen. The Turk had a pleasing countenance, and although dignified, was sociable. He was dressed in an azure silk tunic, trimmed with fur, and his head was covered by the tarbouch worn by all officials, beneath which escaped a short crop of hair. His air was gentle, and his person clean. His pipe-bearer had brought him a superb narghile, a silver vase eighteen inches high, with a flexible tube twelve or fifteen feet long, wound round with silver wire, and having a costly amber mouth-piece at the end. He politely passed it round, and we each in turn took a puff. The substance smoked was not tobacco, although, as prepared, it resembled the stem of that weed finely chopped. It was called "*Tombec*," a product mostly of Syria and Mesopotamia. The present specimen was from Bagdad, and its flavour was aromatic and agreeable.

But while we were sheltered below, the deck-passen-

gers were exposed to the storm: among them were several females, besides those I have mentioned.

The town of Dardanelles (Abydos), situated on the Asiatic side, is unattractive in its appearance, but a mart of considerable commerce. A number of consular flags wave along the water-front, and here, vessels bound to Constantinople, or to any of the ports of the Euxine, must await their firman or permit. The castles of the Dardanelles are formidable—the one on the Asiatic side especially so, from its heavy water-battery.

A little after sunset, we entered the sea of Marmara (White Sea). The mist and clouds, which during the afternoon had gathered on the hills of Thrace, were now swept towards us, and discharged copious showers as they passed. The sea and its surrounding shores were soon shrouded in obscurity, and we retired below, first lending our only umbrella to a group of females, to shield them, in part, from the driving rain. Nor could we suppress our indignant remarks on the neglect of the officers of the boat, when we looked upon so many human beings exposed to the inclemency of such a night, without even the protection of an awning.

When we retired, we were told that the steamer would stop until morning at the village of San Stefano, four leagues this side of Constantinople, and we anticipated enjoying the matchless view which this city is said to present from the sea of Marmara; but a bitter disappointment awaited us. On first awaking in the morning, we felt that the boat was not in motion, and hastening immediately to the deck, discovered that we were anchored in the "Golden Horn," or harbour of Constantinople.

On our left was the Seraglio, with the city of Stambhol (or Constantinople proper) stretching to the north and west, with a multitudinous collection of sombre houses, the dull, brown surfaces of their tile-roofs interrupted



frequently by the swelling domes of mosques, with their tall and graceful minarets beside them.

The "Golden Horn," three miles in length, was filled with ships and vessels of every class, and rig, and nation; and hundreds of light and buoyant caiques flitted to and fro among them. In the far distance, above the two bridges, the upper one resting on boats, flanking the harbour in an oblique line, were the heavy ships of war of the Turkish fleet. To the right, on the opposite side of the harbour, were the suburbs of Pera, Tophana, and Galata (each of them elsewhere a city), with the tower of the last springing shaft-like to the skies. To the east, across the sea of Marmara, where it receives the Bosphorus, was the town of Scutari (the ancient Chalcedon), where the fourth general council of the Christian church was held. Near Scutari, is a spacious grove of cypress, shading its million dead; and a high mountain behind it overlooks the cities, the harbour, the sea, the Bosphorus, and the surrounding country.

But, wearied with the very vastness of the field it is called upon to admire, the eye reverts with renewed delight to the beautiful point of the Seraglio.

A graceful sweep of palaces, light in their proportions and oriental in their structure, washed by the waters of the Sea of Marmara and the "Golden Horn," look far up the far-famed Bosphorus. Here and there, upon the ascending slope, clustering in one place, and dispersedly in another, many a cypress shoots up its dark green pyramidal head, between the numerous and variegated roofs. The shaft-like form of the minaret seems to have been borrowed from the cypress, and they both exquisitely harmonize with oriental architecture. On the summit is a magnificent mosque, its roof a rounded surface of domes, the central and largest covered with bronze, and glittering in the sun, with a light and graceful minaret springing

from each angle of its court. The pen cannot describe, nor can the pencil paint, the beauties of the scene : I will not, therefore, attempt it.

We landed at Tophana and, passing a marble Chinese fountain, elaborately carved, and between two mosques, an ancient and a modern one, struck directly into the narrow and tortuous streets that wind up the steep ascent towards the Frank quarter in Pera. The houses are mostly of wood, rudely constructed, rarely exceeding one story in height, and covered with a dark-brown, clumsy tile. The shops, for they are no more, are open to the street, each with a slightly-elevated platform, upon which the shopkeeper and his workmen are seated à la Turque.

We did not anticipate seeing so many Turkish females in the streets. It seems that, like many of their sex in our own country, they spend a great deal of their time in shopping. When abroad, they invariably wear the yashmak, the ferejeh, and the clumsy red or yellow morocco boot and slipper. The dress of the Armenian woman is almost exactly the same, and the Greek women wear the Frank costume. The last is making rapid encroachments, although many are bitterly opposed to it. A Frank lady recently visited one of the Sultanas, when there were other female\* visitors present; one of the latter, not knowing that the Frank lady understood the Turkish language, said to another, "See how shamelessly the Frank lady exposes her face!"

"Do you know," replied the one addressed, "it is said that, before long, we shall do so, too?"

"Allah forbid!" exclaimed the first.

Monday, Feb. 21. Took a caique for San Stefano, the residence of our Minister, twelve miles distant, on the Sea of Marmara. Differing in its construction from other

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\* Except the nearest relatives, males never visit females in Turkey.

boats, except, in some points, the American canoe and the Malay proa, the breadth of the caique rarely exceeds one-fourteenth of its length. The bow and stern rise high and curvilinear, and these boats are so easily careened that passengers are compelled to recline upon the bottom. In consequence of their extreme buoyancy, they are propelled with great rapidity when the water is smooth, but when it is ruffled, they are exceedingly unsafe, and at times, when a squall sweeps across the harbour, they are to be seen like affrighted wild fowl, flitting before it. The greatest number of them are rowed by two men, with two oars each. The latter are not very long, but have wide blades, with concave ends, and heavy looms, caused by their being nearly three times the usual diameter. This swelling, as it may be termed, is intended as a counterbalancing weight; but, instead of the clumsy lozenge-like protuberance, a band of lead or iron, of moderate thickness, would better answer the purpose.

We could not have wished a more delightful day. The sky was serene, the surface of the sea undisturbed by a ripple, and unchequered by the shadow of a cloud. With great rapidity we swept by the wall of the Seraglio and the sea-wall of the city, both, throughout their whole extent, seemingly Grecian, with more modern props and repairs, for which purpose, intermixed with Roman brick and cement, marble slabs, pilasters and columns have been indiscriminately used. From one position I counted fifty minarets in Stambohl alone, omitting Scutari on one side, and Tophana, in full view, on the other.—We soon rowed past the Seven Towers, the slaughter-house of the days of despotism, which overlooks the western wall, and, with the aid of the current, made a speedy passage.

San Stefano is a paltry village, but delightfully situated on the margin of the sea, with Princes' Islands towards

the southern shore, and the snow-crowned summit of Mount Olympus beyond it. This village possesses two things in its near vicinity, of peculiar interest to an American—a model farm and an agricultural school. The farm consists of about two thousand acres of land, especially appropriated to the culture of the cotton-plant. Both farm and school are under the superintendence of Dr. Davis, of South Carolina; a gentleman who, in the estimation of Armenians, Turks and Franks, is admirably qualified for his position. He is intelligent, sustains a high character, and has many years' experience in this branch of cultivation. Already he has made the comparatively arid fields to bloom; and besides the principal culture, is sedulously engaged in the introduction of seeds, plants, domestic animals, and agricultural instruments. The school is held in one of the kiosks of the sultan, which overlooks the sea.

Dr. Davis has brought some of his own slaves from the United States, who are best acquainted with the cotton culture. So far from being a mere transposition of slavery from one country to another, the very act of removal is a guaranty of emancipation to the slave. By a law of the Ottoman Empire, no one within its limits can be held in slavery for a period exceeding seven years.\* Should the culture of the cotton-plant succeed in this region, many, very many, thousands of additional hands will be required. In that event, the Ottoman Empire will present a most eligible field for the amelioration of the condition of the free negro of our own country.

In Turkey, every coloured person employed by the government receives monthly wages; and if a slave, is

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\* Can this ordinance, like the prohibition of pork, be traced to the Jews under the Theocracy? "And if thy brother, an Hebrew man, or Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years, then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee."—Deut. xv. 12.

emancipated at the expiration of seven years, when he becomes eligible to any office beneath the sovereignty. Many of the high dignitaries of the empire were originally slaves; the present Governor of the Dardanelles is a black, and was, a short time since, freed from servitude. There is here no prejudice founded on distinction of colour. The avenues of preferment are open to all, and he who is most skilful, accomplished and persevering, be his complexion ruddy, brown or black, is most certain of success.

With us, it is manifest that the distinctive character of the Israelite does not so effectually cut him off from a full assimilation with the human family, as does the prejudice arising from distinction of colour separate the Anglo-Saxon from the African. No matter whether this prejudice be implanted for wise and holy purposes, or whether it be the curse of the age. It exists, its roots are deeply planted, it is a part of ourselves, and he is a shallow observer of man, blind and bigoted, who will overlook or despise this pervading and resistless feeling, originate where it may.

Denied with us, the protecting care which the interest, if not the humanity, of the owner extends to the slave, the free negro is subject to all the prejudices of colour, with some of the rights of a freeman, and many of the sentiments of a slave. They constitute an intermediate class; having no bonds of common interest, no ties of sympathy to sustain it, often too indolent to labour, and too insolent to serve, it is, collectively, the most depraved and unhappy race in the western hemisphere.

The only hope of the free negro, is in his removal beyond the barriers of prejudice. A plan of colonization, connected with this country, would present a broad platform upon which the friends of this unhappy race may meet in soberness and truth. The moral and the physical

condition of the free negroes among us; the frequent conflicts between them and the whites in our principal cities, show that to them, on our soil, freedom carries no healing on its wings, and liberty, that blesses all besides, has no blessings for them.

As the consumption of the necessities of life ever increases in proportion to the facility of their production, and as Turkey cannot, for a century to come, under any possibility, raise sufficient cotton for one-half of her population, she cannot become a rival in the cotton-market. On the contrary, its general introduction, as a fabric for domestic wear, would create a demand far transcending the home supply, and another mart be thereby opened to the cotton-planters of the southern and south-western states. Already, cotton is fast superseding silk, as an article of domestic apparel in the Turkish dominions.

It is said, but untruly, that the slave-market of Constantinople has been abolished. An edict, it is true, was some years since promulgated, which declared the purchase and sale of slaves to be unlawful. The prohibition, however, is only operative against the Franks, under which term the Greeks are included. White male slaves are purchased for adopted sons, and female ones for wives or adopted daughters. Nubians are bought as slaves, to serve the allotted term. Young females, of the principal families of Georgia or Circassia, are often entrusted to commissioners, who are responsible for their respectful treatment. They are only purchased with their own consent, and when so purchased, are recognised by the Muhammedan law as wives; the portion is settled upon them by law, and if the husband misuses them, or proves unfaithful, they can sue for divorce, and recover dowry. But, unfortunately, the husband has the power of divorce at will, without resorting to any tribunal; and the words, "I divorce you," from his lips, is, to the poor woman, the

sentence of dismissal from her husband's roof, and from the presence of her children. If dismissed without good cause, however, she has a right to dowry, but is ever after debarred from appeasing that mighty hunger of the heart, the yearning of a mother for her children.

The female slaves, bought for servitude, are subject to the wife, and not to the husband. He has no property in them, but is bound to protect and to aid them in their settlement.\* The males rise in condition with their masters: several pashas have been bondmen, and Seraskier Pasha was once a Georgian slave.

In a ramble to and from the slave-market, yesterday, I saw two females, whose lots in life are now widely different. The first was a Circassian slave, young and interesting, but by no means beautiful, attired plainly in the Turkish costume, and her features exposed by the withdrawal of the yashmak. She walked a few paces behind her owner, who passed to and fro about the market. Stopping occasionally, and again renewing his walk, he neither by word nor gesture sought to attract a customer. When he was accosted, she quietly, but not sadly, submitted to the inspection, and listened in silence, and without perceptible emotion, to the interrogatories of the probable customer.

The second female to whom I have alluded was an Armenian bride being escorted to the residence of her husband. There were three arabas, or clumsy carriages of the country, drawn by two oxen each. The panels of the second one were richly carved and blazoned, and its roof was supported on upright gilt columns, with richly embroidered curtains, and fringes of silk. The concave bottom had no seats, but was covered with cushions, upon which, at half length, reclined the bride, with a female

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\* "And when thou sendest him out from thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty." — Deut. xv. 13.

attendant beside her. On the backs of the oxen were four or five stakes diverging outwards, like radii from a centre, with long hearse-like purple plumes drooping from them. The bride was gorgeously dressed, but her head and its appendage riveted my attention. From it hung a veil (I can call it nothing else), composed of long strings of bright gold beads, spanning from temple to temple, and reaching from the forehead to the waist. With the motion of the araba, it swayed to and fro in gently waving lines, but without disparting, and my strained vision could not penetrate the costly screen. I have heard of the man in the iron mask, but never before of a woman in a golden one.

The husband, who is yet as ignorant as myself, may, like the Prince of Arragon, find only the blank countenance of a blinking idiot beneath it, and discover, when too late, that the

“Beauteous scarf  
Veils but an Indian beauty.”

They were both destined victims to the matrimonial customs of the country; and perhaps the sacrifice of this poor Circassian may not be more venal than the mercenary marriage of the other.

The conditions of the two females are now widely different; but, such are the peculiar customs of this people, that it is by no means impossible, indeed is far within the range of probability, that the slave of whom I have spoken, may yet be elevated to a sphere more exalted than that of the wealthy Armenian. If every good has its attendant evil, every evil has its antidote; and in this clime of despotism the fetters of slavery are less galling than in our own more favoured land. The slave has here a voice in his own disposal, and his consent is necessary to make a transfer legal. The female slave therefore may, and doubtless does, reject the ill-favoured or tyrannical, and yield her assent only to the comely or the



wealthy purchaser, perchance a bey or a pasha, and become the favourite wife of a future governor of an extensive province.

Besides Dr. Davis and family, including his intelligent brother, we here met Dr. Smith, who holds the important office of geologist to the Ottoman government, to whom we are indebted for many excellent scientific suggestions. From Bishop Southgate, of the American Episcopal mission, we received many kind offices, including a present of his work on Armenia, Persia, and Mesopotamia. By the gentlemen of the Evangelical Mission, and their families, we were also welcomed with cordial hospitality.

Tuesday, Feb. 24. We embarked with our minister, Mr. Carr, in his sixteen-oared caique, for a trip up the Bosphorus. The lovely and meandering Bosphorus, ever at the ebb, but rarely turbulent, for the last five miles before it becomes merged in the Sea of Marmara, flows between almost uninterrupted ranges of mosques, palaces, gardens, and kiosks. It were in vain to attempt to describe it. I only noted such prominent places as, from time to time, we passed.

First, on the left, or European shore, was a beautiful mosque, erected by the late Sultan Mahmoud, in commemoration of the extinction of the Janissaries. Next, an immense cannon foundry, with a spacious "Caserne," or barracks, on the hill behind it; then the palace of Beschiktasche, and the one built by Mahmoud for the heir apparent, the present sultan, and another mosque, all with gardens and their kiosks between. We also passed the tomb of the great admiral Barbarossa, with the name "Wao" (Jehovah), in large Arabic characters, inscribed upon it. Near the palace, stood the column of Simeon and Daniel Stylites, two saintly men, who spent most of their lives upon its summit, sixty feet above the ground, and

"Drowned the whoopings of the owl with sound  
Of pious hymns and prayers."

The tomb marks the spot where Muhammed II., during the siege of Constantinople, transported a fleet of galleys overland to the "Sweet Waters," the head of the "Golden Horn."

We then rowed by the stairs, beneath the windows of "Cherighan," the palace where the reigning monarch holds his court. Like the one below, it fronts upon the Bosphorus. It is of wood, neatly constructed, and painted a light stone-colour. Its form is a hollow square, with handsomely laid-out gardens in the centre, and a guard-house beside it. It is a fine, rich building, but, for a royal palace, quite an unpretending one. Its style of architecture is oriental, and presents to the eye a light and graceful appearance.

On the opposite, or Asiatic side, from Scutari up, is a like continuous line of gardens, kiosks, and palaces. The swelling hills on each side of the Bosphorus alternately approach and recede, so that the banks of this meandering and beautiful stream form seven promontories, and as many corresponding inlets to each shore.

At the narrowest part of the strait, is Roumelia Hissar, or castle of Roumelia. Here, was the bridge over which Darius led his army into Scythia, and the overlooking hill is thence called the throne of Darius. The castle was built by Muhammed II., prior to the conquest of Constantinople; and, from a whim of that monarch, the walls run in the form of the Arabic characters of the word Muhammed.

At the foot of each inlet of the Bosphorus, is a valley, now luxuriant in its verdure. That of Buyukdere, about midway, was, at the same time, the most extensive and the most beautiful. Hither, in the summer, resort the Frank ambassadors and their families. A short distance

up this valley, is Belgrade, with its extensive forest, and where once resided the celebrated Mary Montagu. We did not stop at Buyukdere, although it looked inviting, for other beauties were around, and the Euxine was before us.

Passing along the base of the Giants' mountain, and by a modern battery, with the ruins of a Genoese tower high on the hill above it, and by the ancient Pharos, on the European side, and by the upper forts, with their contiguous light-houses, we swept rapidly into

"The Pontic sea,  
Whose icy current and compulsive course  
Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on  
To the Propontic and the Hellespont"—

and beheld in the distance the Symplegades, so familiar to the classic reader for the perilous passage of Jason, when in search of the Golden Fleece. Beyond, the left-hand shore extended north-west and north, to the mountains of the Balkan, "the sentinels of an enchanted land," and thence to the dark, swift rolling Danube. To the right, the mountainous shores stretched in a continuous range towards the site of Sinope, the ancient capital of Pontus and the birth-place of Diogenes. Towards the north and north-east was one broad expanse of water, which, so far from presenting a gloomy appearance, rippled its tiny waves before the breath of a gentle breeze, and basked in the rays of an unclouded sun. A number of vessels bound to the Danube, to Odessa, to Trebizond, and to other ports of this inland sea, were stretching away, under full sail, towards their respective destinations.

We looked long and earnestly,—first to the left, where the mind's eye followed the course of the Danube to the lands of civilization and refinement; to the north, across

the barren steppes, to the frozen limits of inhospitable and semi-barbarous Russia; to the north-east and east, over the range of the Caucasus and along the shores of the almost unknown Caspian, and thence southwardly, through Persia and India, to Hindostan and the Ganges. Warned by the lapse of time, we reluctantly forbore to visit the Semplygades, on the largest of which a fragment of a pillar, supposed to be part of an altar to Apollo, was distinctly visible.

Returning along the Asiatic shore, we stopped near the fortress which lies below the Genoese ruin, and ascended the Giants' mountain. On the summit is a mound twenty feet long and five feet high, called the tomb of Joshua. On the bushes around it are hung shreds and patches of clothing, votive offerings for the recovery of the sick. All Muhammedan visitors dissolve a little of the superincumbent earth in water, and drink it as an antidote of the fever; and to those who are diseased, it is conveyed as a certain remedy.

Another tradition maintains that the tomb contains only the head of a being so gigantic, that when seated on the summit of the mountain, he had one foot immersed in the Bosphorus and the other in the Euxine. The first tradition is most credited, and a mosque is erected contiguous to the tomb, which a dervish guards from profanation. The view from this mountain height surpasses all that in my wandering life I have ever seen. The Black Sea, its surface dotted with many sails, stretched in a boundless expanse to the north; nearer were the Symplegades and the mouth of the strait, and nearer yet the Genoese ruin on the site of the temple of Serapis, and over against it the ancient Pharos, or light-house of the strait. Before us was the great valley of Buyukdere, which, as its name imports, is broad, beautiful and luxuriant, with its river, its port, its shipping and its houses;

an aqueduct near, and Belgrade, with its forest, in the distance; while sweeping between, and stretching its meandering length along as far as Constantinople, is the palace-crowned, the indescribably beautiful Bosphorus. The promontories, bold, but not rugged, gracefully swelling into the air, and covered with verdure; and the valleys, so inviting as to create a longing desire to erect in each successive one a bower for those we love most dearly.

A little below Buyukdere, on the Asiatic shore, there is a rude granite column upon a projecting point, which indicates the last encampment of ten thousand Russians, on the march to succour Constantinople, when threatened by Mehemet Ali, of Egypt.

When Constantinople was rescued from the clutches of this rebellious pasha by the interposition of the European powers, he came as a tributary to render homage to the sultan. While here, he selected, as the site of the palace he was required to build, the promontory immediately below and in full sight of the one upon which the Russian column is erected, as if to intimate to posterity that if the Russians came thus far, *he* had preceded them, and that it was the fear of *him* that brought them.

These are ominous signs, the first especially; for, if a Russian army can so speedily and unexpectedly (it came without a summons) reach the environs of Constantinople, what is to prevent the same rapid movement of a hostile and yet more powerful force? Of their danger the Turks are well aware, but instead of preparing to resist, in the spirit of fatalism they supinely await the dread event. There is a tradition among them that they are to be driven from Europe by a light-haired race from the north, and their fears have settled upon the Russians. The prediction will work its own accomplishment: the unhappy presentiment of the Turk, (for the feeling amounts to such,) will be more than embattled hosts against him,

and the dispassionate observer can already predict not only his expulsion from Europe, but the downfall of the Ottoman empire. The handwriting is on the wall, and it needs not a Daniel to interpret it. Under present auspices, this country must ere long attain her destiny; and her decline and fall will add another to the many lessons of experience, to instruct future generations and furnish another proof of the perishable nature of all human institutions. Could Christianity but shed its benign influence over this misguided people, their national existence might be prolonged, and the sad catastrophe averted. One crying evil pervades the land, and while it exists, there can be no hope.

In this country, from the hovel to the palace, woman is in a state of *domestic servitude*. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the degradation of the female sex here, in India, and among all barbarous nations. The fact is clearly established, that everywhere, in all nations and among every people, beyond the pale of Christianity, woman is deplorably debased. Christianity has ever expressed the deepest solicitude for the female sex; for the inordinate authority of man over woman, or the undue subjection of the female to the male, tends to the debasement of the morals of each. Woman, even when invested with the plenitude of her rights and mistress of her own actions, is but too often the feeble victim of the seducements which surround her. How utterly helpless is she, therefore, when her will is not her own! The very idea of resistance vanishes, vice becomes a seeming duty, and man, gradually debased by the facility with which his irregular appetites are indulged, plunges into the lowest depths of sensuality. Woman, whose influence over the heart of man is irresistible, whenever she is debased, revisits her corruption upon man; and thus this pervading influence of the sexes over each other, by a species of mutual con-

tamination, moves from generation to generation in one vicious circle, from which they can only be delivered by the supernatural and refining influence of Christianity.

Christianity acts first upon woman, because, from the gentleness and tractability of her nature, she is more susceptible of the influence of its law of purity and love; and when she is thus regenerated, who shall declare the extent of her chastening influence over the sons of the children of men? Under the elevating and benign influences of Christianity, she proceeds to subdue, to reform, to ennoble, and perfect everything around her; and, by this supernatural power, she so softens the affections and refines the feelings of the lord of creation, as to dispose him to prefer the purity and confidence of domestic love, to the selfish and utter isolation of a life of sensual indulgence.

But, alas! Christianity, all lovely and gentle as she is, can find no entrance here; for bigotry, with sneering lip and contracted brow, stands at the portal.

## CHAPTER V.

### CONSTANTINOPLE, AND VOYAGE TO SYRIA.

SATURDAY, Feb. 26. To-day, by appointment, I had an audience with the sultan. Accompanied by the Dragoman of our legation, I took a caique, and proceeded three miles up the Bosphorus, to the palace of "Cherighan," mentioned before.

We landed at the palace stairs, and leaving our overshoes, which etiquette required us to bring, we ascended a broad and lofty flight of stairs, and passing through an ante-chamber, were ushered into a room which overlooked the Bosphorus, and was occupied by Sheffie Bey, the chief and confidential secretary of the sultan. It was handsomely furnished, but no more.

With the secretary, was an Armenian, a great favourite of the monarch, and superintendent of the public works in and near Constantinople.

Shortly after we were seated, as many pipe-bearers as there were visitors entered the apartment, and, with heads bowed down and their left hands upon their breasts, presented each of us with a chiboque; then retiring backwards a few paces, dropped on one knee, and lifting the bowl of the pipe, placed a gilt or golden saucer (I could not tell which) beneath it.

I am not a smoker, and hold, with King James I., that

"If there be any herb, in any place,  
Most opposite to God's herb of grace,"

it is tobacco; but as an opportunity of inhaling the odour of the weed of royalty might never again present itself,



my inclinations jumped accordant with the rules of etiquette, and I puffed away with as much vivacity as any Turk.

In a short time the attendants reappeared, one of them bearing a golden salver, covered with a crimson cloth, gorgeously embroidered. The latter was presently withdrawn, and exhibited upon the massive piece of plate a number of tiny coffee-cups, set in stands or holders, in shape exactly like the egg-cups we use at home. The cups were of the choicest porcelain, most beautifully enamelled, and the holders were rich filagree gold, set with turquoise and emerald.

Again an attendant approached each of us, and, in the same manner as before, presented a cup of coffee. Like the tobacco, it was flavoured with some aromatic substance, which rendered it delicious.

As I sat upon the divan, a cup of priceless value in one hand, and the other holding a chibouque, the bowl of which was eight feet distant, with a jasmin stem between, having a mouthpiece of the purest and costliest amber, encircled with diamonds, I could scarce realize my position. But I had been under a royal roof before, and my nerves preserved their equanimity.

The secretary had the most prepossessing countenance of any Turk I had yet seen, and in conversation evinced a spirit of inquiry and an amount of intelligence that far surpassed my expectations.

To this tribute he is not indebted to the pipes and coffee, which form as indispensable a part in a Turkish welcome to a visitor, as, with us, the invitation to be seated.

His history is a pleasing one. He was a poor boy; a charity scholar in one of the public schools. The late sultan, Mahmoud, requiring a page to fill a vacancy in his suite, directed the appointment to be given to the

most intelligent pupil. The present secretary was the fortunate one, and by his abilities, his suavity and discretion, has risen to the highest office near the person of majesty.

The empty cups and exhausted pipes were removed by the attendants, who, in all their approaches and retirings, were careful not to turn their backs upon us. Observing this, I began to distrust my ability to make a retrograde movement in a direct line, from the sublime presence into which I was about to be ushered.

One of the pashas had preceded me, and I was compelled to wait nearly half an hour. At length, we were summoned. Descending the flight of stairs and resuming our overshoes, we were led across the court, into which, when passing in a caique a few days before, I had looked so eagerly. It is oblong, and contains about four acres, laid out in parterres and gravel walks, with many young and thrifty trees, and a great variety of plants: flowers there were few, for it was yet early in the season. In the centre, with a gravelled walk between, were two quadrangular, artificial ponds, in which a number of gold and silver fish were gambolling in security, protected as they were from the talons of the cormorant by nets drawn over a few feet above the surface of the water.

The fish sporting beneath, the bird of prey poised above, ready for a swoop through the first rent of the flimsy screen, seemed fitting emblems of the feeble Turk and the vigorous and grasping Russian.

There was nothing imposing, but all was rich and in exquisite taste. The bronze gates, with alternate gilt bars, which open on the Bosphorus between the centre building and the northern wing, were exceedingly light and beautiful. A part of the court, most probably that appropriated to the harem, or apartments of the women, was screened off by a lofty railing of like material and construction.

We were led to the entrance of the southern wing, and again throwing off our overshoes, entered a lofty and spacious hall, matted throughout, with two broad flights of stairs ascending from the far extreme to an elevated platform or landing, whence, uniting in one, they issued upon the floor above.

On the right and left of the hall were doors opening into various apartments, and there were a number of officers and attendants on either side and stationed at intervals along the stairway, all preserving a silence the most profound.

The secretary, who had gone before, now approached and beckoned to us to follow. But here an unexpected difficulty was presented. The chamberlain in waiting objected to my sword, and required that I should lay it aside. I replied that the audience was given to me as an officer of the United States; that the sword was part of my uniform, and that I could not dispense with it. My refusal was met with the assurance that the etiquette of the court peremptorily required it. I asked if the custom had been *invariably* complied with, and inquired of the dragoman whether Mr. Carr, our minister, had, in conformity with it, ever attended an audience without his sword; but even as I spoke, my mind, without regard to precedent, had come to the alternative, no sword, no audience.

Whether the secretary had, during the discussion, referred the matter to a higher quarter, I could not tell, for my attention had been so engrossed for some minutes, that I had not noticed him. He now came forward, however, and decided that I should retain the sword. At this I truly rejoiced, for it would have been unpleasant to retire after having gone so far. It is due to Mr. Brown, the dragoman, to say that he sustained me.

The discussion at an end, we ascended the stairway,

which was covered with a good and comfortable but not a costly carpet, and passed into a room more handsomely furnished and more lofty, but in every other respect of the same dimensions as the one immediately below it. A rich carpet was upon the floor, a magnificent chandelier, all crystal and gold, was suspended from the ceiling, and costly divans and tables, with other articles of furniture, were interspersed about the room; but I had not time to note them, for on the left hung a gorgeous crimson velvet curtain, embroidered and fringed with gold, and towards it the secretary led the way. His countenance and his manner exhibited more awe than I had ever seen depicted in the human countenance. He seemed to hold his breath, and his step was so soft and stealthy that once or twice I stopped, under the impression that I had left him behind, but found him ever beside me. There were three of us in close proximity, and the stairway was lined with officers and attendants, but such was the death-like stillness that I could distinctly hear my own footfall, which, unaccustomed to palace regulations, fell with untutored republican firmness upon the royal floor. If it had been a wild beast slumbering in his lair that we were about to visit, there could not have been a silence more deeply hushed.

Fretted at such abject servility, I quickened my pace towards the curtain, when Sheffie Bey, rather gliding than stepping before me, cautiously and slowly raised a corner for me to pass. Wondering at his subdued and terror-stricken attitude, I stepped across the threshold, and felt, without yet perceiving it, that I was in the presence of the Sultan.

The heavy folds of the window-curtains so obscured the light that it seemed as if the day were drawing to a close instead of being at its high meridian.

As with the expanding pupil the eye took in surround-

ing objects, the apartment, its furniture and its royal tenant, presented a different scene from what, if left to itself, the imagination would have drawn.

The room, less spacious, but as lofty as the adjoining one, was furnished in the modern European style, and like a familiar thing, a stove stood nearly in the centre. On a sofa, by a window, through which he might have looked upon us as we crossed the court, with a crimson tarbouch, its gold button and blue silk tassel on his head, a black kerchief around his neck, attired in a blue military frock and pantaloons, and polished French boots upon his feet, sat the monarch, without any of the attributes of sovereignty about him.

A man, young in years, but evidently of impaired and delicate constitution, his wearied and spiritless air was unrelieved by any indication of intellectual energy. He eyed me fixedly as I advanced, and on him my attention was no less intently riveted. As he smiled I stopped, expecting that he was about to speak, but he motioned gently with his hand for me to approach yet nearer. Through the interpreter, he then bade me welcome, for which I expressed my acknowledgments.

The interview was not a protracted one. In the course of it, as requested by Mr. Carr, I presented him, in the name of the President of the United States, with some biographies and prints, illustrative of the character and habits of our North American Indians, the work of American artists. He looked at some of them, which were placed before him by an attendant, and said that he considered them as evidences of the advancement of the United States in civilization, and would treasure them as a souvenir of the good feeling of its government towards him. At the word civilization, pronounced in French, I started; for it seemed singular, coming from the lips of a Turk, and applied to our country. I have since

learned that he is but a student in French, and presume that, by the word "civilization," he meant the arts and sciences.

When about to take my leave, he renewed his welcome, and said that I had his full authority to see anything in Stambohl I might desire.

While in his presence, I could not refrain from drawing comparisons and moralizing on fate. There was the Sultan, an Eastern despot, the ruler of mighty kingdoms and the arbiter of the fate of millions of his fellow-creatures; and, face to face, a few feet distant, one, in rank and condition, among the very humblest servants of a far-distant republic; and yet, little as life has to cheer, I would not change positions with him, unless I could carry with me my faith, my friendships, and my aspirations.

My feelings saddened as I looked upon the monarch, and I thought of Montezuma. Evidently, like a northern clime, his year of life had known two seasons only, and he had leaped at once from youth to imbecility. His smile was one of the sweetest I had ever looked upon,—his voice almost the most melodious I had ever heard; his manner was gentleness itself, and everything about him bespoke a kind and amiable disposition. He is said to be very affectionate, to his mother in especial, and is generous to the extreme of prodigality. But there is that indescribably sad expression in his countenance, which is thought to indicate an early death. A presentiment of the kind, mingled perhaps with a boding fear of the overthrow of his country, seems to pervade and depress his spirits. In truth, like Damocles, this descendant of the Caliphs sits beneath a suspended fate. Through him, the souls of the mighty monarchs who have gone before, seem to brood over the impending fate of an empire which once extended from the Atlantic to the Ganges, from the Caucasus to the Indian Ocean.

Returning from the room of audience to that of the secretary, we were again presented with pipes, and, instead of coffee, sherbet was handed round; a drink so cool and so delicious, that my unaccustomed palate treasures its flavour in grateful remembrance.

One circumstance occurred to me as singular. Neither on the palace stairs, nor in the court, nor in the palace itself, did I see a single soldier; and, but for the obsequiousness of the Sultan's officers and attendants, I might have fancied myself on a visit to a wealthy private gentleman.

One trifling circumstance will serve to show the generous disposition of the Sultan. On the day succeeding the audience, he expressed to the Grand Vizier his desire to tender me a present, such as became a sovereign to make, and directed him to ascertain in what mode it would be most acceptable to myself. When his wish was made known to me, I replied, that I felt sufficiently compensated by an audience, which, I had been given to understand, was never before granted to any but officers of the highest rank; and that, even if the constitution of my country did not prohibit it, I could not accept a remuneration for an act of duty that had been rendered so grateful in its performance. I further added, that more than any present, I would prize the granting of the firman.

The peculiar honour intended to be conferred by the audience, I ascribed to the high standing and corresponding influence of our minister, Mr. Carr.

That gentleman's reputation needs not my shallow tribute to swell his tide of merited popularity. In every manly and political relation, he was all that we could desire to see in a representative of our country. Sparing no exertion in our behalf, he had failed in one thing only, for which I was most solicitous,—that the officers who

were with me should also be admitted to the audience. The application was courteously, but firmly refused, and the audience granted was strictly a private one.

My instructions from the Navy Department, when I left the United States, were to apply, through our Minister at the Ottoman Porte, for a firman, authorising our party to pass through the Turkish dominions, in Syria, to the Dead Sea. It was asked as a matter of respect to the Turkish government, and to procure facilities from its officials, when in their vicinities. As to protection against the Arabs, it could afford none whatever; for Eastern travellers well know that, ten miles east of a line drawn from Jerusalem to Nabulus, the tribes roam uncontrolled, and rob and murder with impunity. Mr. Carr fully carried out the instructions he had received, and did his best to procure the firman.

Before leaving Constantinople, in part with the officers, in part alone, I visited some of the principal mosques, the seraglio, the arsenal, and the fleet, and found that the permission given by the Sultan was not an idle compliment.

We first visited the mosque of Victory, built by the late Sultan, to which I have before alluded. It is throughout of white marble, situated in the midst of a large quadrangular court, near the inlet of the Golden Horn, from the Bosphorus. It has a colonnade all around it; the columns supporting it, lofty and well-proportioned. Drawing slippers over our boots, we lifted a corner of the mat which hung as a curtain over the door-way, and entered within the mosque. It is a lofty rotunda, the vaulted roof sweeping gracefully above it, at the height of upwards of a hundred feet. It has high windows, with Saracenic arches at the sides, and Arabic sentences from the Koran are inscribed in gilt characters around the walls. Fronting the entrance, the mihrab (a stone set in a recess) indicates the direction of the Kebla of Mecca, towards



which the faithful turn, when they make their prostrations and recite their prayers. A little to the right of the mihrab was the minber (an elevated pulpit), where the Cheatib, or Imaum, reads the chapters from the Koran. There were no paintings, no sculpture, no furniture. The only ornaments, the mihrab and the minber, being of a semi-transparent alabaster and pea-green marble. Further to the right was a gallery, screened by Arabesque gilt lattice-work, for the accommodation of the Sultan, when he attends the mosque. Besides the characters from the Koran, which formed a kind of zone around the cornice, the walls were covered with chequered lines of various colours, which gave them a light and not unpleasant appearance. The floor was richly carpeted, and two large chandeliers hung suspended from the ceiling. Ascending to the gallery, we found several apartments, the floors covered with carpets of English manufacture, which led to the latticed gallery-room, overlooking the interior of the mosque. It had simply a carpet on the floor, and a divan with cushions on one side; on the other side was a beautiful boudoir, with Persian carpet, French curtains and mirrors, and with divans of rich sky-blue damask silk. This last is intended as a place of repose, when the Sultan returns from his devotions.

Over the door of the former was inscribed in large gilt characters, the words "the Sultan is the shadow of God on earth." Beside the mosque were two cylindrical, hollow shafts of marble, called minarets, with a gallery running around each near the top, whence the muezzin calls the faithful to prayer. Within the mosque there were no devotees — no officiating dervishes. Perhaps, like some fashionable churches with us, it is too aristocratic for daily worship, and set forms on set days alone indicate the object of its institution.

Thence we crossed the Golden Horn in caiques, and

landing on Seraglio Point, by an old kiosk, proceeded to the mosque of St. Sophia, — externally, an indescribable mass of blocks and domes, with outstanding minarets beside it. This former Christian church, built by Constantine the Great in the fourth, and rebuilt by Justinian in the sixth century, has often passed through the scathing ordeal of fire, and witnessed many revolutions around it. Unfortunately, a number of workmen were employed in repairing it, and from near the floor to the roof of the dome, its interior presented one entangled network of scaffolding. This church, first called the “temple of Divine Wisdom,” was built of granite and porphyry, and white, blue, green, black and veined marbles. It has eight porphyry columns, taken by Aurelius from the great temple of the sun at Baelbec; eight jasper ones from the temple of Diana at Ephesus; and others from Troas, Cyzicus, Athens and the Cyclades. Its dome and roof are supported by columns of the temples of Isis and Osiris; of the sun and moon, at Heliopolis and Ephesus; of Minerva, at Athens; of Phoebus, at Delos; and of Cybele, at Cyzicus. Over the main cross, were inscribed the words of the vision, “In hoc signo vinces.”

After its destruction by fire, it was sixteen years rebuilding. When completed, Justinian entered with the Patriarch on Christmas day, and running alone to the pulpit, cried out, “God be praised, who hath esteemed me worthy to complete such a work. Solomon, I have surpassed thee!”

This church is in the form of a Greek cross, 180 feet high, 269 long, and 143 broad. It has one large central and two side domes; its walls are of polished stones, and it is paved with large flags. Within the cupola, is inscribed the verse of the Koran, “God is the light of the heavens and the earth.” It has two banners, one on each side of the minber, denoting the victories of Ismalism over

Judaism and Christianity; and on the nights of the Ramadan, when this, as well as all the other mosques, are illuminated, the Imaum mounts it with a wooden sword in his hand. On each minaret is a gilt crescent.

Upon the interior surface of the great dome and the vaulted roofs of the transept, we counted many crosses in mosaic, the work of its Christian architect. A number of workmen were employed scaling off the plaster, which, in a more bigoted day, had been spread over the interior walls of this once rich and beautiful church. When Constantinople was taken by Muhammed II., he forced his charger through a throng of priests and nuns, who had fled to the sacred temple, and riding up to the high altar, sprang from his horse and exclaimed, "there is no God but God — and Muhammed is his prophet!" This desecration was the signal for murder, violation and every horrible excess.

Ascending to the gallery, supported on columns of jasper, we were led out upon the swelling roof, dazzling with reflected light, to look upon the bee-hive city and its circumjacent scenes. On leaving the mosque, our curiosity ungratified from its condition, we were accosted by many boys, proffering for sale pieces of mosaic, that had fallen from the ceiling.

We next visited the mosque "Sultan Ahmed," which, unlike the rest, has six minarets beside it. It seemed larger even than St. Sophia, but is entirely destitute of decoration, save a multitude of small lamps, each suspended by a separate chain, and reaching from the ceiling to within eight feet of the pavement. There are also four enormous columns supporting the dome, their height scarce twice exceeding their diameter; they are 108 feet in circumference. Their disproportioned bulk, with the numerous chains and small parti-coloured lamps, very much impair the effect of an otherwise magnificent interior.

There were sparrows flitting about among groups of worshippers; and in a remote corner was a Nubian, with his head bent to the pavement in prostration. Just within the great door, a Turkish scribe was copying the Koran. In the gallery were many boxes, said to be filled with the treasures of the faithful, who had deposited them there, when starting on the pilgrimage to Mecca. There were some twenty or thirty persons present; a few, like the black, engaged in their devotions, but the greater number wandered about, with little reverence in their deportment; and the boys, who had followed us from St. Sophia, were importunate in offering their mosaics for sale. If a stranger could be justified in forming an opinion on so grave a subject, founded on the observation of a few weeks, he might be led to conclude, from the universal apathy prevailing around him, that the religion of Muhammed is now in about the same condition as was the Polytheism of Pagan Rome, immediately prior to the introduction of Christianity.

Justinian and Muhammed II., the rebuilder and desecrator of the great temple, lie together in a mosque erected by the last on the site of the church of the Holy Apostles. There are none so wholly evil as not to possess some redeeming trait. It is related of this Muhammed, that, when building his mosque, a poor woman refused, on any terms, to dispose of her dilapidated house, which stood within the precincts; and the monarch, respecting her rights, allowed it to stand, a monument of his own justice, until, at her death, he became peaceably possessed of it. The same mosque contains the tomb of Sultan Selim, the conqueror of Egypt. On it, the following words are inscribed:

“On this day, the Sultan Selim passed to his eternal kingdom, leaving the empire of the world to Sulieman.”

From the mosque “Sultan Ahmed” we passed into the

Hippodrome, formed by the emperor Severus. It is now upwards of 700 feet long, and nearly 500 broad. In it is the great obelisk of Thebaic stone, a four-sided pyramidal shaft, of one entire piece, fifty feet high, and covered with hieroglyphics. A short distance from it is the fragment of another, composed of different pieces of marble, and once covered with brass plates. At one end stands the "brazen column," consisting of three serpents embracing in spiral folds, and supposed to have been brought from Delphi, where it supported the golden tripod, which the Greeks, after the battle of Plataea, found in the camp of Mardonius. While standing here, our minds absorbed in the past, we were brought back to the present by the muezzin's call to prayer from the numerous minarets around. The sonorous tones of the muezzins, and the solemn import of the words, appeal strongly to the senses, and in a crowded city are more appropriate, as they are certainly more impressive, than the discordant sounds of our clanging bells. But, if "use doth breed a habit in a man," so a habit, once acquired, becomes frequently a mere physical matter, independent of and sometimes apart from the mind. The Turks passing to and fro in the Hippodrome paid no attention to the muezzin's call, which, if not unheard, was wholly unheeded.

Within the Hippodrome we saw what we had all been taught to consider the dromedary, viz., a camel with two humps upon its back. But we learned from good authority that the dromedary differs from the camel only in possessing more agility and swiftness; the first bearing the same relation to the second that the thorough-bred horse does to the heavy, plodding hack. The camel and the dromedary have each one hump; those with two are rare exceptions, and an authentic writer states that in a caravan of five thousand camels, he saw not more than eight or ten with two humps. The one we saw was a

Bactrian camel, the camel of central Asia, which, unlike the others, has frequently two humps. It is found in the Crimea, and the countries bordering on the Caucasus. But the Hippodrome, or the Atmeidan, is interesting as the theatre of the most fearful tragedy of modern times—the slaughter of the Janissaries.

From the Hippodrome we were conducted to the mausoleum containing the tomb of the Sultan Mahmoud and several of his family. It is a lofty circular room, with a vaulted ceiling,—the whole admirably proportioned and exquisitely finished. The architect was an Italian, and the groined roof and beautiful foliage of flowers in stucco, around the cornice, proved that he was a master in his calling. Everything, save the tombs, is of the softest and purest white.

The tomb of Mahmoud is a sarcophagus about eight feet high and as many long, covered with purple cloth embroidered in gold, and many votive shawls of the richest cashmere thrown over it, any one of which would excite attention and awaken cupidity in the female breast. At the head is the crimson tarbouch which the monarch wore in life, with a lofty plume secured by a large and lustrous aigrette of diamonds. The following words are inscribed in letters of gold on the face of the tomb:

This is the tomb  
Of the layer of the basis of the civilization  
Of his empire :  
Of the monarch of exalted place,  
The Sultan victorious and just,  
MAHMOUD KHAN,  
Son of the victorious Abd' al Hamid Khan.  
(May the Almighty make his abode in the gardens of Paradise.)  
Born, Reuel Evol 14, 1199.  
Accession, Jemaji Evol 4, 1228.  
Death, m. 9, 1255.  
Reigned 31 years, 10 months, 14 days.

According to the impelling motive, the hero or the butcher of the Almeida, *he* died peaceably in his bed, by whose word of command, thousands of his fellow-creatures were swept from existence. Whether the dictates of an unfeeling, or a sound yet reluctant policy, the massacre of the Janissaries is a fearful page in his life's history. How difficult, and how thankless, is the task of a reformer! Mahmoud, who sagaciously discerned the superiority of the arts of civilization over wild barbaric force, commenced the radical reform of a people universally regarded as the most impracticable in the world. With an indomitable energy, worthy of a better result, he persevered to the hour of his death. How his efforts were seconded by the Christian kingdoms of Europe, let the destruction of his fleet at Navarino, and the partial dismemberment of his empire, attest. By destroying the turbulent and rapacious Janissaries, although his people were benefited, he crushed, perhaps for ever, that fanatic courage, founded on fatalism and bigotry, which had so often led the Muslim troops to victory.

Whether the efforts made by the late Sultan, and now making by Abd' al Medjid, his successor, will result in the civilization or the downfall of the Ottoman Empire, remains to be determined. From the eager employment of Franks, the introduction of foreign machinery, and the adoption of improved modes of cultivating the land, the present Sultan gives the strongest assurance of his anxiety to promote the welfare of his people. But the very attempt at a higher development of national character, has led to greater military weakness; and the fable of the Wolf and the Lamb, its actors represented by Russia and the Porte, will ere long be transferred to the page of history.

After the tomb of Mahmoud, we were shown the "Burnt Column," so called from its having been charred

and blackened by numerous conflagrations around it. It is of porphyry, and was brought from Rome by Constantine the Great, whose statue, it is supposed, stood upon its summit—others say, an Apollo by Phidias, which was struck by lightning. Constantine placed some relics beneath it, whence Christians make the sign of the cross in passing it. It is composed of eight stones, the joints covered with copper; hence, some travellers have described it as a monolith. At present, it is disfigured and unsightly. Constantine inscribed these words on the pedestal:—"Oh Christ! king and master of the universe, I consecrate this humble tower, this sceptre, and the power of Rome, to thee! Have them in thy holy keeping, and preserve them from misfortune."

We were also taken to the cistern of a thousand and one columns. Descending a long flight of wooden stairs, dimly lighted from the low door, we came upon a subterraneous colonnade of apparently unknown dimensions. A subterranean palace, its vaulted roof supported by some hundreds of white marble columns of double height, will give the best idea of the wonderful cisterns of this ancient capital. Now, the whole interior is filled with earth and rubbish half the height of the lower tier of columns, and we found it occupied by silk spinners, who seemed merrily to ply their tasks, despite the damp and gloom of their singular work-shop.

From the summit of a tower similar to that at Galata, we had all Constantinople at our feet. From above, the dense masses of dingy roofs loomed up the magnificent domes of St. Sophia, Sultan Ahmed, and other mosques, with their alabaster-like minarets beside them,—and beyond, semi-girdled by the sea, is the Seraglio, or palace of the Sultans, covering the site of the ancient Byzantium. It is rather a collection of palaces and gardens, relieved and beautifully ornamented by the light



airy forms of the arrowy cypress. But it is impossible to pourtray the striking and beautiful effect of a scene like this, which so charmed

“The charming Mary Montagu.”

On our way to the bazaars, we stumbled upon the mosque of Bajazet, the court of which is surrounded by a row of old columns, evidently pillaged from one or more heathen temples of remote antiquity. Ten were of verde antique, six of Egyptian granite, and four of jasper. In the court is a fountain and some wintry trees, their branches darkened by many pigeons. The love of animals inculcated by the prophet is beautifully shown in the court of this mosque, where some thousands of pigeons were being fed by an old Turk from a chest of grain. This chest is supported by charitable contributions, and we saw an old, poor man, drop in his copper mite. When the pigeons came down from tree, and roof, and cornice, they darkened the air, and while feeding presented an immense surface of blue backs and tails.

The bazaars form a labyrinth of narrow streets, arched over like some of our arcades, with mean-looking shops on each side. We were compelled to pick our way over round paving-stones coated with mud, jostled every moment by people of all nations hurrying hither and thither in their busy pursuits. The Turk sits smoking dignified and silent until you express a desire to see an article in his shop; but the Christians, and more particularly the Jews, fix upon you with a tenacity that renders it difficult to shake them off. At length, we struck up a trading friendship with Mehemet Effendi, a Turkish dealer in perfumes and embroidery, which continued during our stay at Constantinople. In his neat back shop we were always sure to be regaled with pipes, coffee, and a cool, delicious preparation of cream. He seemed to possess

Aladdin's lamp, for we could call for nothing that was not immediately forthcoming, from a jasmine pipe-stem to the golden embroidery of Persia; from the attar of roses to the Indian cashmere.

It is customary here, for a merchant to ask a great deal more than he expects you to give. You offer, perhaps, one-third of his demand—he abates a little; you become somewhat more liberal, until at length the bargain is closed, much to the annoyance of those accustomed to the one price system; for one never knows that he has not been cheated. We had provided ourselves with a few Turkish phrases for the occasion, and our shopping proceeded much after this manner. Taking up an amber mouthpiece, of a pure lemon colour, (the most prized among the Turks,) “*Katch krutch?*” (How many piastres?) we asked.

Mehemet Effendi.—“*Yus eli*” (150 piastres, about six dollars).

That being altogether too much, we replied,  
“*Chock pazhali*” (It is too dear).

Whereupon Mehemet, with oriental gravity, entered upon a long dissertation on the virtues and value of the mouthpiece,—which, being in a language we did not understand, had no effect whatever. However, we offered fifty piastres; and after much talking, smoking divers pipes, and drinking divers tiny cups of coffee, the bargain was closed at one hundred piastres.

Feb. 22. All good Musselmen go to mosque on Fridays, besides praying five times a day. The Sultan goes every Friday to a different mosque, which is known beforehand. For the purpose of seeing his sublime majesty in public, we went this morning to the convent of dervishes in Pera, where he was to be present. A small collection of the faithful had assembled in the court of the mosque, together with many Christians, Greeks, Armenians, and

Franks. The convent is a mean-looking building, in the rear of a street of small shops and cafés, with a neglected burial-ground in front and beside it. None but the faithful being permitted to enter a mosque when the Sultan attends, we were constrained to remain in the court, taking our position near the entrance. At the gate of the adjoining grave-yard were a number of females, forming a separate crowd of yashmaks and gay-coloured ferajes, with black eyes and henna-stained fingers.

Here it is not the custom for men to notice, much less speak to, women in public; and yet the constant presence of Turkish women in the streets and public places, shows that they are prone to gad about as much as their Christian sisters in America; but if restricted from the use of that little instrument the tongue, they contrive to do considerable execution with their almond-shaped eyes, inky eyebrows, and half-an-alabaster nose, which is all that is exposed to view. There was one little beauty in a pink feraje, with an extremely thin yashmak, who might have been an Odalisque. The rest of them looked like ghouls risen from the graves, upon the tomb-stones of which they were standing. Most of the grave-yards we had seen were much neglected, many of them like open commons, the turbaned tomb-stones standing at all angles, and frequently trampled under foot.

It was amusing to observe the crowd, like ourselves, waiting in patient expectation to see the grand seignor. All the soldiers and more respectable people wore pantaloons and the red tarbouch; but the lower classes, ever the first to move and the last to be benefited by a revolution, adhered to the turban and capacious breeks, with a kind of tunic to match. The dervishes were moving about with serious faces, wearing faded brown or green cloaks, with felt hats, shaped like inverted funnels, upon their heads.

We waited for some time; and as the Sultan was about to appear in public, our imagination pictured the magnificent entrée of a great Ottoman monarch,—troops of warriors; splendidly caparisoned horses, and all the barbaric pomp of an oriental court,—when a low murmur indicated that the cortège was approaching.

First came, walking backwards, the Imaum of the dervishes, in a high green felt hat, swinging a censer filled with burning incense, and followed by a grave, melancholy-looking young man, with a rather scanty black beard, the red tarbouch upon his head, and wearing a blue military frock-coat and fawn-coloured pantaloons; the coat fringed or laced, with a standing collar,—fawn-coloured gloves upon his hands, and a short blue cloak thrown lightly over his shoulders. It was the Sultan! He was followed, in single file, by six or eight persons, attired in blue, some wearing swords, and others carrying small leather portfueilles, richly embossed with gold.

Contrary to expectation, the Sultan had dismounted outside, and his gait, as he passed us, was feeble and almost tottering. Indeed, most of the Turks walk what is termed “parrot toed,”—very much like our Indians. Ascending a covered stairway to an upper gallery, with windows towards the court, he approached one of them, and looked intently down upon us; but our interpreter imprudently exclaiming, “Voilà le Sultan! le Sultan!” he turned slowly away, we presume, to his devotions.

Without the court, were his horses; splendid steeds, caparisoned in richly-embroidered, but chaste saddle-cloths, which, as well as the reins and the pommels of the saddles, were studded with precious stones; the head-pieces were embossed gold, and the frontlets glittered with gems.

The Sultan’s figure was light, and apparently feeble. I thought so when I saw him before, in a semi-obscur

~~When the Sultan entered the city~~ confirmed the impression. The expression of his features at the moment of meeting was that of profound melancholy. Like the Sultan's power, of which he so much reminded us, he must have been overwhelmed by the general and spreading discontent, that the Ottoman rule upon the European side of Turkey is lowering to a close. This impression the Emperor is prevented, that immediately when they first direct their remains to be interred on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. It is not to think that, from the restoration of the Janissaries by Mahomet to the present time, the very advancement of the Turks in civilization should increase the weakness, and precipitate the disintegration, of the Ottoman empire! It was a singular scene. A few aged Turks in the old tartan, the very relic of the past; the mixture of European costume and the old turlough; a company of Christian slaves, from a far-off land; the mild-looking young Sultan, so humble! so gentle! with so little parade! so different from his haughty Ottoman ancestors! And then there was a background of veiled women—the sultanas peering out of the grave-yard.

Our visit to the Seraglio deserves an especial notice, not that we saw so much, but that we saw what we are hardly permitted to look at. The ladies who stood with the green curtains, and who were permitted to enter the Seraglio, were few in the Turkish world. The only use of the Sultan's Seraglio.

Passing through an archway we came up a hill, looking towards the sea or inland, a species of the hill.

surey, the library, and the kiosk for the entertainment of foreign ambassadors. On the declivity of the hill were the royal stables, and further beyond, but yet upon the slope, looking out upon the sea of Marmara and the Bosphorus, were the royal palaces and harem. Between the latter and the wall, which rounds with the sweep of the sea, is an extensive court, where the annual caravan to Mecca assembles in order that the sovereign and his harem may witness its departure. Immediately looking upon it, are the windows of the harem, screened with fine gilt lattice work. The buildings are oriental, very ancient, and well adapted to the climate. The Turks believe, and with some reason, that, in a changeable climate, like this, frame houses are drier and healthier than those constructed of a more durable material.

We first visited the barracks, where a large number of Turkish soldiers, shaved and dressed like Europeans, except the moustache and the tarbouch, received us with the Asiatic salute. Elsewhere in Europe, the soldier touches his cap; here, they bring the hand first to the lip and then to the forehead, with a quick and graceful motion. The wife of the colonel was scrupulously clean, the bread dark and well baked and sweet. The colonel, who accompanied us, said that the bastinado had been abolished on account of its injuring the culprit's health. The mode of punishment is now similar to that of the French.

Between the barracks and the Seraglio are the precincts of the Seraglio proper, where we took off our overclothes, which we had to leave at the door. Turks of both sexes wear a turban of a morocco, either red or yellow, with a white or black band. The custom of wearing an apron is common. It is a matter

apartment, and his appearance this day confirmed the impression. The expression of his features at the moment of passing, was that of profound melancholy. Like the Mexican prince, of whom he so much reminded me, his mind may be overshadowed by the general and spreading opinion, that the Ottoman rule upon the European side of Turkey is drawing to a close. This impression has become so prevalent, that hundreds, when they die, direct their remains to be interred on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. It is sad to think that, from the destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmoud to the present time, the very advancement of the Turks in civilization should increase the weakness, and precipitate the dismemberment, if not the downfall, of the empire! It was a singular scene! A few ragged Turks in the old turban, the only relic of the past; the mixture of European costumes and the red tarbouch; a company of Christian officers, from a far-off land; the mild-looking young Sultan, so humble! so gentle! with so little parade! so different from his haughty Osmanlie ancestors! And then there was a back-ground of veiled women—the ghouls peeping out of the grave-yard.

Our visit to the Seraglio deserves an especial notice, not that we saw so much, but that we saw what Franks are rarely permitted to look upon. We landed at the old kiosk with the green curtains, and exhibiting our firman, were permitted to enter the precincts of the Seraglio. *Serai* is the Turkish word for palace, whence this principal one of the Sultan's is called, par excellence, the Seraglio.

Passing through an arched gateway, between files of sentinels, we came upon an open space. Near us, on the left, looking towards the sea of Marmara, was a large caserne or infantry barracks. To the right, crowning the elevation of the hill, were the halls of audience, the trea-

surey, the library, and the kiosk for the entertainment of foreign ambassadors. On the declivity of the hill were the royal stables, and further beyond, but yet upon the slope, looking out upon the sea of Marmara and the Bosphorus, were the royal palaces and harem. Between the latter and the wall, which rounds with the sweep of the sea, is an extensive court, where the annual caravan to Mecca assembles in order that the sovereign and his harem may witness its departure. Immediately looking upon it, are the windows of the harem, screened with fine gilt lattice work. The buildings are oriental, very ancient, and well adapted to the climate. The Turks believe, and with some reason, that, in a changeable climate, like this, frame houses are drier and healthier than those constructed of a more durable material.

We first visited the barracks, where a large number of Turkish soldiers, shaved and dressed like Europeans, except the moustache and the tarbouch, received us with the Asiatic salute. Elsewhere in Europe, the soldier touches his cap; here, they bring the hand first to the lip and then to the forehead, with a quick and graceful motion. The whole caserne was scrupulously clean, the bread dark coloured, but well baked and sweet. The colonel, who politely accompanied us, said that the bastinado had been discontinued, on account of its injuring the culprit's eyes. Their mode of punishment is now similar to our own.

Before entering the sacred precincts of the Seraglio proper, we were required to take off our overshoes, which we had donned for the purpose. Turks of both sexes wear a loose half-boot of thin morocco, either red or yellow, which fits into a similarly coloured slipper, with a hard rounding sole, but open at the heel. The custom of throwing off this loose slipper on entering an apartment, is not so much a superstitious one, as it is a matter



of absolute necessity in a country where everybody sits upon the floor. These palaces are rarely occupied, the Sultan usually residing at Beschich Tasch or Cherighan.

Ascending a broad flight of stairs, we passed at once through extensive suites of apartments, furnished in a costly but gaudy and tasteless manner. The most modern articles of furniture were of French manufacture. Each suite consisted of three or four sleeping apartments, two baths, two sitting rooms, and a banqueting hall, the latter circular, large, and lofty. We passed through a variety of saloons and their corresponding apartments, including those of the harem. They were but partially furnished. In most of them were one or two couches, profusely gilt, and covered with golden fret-work — some oblong, and some oval. The apartments directly over the court are truly beautiful, and command a glorious view of the sea of Marmara and the shipping in the Golden Horn.

The harem looks out both upon the court and the water, but to the windows were fitted gilt arabesque gratings, to screen the sultanas within. What scenes have been enacted in these apartments! What intrigues, murders and sewing up in sacks! Alas, poor woman!

Here are marble baths with alabaster fountains, and domes thickly studded with glass-lights overhead — the bath of the harem! where many a Circassian form has laved!

A bath with us signifies a trough of some kind for one to get into, but the Turkish bath is different. The marble floor of the apartment is highly heated, and hot and cold water, flowing through cocks into alabaster basins, is thence thrown lavishly upon it. Here you are scraped, scrubbed, lathered, and washed off.

There are two long galleries looking out upon the court. Along the inner wall of each, opposite to the latticed windows, were a series of engravings, mostly French,

with but two or three oil paintings. Napoleon must have been a great favourite with the reigning monarch when the modern engravings were placed in this sensual sanctuary, for besides a likeness of himself, nearly every one portrayed some scene in his eventful career.

The other gallery was furnished mostly with mere daubs—strange to say, naval pieces—in which the most outré looking Turkish ships, in most grotesque rig, and under most impossible circumstances, were represented as triumphant over adversaries more formidable and far more frightful than themselves. In the harem there was little tangible to feed the imagination, and it was thrown back upon the sad associations connected with its mysterious history.

In one of the palaces is a chair, looking very French notwithstanding its Persian embroidery. It is the Sultan's throne—but nothing more in fact than a large arm-chair covered with crimson velvet, embroidered in gold, and placed on a semi-circular platform elevated about six inches above the floor. Although gorgeous to the eye, it is less comfortable than one of those formerly in the east room in Washington.

On one side of most of the rooms were divans, but others had only the more modern substitutes of sofas and chairs. The cushions of the divans were each one as large as a double feather bed, and covered with the richest damask or velvet, profusely embroidered. The prevailing colours were crimson and blue. The tables, with costly covers upon them, were of plain mahogany; the chairs had embroidered backs and seats; but the palace and harem being unoccupied, the carpets were up and the curtains removed, except one suite, kept always in order for the Sultan. The divan, carpet, curtains, chairs, sofa, and bed-coverings of this suite, were blue, embroidered with silver.

Passing through a retired garden of the harem, with its orangery, its pond of gold-fish, and evergreens cut in most fantastic shapes, but not many flowers, we sat for a few moments in its kiosk or summer pavilion, and thence proceeded to the "hall of ambassadors," in the old palace. It was here that, with barbaric pomp, foreign ambassadors were received, after going through divers ceremonies, compared to which, the Chinese *Kotan* is a reasonable affair.

When, on such occasions, the proper officer announced to the Grand Seignor that the ambassador of one of the European powers craved an audience, the reply was, "Take the Christian dog, and feed him." When the feeding was over, and the second application made, the order was given, "Clothe the Christian dog, and bring him in." A cloak was then thrown over the shoulders of the ambassador, who, previously disarmed, was led into the presence, a eunuch holding him on each side. The latter custom having originated, it is said, (although history is silent upon the subject,) in the assassination of a Sultan by an ambassador. At a respectable distance the humble representative of a Christian prince was permitted to state his business, when he was abruptly dismissed to undergo a second feeding.

Over the ambassadors' gate is written,—

"The chief of wisdom is the fear of God."

The old divan upon which the Sultans formerly reclined when they gave audience, looks like an overgrown four-poster, each post covered with carbuncles of precious stones, turquoise, amethyst, topaz, emeralds, ruby, and diamond: the couch was covered with Damascus silk and Cashmere shawls. Here, we saw the last of the white eunuchs; the present enlightened Sultan having pensioned off those on hand, and discontinued their attendance for ever.

The outer walls of the seraglio are said to cover the site of ancient Byzantium, and to be three miles in circuit. We had not time to see one-half of what they contained; but wandered about so much,—up and down flights of stairs, through corridors, saloons, baths, sleeping-apartments, &c.,—that we were exceedingly fatigued, even when we left the harem.

We visited the armory, and saw a vast store of muskets, pistols and swords, kept in admirable order, besides a large collection of Saracenic armour. There were morions and shirts of mail; plate-armour, inlaid with golden verses from the Koran; huge two-handed swords; gigantic blunderbusses, of every shape and kind; long, sharp spears, and other formidable weapons of war. In a court, were several large porphyry tombs,—sarcophagi, it is supposed, of some of the imperial families of Rome. In an extensive, but nearly vacant building, was an abortive attempt at a museum.

Next came the royal stables, in which were about thirty stallions, tethered to the ground-floor by their feet, and not separated by stalls, as with us. Two or three were splendid Arabians—the remainder, ordinary in appearance. They were kept for state, and rarely used.

Returning, we should have passed the “Sublime Porte” unnoticed, had not our attention been directed to a large yellow-arched gateway, with a remarkable turtle-shell-like canopy above the entrance. From this gateway, the divan or supreme council, which holds its sitting in an ordinary building within, is called the “Sublime Porte.”

Crossing the bridge of boats over the Golden Horn, we observed a neat little steamer, which had been presented to the Sultan by the Pasha of Egypt; and the former, shortly after, was about to pass on board, when, unfortunately, one of his slippers fell off, and the contemplated excursion was instantly abandoned—never to be resumed.

We reached our quarters wearied in body, but exceedingly gratified. How beautiful is the seraglio! What magnificent structures are the mosques! How light and graceful the minarets! yet how mean and filthy the streets! what smells! What numbers of mangy dogs!

On Sunday afternoon we strolled along the banks of the Bosphorus. There are three Sabbaths in each week, one for each religion: Friday, the Muhammedan; Saturday, the Jew; and Sunday, the Christian. Of all, the latter is held most sacred, and the first are becoming less and less observant of the injunctions of the Koran, with regard to Friday.

From the brow of a steep hill, we had the great burying-ground of Pera beneath us. It is an article of Muslim faith, that the soul of a deceased person cannot be admitted to Paradise until the body is interred, (unless he die in battle); hence there is but a brief interval from the death-bed to the grave. These densely-crowded burial-grounds, in the midst of a populous city, must be exceedingly detrimental to health. It is related of a boy, deaf, dumb and blind, that he fainted from the noxious exhalations of a grave-yard he was passing, his smell having been rendered acute by the deprivation of other senses.

Although more than half the people we met were dressed precisely as in Paris or New York, yet there were many curious costumes. The Armenian priest, with his long beard and high, square, black cap, from which depended a coarse black veil, concealing his features;—the gay-looking Albanian, with his bright eye and well-trimmed moustache; and stranger than all, the Turkish women, shuffling along in slippers, or tottering in high wooden clogs,—dressed in bright-coloured ferajes and shrouded up to the eyes in the ugly yashmak, giving to their sallow complexions a yet more ghastly hue.

The yashmak is wrapped round the head and brow,

brought over so as to cover the face down to the eyebrows, and again across over the bridge of the nose, giving a disagreeable prominence to that feature. Ladies of high rank wear the yashmak so thin, as scarcely to conceal the face more than the finest veil worn by our ladies; but in general it is of a close texture and of a dead white, that reminds one of cerements and the grave.

The feraje is a narrow-skirted cloak of silk or woollen, and either purple or a light fancy colour, entirely covering the fair incognita, saving a pair of bright yellow morocco boots, coming loosely a few inches above the ankles, not unfrequently exhibiting streaks of alabaster skin above them as they carefully pick their way along the muddy streets.

Emerging from filthy lanes, we came out upon a broad avenue leading into the country. On one side was a handsome range of barracks; on the other the parade-ground. Among the city offals beyond, more than a hundred dogs lay crunching. A regiment of soldiers was being drilled in the trenches, actually delving and shovelling with pick and spade for exercise. Up and down the promenade might be seen caracoling the handsome steed of a Frank or Greek merchant of Pera. Still further on was the Armenian burying-ground, resembling a tessellated pavement from the number of tombstones or tablets. A grave-yard is here a familiar thing, and their general condition fully confirms the copper-plate maxim, "Familiarity breeds contempt." In this one there were no cypresses, that tree being consecrated only to the faithful.

About a mile on this road was a large, rural-looking café, with a band of music. Round about, a great many Franks of both sexes were seated, enjoying pipes and sherbet. Although February, they were in the open air. It was like our Hoboken in a more genial season.

Monday. Caiqued up the Bosphorus, a short distance

beyond the mosque of Victory, to Barbarossa's tomb, of which Mr. Dale took a sketch. It is on the water's edge, overgrown with moss, and has a large fig-tree beside it. Within the tomb is a small mosque, with the same word, Wão (Jehovah), inscribed as on the outside. The court was much neglected, and in the rear of the tomb were some filthy habitations. An old man told us that there was a great person buried beneath,—he knew not exactly whom. Such is fame! This tomb commemorates the ablest sea-captain of his age, "Chiareddin," who succeeded his brother, the celebrated corsair, Barbarossa of Algiers. He was the great rival of Doria, and the terror of the Christian world. We then pulled over to Scutari, and saw its vast cemetery, shrouded in cypresses, and densely paved with grave-stones. It is miles in extent, and in all that space there does not seem room for an additional tenant. In one place there was a beautiful green lawn, where several companies of soldiers were going through the exercise. They were dressed in blue, with the red cap, and the commander's magnificent charger stood by. A group of female spectators seated on a bank, in their white yashmaks and gay-coloured ferajes, gave additional life to the scene, the whole relieved by a back-ground of the melancholy cypress. The drum and fife sounded discordant in these gloomy shades.

Tuesday, Feb. 29. Visited the same convent which we had seen the Sultan enter, to witness an exhibition of dancing dervishes. Casting off our overshoes, and passing through the door, beside which sentries were stationed, we took our places within a railing, which ran around the circular floor of the mosque. There was a similar gallery above. Some thirty dirty-looking dervishes, in faded brown and green cloaks, with white felt conical hats upon their heads, were prostrate around the circle, while the Imaum, the same who had preceded the Sultan,

chanted a prayer before the mihrab on the eastern side. There was music from the gallery, plaintive, yet barbarous, mingled with the occasional tap of a drum.

After repeated prostrations, at a signal the Imaum led the way, in a slow march, round the apartment. As each one passed the mihrab, he bowed three times, gracefully, without stopping, or turning his back towards the holy place. After marching round three times, making the same reverence, they halted with their faces inwards, and the Imaum resumed his seat upon his rug before the mihrab. The others, all barefooted, crossing their feet one after the other, in slow succession, began to twirl around, keeping admirable time to the music; and when all in motion, looked like so many teetotums spinning. The word spinning conveys a better idea than turning; for they seemed to move about without the slightest effort, and their flowing garments, flying out in extended circles below, gave the movement a most graceful appearance. As the music became louder and faster, they spun round with increasing rapidity, until the eye became dizzy with looking upon them. At a tap of the drum, they stopped simultaneously, with no perspiration upon their forehead, and neither frenzy nor fatigue expressed in the eye. They were of all ages, from the old Imaum, with the benevolent features, to a boy of sixteen, whose melancholy face excited interest. Indeed, they all had an air of sadness and profound resignation: nothing ferocious, nothing sinister, nothing fanatical. Renewing the march, and repeating the prostrations, the exercises continued about an hour, and concluded as they began. The audience either stood erect, or sat upon the floor, and preserved deep silence. The whole affair did not strike us in the ridiculous light we had anticipated. Indeed, some of the customs of Christianity are equally absurd. The religious sentiment is the same all over the world,



and must find expression. Humanity rejoices, when such expression, harmless in itself, as in the present instance, neither assails the opinions nor the rights of others. Such is the necessity of religion for the support of all human institutions, that any form of worship, however false and corrupt, is preferable to the atrocious enormities which follow in the train of absolute impiety.

The paganism of Rome, with all its monstrous errors and superstitions, even to the human sacrifice, with the faint shadow of morality which it inculcated, formed the cement and support of the political fabric: and the philosophy of Epicurus and his followers, by denying the superintendence of a Supreme Being, struck at the root of all social and political morality, thus undermining the ancient institutions of the government, and paving the way for an iron and blood-thirsty despotism.

The gross fables and puerile mythology with which mankind had been so long deluded could not resist the assaults of sensual infidelity. The last was soon enabled to dissipate the shadows that had so long enveloped the human intellect, and to burst the bonds of a superstition, whose head was hidden in the clouds, and whose foot was on the neck of nations.

But, instead of inculcating a purer system of morals for that which had been abolished, and erecting an altar to Truth amid the broken shrines of the divinities it had dethroned, in the pride of its heart, sensual philosophy exalted its own form for the adoration of mankind, and by removing all the sanctions of religion — by corrupting the motives and inducements to virtue — by stifling all the aspirations of the heart, yearning and restlessly striving for a higher and purer existence — it unbridled the wildest excesses of passion; it recalled the divine principle from its heavenward flight, and bade it seek in pandering to the grossest sensuality the proper end and object of its

being. The result was inevitable. Crime on a gigantic scale ensued. Rome grew drunk with blood. Men looked with horror upon the present, and to the future with despair. One universal night of gloom brooded over her empire, and it seemed as if the impious dogma of the philosopher had been realized, and that the Deity had abandoned man to his fate. The religious sentiment of Turkey, misled and faint as it is, is the best protection it possesses against such debaucheries as the Saturnalia of Rome, or the utter debasements of the Parisian worship of the Goddess of Reason.

March 1. Impatient about the firman, Mr. Carr addressed a note to the minister of foreign affairs upon the subject. In reply, the latter gave the assurance that there would be no difficulty, but that on the contrary the Sultan was anxious to promote our views.

March 2. Went again to St. Stefano, the residence of our hospitable minister. In the afternoon there were a number of revellers assembled on the village green, dancing in a circle round a shepherd from Bulgaria, in a sheep-skin coat, wool inside, blowing himself red in the face on a bagpipe, — a veritable bagpipe, — the people dancing as their ancestors did two thousand years ago.

Spent the evening at Dr. Davis's, with Osman Pasha, a German, holding an office in the Turkish army, just returned from Kurdistan, where he had distinguished himself in quelling a rebellion. There were also Ohannis Didian, the Sultan's man of business, Bocas Aga, the rich man of the village, his nephew, the Barout ji Bashi (chief of powder-works), and several younger Armenians. The next evening we spent between Didian's and the Barout ji Bashi; the latter has an immense house with ragged retainers lounging about the court and lower rooms. We had pipes, coffee, sherbet, and sweetmeats — the latter presented by a daughter of fourteen, followed by a very

pretty daughter-in-law, with the coffee. The master of the house hospitable and fussy,—the mistress and daughters gorgeously, but badly dressed. When we had partaken of refreshments, exeunt the beautiful visions, with the skirts of their dresses tucked in their pockets. The Armenians are the great business men of the nation, and are believed to be less cunning and more faithful than the Greeks.

Tuesday, March 6. Received the long-expected firman from the Grand Vizier. It was addressed to the Pashas of Saida and Jerusalem, the two highest dignitaries in Syria. It was briefly couched. The following is a literal translation :

“Governors of Saida and Jerusalem!—Captain Lynch, of the American navy, being desirous of examining the Dead Sea (Bahr Lût), his legation has asked for him, from all our authorities, all due aid and assistance.

“You will, therefore, on the receipt of this present order, give him and his companions, seventeen in number, all due aid and co-operation in his explorations.

“Protect, therefore, and treat him with a regard due to the friendship existing between the American Government and that of the Sublime Porte.

(Signed) “MUSTAFA RESCHID PASHA,  
“Grand Vizier.

“MUSTAFA PASHA, *Governor of Saida.*

“ZARIF PASHA, *Governor of Jerusalem.*

“STAMBOHL, March 7, 1848.”

In half an hour after the receipt of the firman, I was on board the French steamer “Hellespont,” the rest of the party having preceded me.

For the last time, I gazed up the beautiful Bosphorus, its rippling waters and its bold headlands basking in the rays of the setting sun. This stream teems with classic

and historical associations, from the time when Europa was borne across in the arms of Jove, to the navigation of the Argonauts, and the passage of the Persians under Darius. The word "Bosporus" literally means "Cattle Ford," a name now wholly inapplicable, for it is deep enough to float a heavy line-of-battle ship. The origin of this strait, in connection with that of the Dardanelles, has been the subject of much discussion. It was the opinion of the ancients, that the Euxine became so swollen by the Danube, the Dnieper, the Dniester, and other rivers, that it burst through to the Mediterranean. But Count Andreossy, French Ambassador to the Porte in 1812, discovered indubitable evidence of a great volcanic cataclism at the mouth of the straits. He inferred, that this opening of the escarped rocks on the Black Sea once made, the waters of the Euxine must have rushed into the Propontis, or sea of Marmara, enlarged the Hellespont to its present width, and thence, expanding over an immense plain, have left only the slopes and summits of the mountains visible (the present Grecian Archipelago), and united with the Mediterranean. The parallel direction of the Grecian islands, Candia excepted, confirms this theory; and the longitudinal position of that island is accounted for, by the supposition that the waters of the flood were deflected by the high mountains of Syria.

Spent the night on the sea of Marmara. Passed the next day in sweeping down the Hellespont, and skirting the Phrygian coast, and, on the morning of the 9th, rejoined the "Supply."

Friday, March 10. Sailed from Smyrna for the coast of Syria, and passed through the straits of Spalmatori and Scio, and by the island of Nicaria (ancient Icaria), named after him, whose waxen pinions so signally failed him.

Monday, March 13. The wind hauled to the southward and eastward, and freshened to a gale—a genuine levanter.

P. M. The gale increasing, we were compelled to bear up, and run for a lee. Scudded through the dark night, and in the morning anchored in the bay of Scio.

In the afternoon, the weather partially moderating, visited the shore. From the ship, we had enjoyed a view of rich orchards and green fields; but, on landing, we found ourselves amid a scene of desolation—an entire city, with all its environs, laid in ruins by the ruthless Turks during that darkest hour of Turkish history, the massacre of Scio. Invited into one of the dwellings, we tasted some Scian wine, and at the same time caught a glimpse of a pair of lustrous eyes peering at us from above:—the wine was light in colour, and, to our tastes, unpalatable; but the eyes were magnificent. The Greek costume differs little from the Turkish, in the capital. The tarbouch is higher; the shakshen (petticoat-trowsers) shorter, with leggings beneath. The Greeks are more vivacious than the Turks, but much less respected in the Levant.

We rode into the country. Our steeds were donkeys—our saddles made of wood! It was literally riding on a rail. What a contrast between the luxuriant vegetation, the bounty of nature, and the devastation of man! Nearly every house was unroofed and in ruins—not one in ten inhabited, although surrounded with thick groves of orange trees loaded with the weight of their golden fruit.

March 14. Weighed anchor and again endeavoured to pass through the Icarian Sea; but encountering another gale, were compelled to bear away for Scala Nouva, on the coast of Asia Minor, not far from the ruins of ancient Ephesus. While weather-bound, we availed ourselves of the opportunity to visit the ruins about ten miles distant. There are no trees and very few bushes on the face of this old country, but the mountain slopes and the valleys are enamelled with thousands of beautiful flowers, among

which the most conspicuous, from its brilliant colour, is the purple anemone (*anemone coronaria*), one of the lavender, and known to the ancient Greeks.

Winding around the precipitous crest of a mountain, we saw the river "Cayster" (modern "Meander") flowing through an alluvial plain to the sea, and on its banks the black tents of herdsmen, with their flocks of goats around them. At length turning another point we descried the walls of Ephesus, which, according to Strabo, was the principal mart of Asia this side of Mount Taurus.

Climbing over fragments of marble and stone which lay confusedly upon the hill-side, we first came to a ruined building on a high elevation to the left, called "St. Paul's prison : " crossing a shoulder of the mountain, we beheld the ruins of the city, lying dispersedly in the amphitheatre of hills below. It was a sad yet interesting sight. First was the theatre, where the town clerk quelled the tumult of the silversmiths. It consists of piles of stones, of the Grecian era, with arches of brick, evidently Roman. This theatre is almost wholly destroyed, and there are no seats visible. The inscriptions over the gateway and triumphal arches are almost entirely defaced. On the east side is a ruined aqueduct, with reversed inscriptions of Marcus Aurelius. Amid the tall grass are shafts of porphyry columns, one fragment bright and beautifully polished.

Thence passing some Roman arches on the left, said to have been granaries, and crossing a cultivated field, we reached the site of the great temple of Diana, covered with fragments of columns, pilasters, entablatures, &c., which seem to have been crushed where they stood. It appears to have been a Doric temple ; some of the columns are fluted three and a half inches deep, and they are about four feet in diameter. One of the fragments measured twenty-nine feet, a part of its capital lying about

ten feet distant. A corner-stone of a pediment formed a striking mass of sculpture, — the whole of white marble, mellowed by time, and beautifully cut, particularly an exquisite fragment of a lion's head.

This temple, for its extent, architecture, and decoration, was esteemed one of the wonders of the world. It was 425 feet long, 220 broad, and was supported by 127 pillars of marble, each seventy feet high. Twenty-seven of them were curiously wrought, and the rest exquisitely polished. It was planned by Ctesiphon, the architect, and was 200 years under construction. It was seven times destroyed by fire, once on the same day that Socrates was poisoned, the last time by Erostratus, on the night that Alexander the Great was born; whence it was said that Diana was that night so busy superintending the birth of a hero, that she could not protect her own temple. It was rebuilt the last time by female contribution. Alexander wished to erect it at his own expense, but his offer was refused with the flattering remark that it was not seemly for one god to contribute to the erection of a temple dedicated to another.

This temple, the metropolitan shrine of all others dedicated to Diana, was near the Ortygian grove and Cenchrian stream, where she and Apollo were reputed to have been born of Latona. It was finally destroyed by the Goths in the third century.

The amphitheatre and the stadium, like the theatre and the temple, present a surface of marble fragments, glittering in the sun-light. To the north-east on the brow of a hill, in full view, is the cave of the seven sleepers, with the ruins of a chapel adjoining it.

The seven sleepers were seven brothers professing the Christian faith, who, with their dog, were walled up in this cave by the emperor Decius. They are fabled to have slept 157 years. Their names, and that of their dog, are

engraved on the rings and amulets of good Muslims, and are considered charms against the perils of the sea. They are Yemlika, Moksilina, Meslina, Mernoos, Dobernoos, Shadnoos, Kastitiyus, and their dog Kitmir.

The rocks in this vicinity are mostly marble and coarse limestone. One part of our road here led through a rocky chasm of micaceous slate. The mountain precipices over Ephesus present the wildest forms, and rise seven or eight hundred feet high. Their faces are perforated with many quarries, whence, doubtless, was drawn the marble for the construction of the city.

The Turkish village of Ayasalouk, a paltry collection of huts, constructed without taste, of the scattering fragments around, is the forlorn representative of the glories of ancient Ephesus. The relics of Gentiles and of Christians lie subverted and unknown among the habitations of the poor and ignorant herdsmen, just without the vestibule of the great church of St. John, the first of the seven churches of Asia. *There is not one Christian among them.* Before the Muslim village is the noble gateway of the once magnificent church. Looking upon the crumbling walls which once echoed the eloquence of two apostles, one fears for the "angel of Ephesus" as he recollects the awful message,—

"Or else I come to thee, and will move thy candlestick out of its place, except thou do penance."

Over the massive portal were originally fine basso-relievos, now all removed but one. From a cleft in the wall a tree shoots up and partly shades the portal within. It is the beautiful emblem of faith, springing from and surviving the ruins of its earthly temple.

Passing through the gateway, over columns of porphyry and massive fragments of sculptured marble, we came to a broad pedestal near the upper end, which must have



been the site of the grand altar. How it moves the heart to its inmost depths to reflect, that before that high altar have stood the Beloved Disciple and the Apostle of the Gentiles! In fancy, one hears the tremulous tones of the first, as he repeats over and over his favourite exclamation, "My children, love one another."

On the southern slope of the hill, near its base, is a large marble building, with a dome and turrets, overgrown with moss. It is called the "Bishop's Palace," and has been converted into a mosque. The stones, with inverted inscriptions, prove it to be of comparatively modern construction.

We returned by a different road, striking directly across the plain, which lay in front of the ruins of the ancient city, and covered a space of three miles in extent. Through this extensive plain, which is cultivated in patches, amid clusters of the tamarisk and much scattering shrubbery, winds the river Cayster, which, from its serpentine course, is called the "Meander"—by the Turks, the "Lesser Mendere."

There can be no question that this alluvial plain was once a noble bay, and on its shores stood the city of Ephesus; which, according to Pliny, has frequently changed its name with its condition. In the Trojan war, it was called "Alope;" then "Ortygia," "Morgas," "Ephesus;" and now, "Ayasalouk."

The plain has doubtless been formed by the depositions of the river Cayster, in its overflow, and the mountain torrents, in the winter season. It seems improbable that the city should have been originally built on a mountain side, three miles from the sea, with a morass between, through which flowed a shallow and insignificant stream. The bay of Scala Nuova is annually lessening in depth; and the inhabitants maintain that, within the present generation, the land has materially encroached upon the sea.

Saturday, March 18. While the rest were making

necessary preparations for a visit to the ruins yesterday, I called upon the Governor, who seated me beside him on the divan, and entertained me handsomely with pipes, sherbet and coffee. This day he returned the visit. He was a noble-looking Constantinopolitan, with a fine black beard and moustache, and was dressed in a blue military frock-coat, with red tarbouch, and a coloured kerchief wound around it as a turban. He wore green spectacles, and was followed by a long suite, headed by his pipe-bearer. Like most other Turks of condition whom we had seen, in consequence of taking but little exercise, he was quite corpulent, and puffed like a porpoise in clambering over the side. He evinced much interest in our naval improvements, arms, &c., and was exceedingly gratified with the salute we gave him.

P. M. Some of the Greek fashionables came on board. The men were of the soap-lock order: the ladies were dressed pretty much as our ladies, except that their clothes did not fit well, and nothing seemed exactly in good taste. There was much brilliancy, but little cleanliness;—for instance, a dirty hand adorned by a magnificent ring, as old as the temple,—perhaps the workmanship of Demetrius himself. We feasted them, and sent them on shore rejoicing, and shortly after left the port.

The town of Scala Nuova (ancient Neapolis) contains about 10,000 inhabitants, of whom all are Turks or natives, except about fifty Greek and ten or twelve Armenian families.

This little place exports annually about 150,000 kilos of wheat, each kilo weighing sixty pounds; also a large quantity of an inferior kind of maize, or Indian corn. This vessel is the first bearing the American flag, which has ever entered the port. Why will not some of our trading-vessels touch here? It would doubtless pay well. We were assured, but we cannot believe it, that we were the first visitors from the New World to the ruins of

Ephesus. The authorities here do not seem to anticipate the necessity of defence. The ancient walls, with their projecting turrets, are ungarnished with artillery.

We obtained here, besides Grecian coins, two antique marble heads of Diana, from the ruins of her temple, and part of an inscription from the once magnificent church of St. John.

Sunday, March 19. The wind was light, and we advanced slowly. Read prayers this day in the Forni passage, between Samos and Icaria, in sight of "the island which is called Patmos." Samos, the birth-place of Pythagoras and of one of the Sibyls, as well as Chios and Mitylene, were visited by St. Paul. At night, observed the eclipse of the moon by the chronometer.

February 20. All day in sight of Patmos, where St. John wrote the Apocalypse. How grateful, yet how awe-inspiring, would be a visit to the cave where the Scribe of the Almighty dwelt!

Patmos is a small, rocky isle, with not a tree visible upon it, like most of the islands we have seen. There is little cultivation, although a considerable hamlet is seen clustering on the hill-side, while a castellated building crowns the summit. It is said that the inhabitants are supported almost entirely by the proceeds of the sponge fisheries along its rocky shores.

March 21. The wind strong, but adverse—freshened to a gale. We were now under the lee of Cos, where, as well as at Cyprus and Tyre, the god Phœbus was worshipped. This island was also visited by St. Paul, on his way to Rhodes. 10 P. M. A fair wind, and a lunar rainbow! Bore away under full sail, leaving Candia broad upon the weather-quarter, and the sandy coast of Asia Minor glittering in the moonlight on our lee.

Candia (ancient Crete), once called Macarios (happy island), lies across the entrance of the Egean Sea, and is

nearly equidistant from Europe, Asia, and Africa. In early ages, Saturn, the father of Jupiter, reigned here, while the latter was nursed secretly among the hills of Ida. Here, also, reigned Minos and Rhadamanthus, feigned by poets to be the judges in hell. Here, too, is the intricate labyrinth made by Dædalus. The inhabitants of this island were accounted great liars; hence came the term, "a Cretan lie." From one of its ports, Falconer's "Britannia" went forth, breasting the lofty surge, which was so soon to dash her in fragments upon the rocky shore.

We have passed through the scenes of the "Shipwreck,"—the only nautical epic that has ever been published, for the Voyage of Argonauts is unworthy of the name.

With a flowing sheet, we sailed past Rhodes and Cyprus,—the first famed for its brazen colossus, which no longer spans the entrance of the harbour. It was an ancient seat of learning, and Cicero and Cæsar were among the pupils of its school. In more modern times, under the Knights of St. John, it was for a long time the bulwark of Christendom against the Saracen.

Cyprus, the "Chittim" of the Old Testament, had in its Paphian Grove, a bower erected to the Goddess of Beauty. It was captured by the lion-hearted Richard, on his way to the Holy Land; and in yet more recent times, the eccentric Lady Hester Stanhope was wrecked upon its shores. Jews are not permitted to reside on this island.

Saturday, March 25. This morning the mountains of Lebanon are before us—their shadows resting upon the sea, while their summits are wreathed in a mist, made refulgent by the rays of the yet invisible sun. Brilliant as the bow of promise, the many-coloured mist rests like a gemmed tiara upon the brow of the lofty mountain. Like the glorious sunset on the eve of our departure, I hail this as an auspicious omen.

## CHAPTER VI.

### BEÏRÛT TO DEPARTURE FROM ST. JEAN D'ACRE

MARCH 25. At 8 A. M. anchored\* off the town of Beïrût, and went on shore to call upon the Pasha, who is also a Mushir, which, next to the sovereignty, is the highest rank in the Ottoman empire.

Entering the palace, and passing through a suite of rooms crowded with attendants, we found the Pasha, in the most remote one, seated à la Turquie upon an elevated divan. Introduced by our consul, I was graciously received, and the usual preliminaries of sherbet, pipes and coffee having been discussed, I presented the imperial firman. With an air of deep respect he carefully read it, and professed his readiness to obey it.

In making out the instructions to his various subordinates in our contemplated route, a singular difficulty was presented. He was uncertain whether the eastern side of the Jordan was included in his jurisdiction or in that of the Pasha of Damascus, with whom, although of an inferior rank, he was unwilling to interfere. To my suggestion of sending a messenger to Damascus, he with some hesitation confessed that he would not like by such a step to betray ignorance of the extent of his jurisdiction. We consulted a chart, but as the limits of his pashalic were not geographically defined, it threw no light upon the subject. We at length ascertained that jurisdiction vested in the Pasha of Damascus, and to that functionary a messenger was forthwith despatched.

As this circumstance reflects discreditably upon the

Pasha, I would omit it, although a feature in the government and condition of the country, but that he was soon after recalled, and there is no possibility of his ever seeing this recital, or of his interests being affected by it. He evinced during the interview much thirst for information, and like his master, the Sultan, expressed a wish to know the results of our labours.

The Rev. Eli Smith, of the American Presbyterian mission, although in ill health, exerted himself in our behalf, and to him we were indebted for securing the services of an intelligent young Syrian, named Ameuny, for our dragoman or interpreter. I also engaged an Arab, named Mũstafa, as cook. The other gentlemen of the mission rendered us all the assistance in their power, and cheered us with cordial good wishes for our success.

We received here two pocket chronometers forwarded by Dent from London ; and I had the satisfaction of engaging Dr. Anderson, of New York, as physician and geologist, while we should be descending the Jordan, and exploring the Dead Sea.

An English party having been recently attacked, in attempting to descend the Jordan, the tribes might yet be in an exasperated state, and in the event of gun-shot wounds, surgical aid would be indispensable. Lieutenant Molyneux, R. N., the commander of that party, having, like Costigan, the only man who preceded him, perished of fever caught on the Dead Sea, I felt it a duty to secure the valuable services of Dr. Anderson. I directed him to proceed across the country, to make a geological reconnaissance, and to join us, if he could, on the route from Acre to Tiberias.

For the purpose of making some necessary pecuniary arrangements, I was introduced by Mr. Smith to a wealthy Syrian merchant. When informed of the nature of our undertaking, he first said, "It is madness;" but the mo-

ment after, forgetful of the comforts and luxuries around him, he turned to me, and, with his soul beaming in his eyes, exclaimed, "Oh! how I envy you!"

Our consul, Mr. Chasseaud, was indefatigable in his efforts to facilitate us; and notwithstanding the weather was tempestuous, with incessant rain, we were ready at the expiration of the first twenty-four hours. H. B. M. Consul-General, Colonel Rose, was kind and obliging. Besides partaking of his hospitality, I was indebted to him for a letter to Mr. Finn, H. B. M. Consul at Jerusalem,—rendered the more acceptable, as our country has no representative there.

Beïrût is a Franco-Syrian town, with a proportionate number of Turkish officials. The customs of the east and of the west are singularly blended, but the races remain distinct, separated by difference of complexion and of faith. The most striking peculiarity of dress we saw, was the tantûr, or horn, worn mostly by the wives of the mountaineers. It was from fourteen inches to two feet long, three to four inches wide at the base, and about one inch at the top. It is made of tin, silver, or gold, according to the circumstances of the wearer, and is sometimes studded with precious stones. From the summit depends a veil, which falls upon the breast, and, at will, conceals the features. It is frequently drawn aside, sufficiently to leave one eye exposed,—in that respect resembling the mode of the women of Lima. It is worn only by married women, or by unmarried ones of the highest rank, and once assumed, is borne for life. Although the temple may throb, and the brain be racked with fever, it cannot be laid aside. Put on with the bridal-robe, it does not give place to the shroud. The custom of wearing it, is derived from the Druses, but it is also worn by the Maronites. Its origin is unknown; it is supposed to have some reference to the words,

“the horns of the righteous shall be exalted,” and other like passages of Scripture.

The illimitable sea was upon one side, the lofty barrier of the Lebanon on the other, with a highly-cultivated plain, all verdure and bloom, between them. But so indispensably necessary did I deem it to reach the Jordan before the existing flood subsided, that no time was allowed to note the beauties of the surrounding scene. It seemed better to descend the river with a rush, than slowly drag the boats over mud-flats, sand-banks, and ridges of rock.

Monday, March 27. At night, got under way; but the wind failing, and a heavy sea tumbling in, we were compelled to anchor again.

Tuesday, 28. A. M. The wind light, and adverse,—employed in packing instruments, and making all ready for disembarkation. 3 P. M. Sailed with a fine breeze from the north-west. At midnight, having passed Sidon and Tyre, heaved to off the White Cape (“Album Promontorium” of the Romans, and “Ras-el-Abaid” of the Syrians), the north extreme of the bay of Acre.

At daylight filled away, and the wind blowing fresh, sailed past the town of St. Jean d’Acre, its battlements frowning in the distance, and anchored under mount Carmel, before the walled village of Haifa.

With great difficulty I landed through the surf, in company with our dragoman and our vice-consul at Acre, who had come with us from Beirût. We were in danger of perishing, and were only rescued by the Arab fishermen who came to our assistance. They are bold and dexterous swimmers, as much at home in the water as the natives of the Sandwich Islands.

The increasing surf preventing further communication with the ship, we proceeded first to Haifa and thence to the convent for a bed, for in the miserable village there



was no accommodation. The first thing in Syria which strikes a visitor from the western world, is the absence of forest trees. Except the orchards, the mountains and the plains are unrelieved surfaces of dull brown and green. No towering oak, no symmetrical poplar, relieves the monotony of the scene. The sun must surely be the monarch of this clime, for, outside the flat, mud-roofed, cube-like houses, there is no shelter from his fiery beams.

The road to the convent led for a short distance through an extensive olive orchard, and thence up the mountain by a gentle ascent. On the plain, and the mountain side, were flowers and fragrant shrubs,—the asphodel, the pheasant's eye, and Egyptian clover. The convent stands on the bold brow of a promontory, the terminus of a mountain range 1200 feet high, bounding the vale of Esdraelon on the south-west. The view from the summit is fine. Beneath is a narrow but luxuriant plain, upon which, it is said, once stood the city of Porphyraea.\* Sweeping inland, north and south, from Apollonia in one direction to Tyre in another, with Acre in the near perspective, are the hills of Samaria and Galilee, enclosing the lovely vale of Sharon and the great battle-field of nations, the valley of Esdraelon; while to the west lies the broad expanse of the Mediterranean. But the eye of faith viewed a more interesting and impressive sight; for it was here, perhaps upon the very spot where I stood, that Elijah built his altar, and "the fire of the Lord fell and consumed the burnt sacrifice, and the wood and the stones and the dust, and licked up the water that was in the trench."

We were cordially received by the monks, "Bon frere Charles" in especial, who, as it was Lent, regaled us with vegetable soup and fish.

Within the convent is the celebrated grotto of Elias,

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\* The true site of Porphyraea is near Sidon.

with a beautiful marble rotundo in front, and a chaste and richly decorated chapel above it. In front of the main building is a tent-shaped mausoleum, erected over 2000 Frenchmen, who, sick, and unable to defend themselves, were massacred by the Turks. The convent was then used as a hospital. The word "Carmel" means garden. Mount Carmel has been visited by Titus, St. Louis, and Napoleon.

We procured here some of the flint nodules resembling chalcedony, in the form of fruit, — petrified, it is said, by a curse of the prophet, who was refused some of it by the proprietor when he was faint and weary. They are nothing more than round hollow pieces of flint, with smooth and coloured protuberances within.

Friday, March 31. Wind changed off shore with a smooth sea. Sent to Acre for horses, and hoisted out the two "Fannies" and landed them with our effects. Pitched our tents for the first time, upon the beach, without the walls of Haifa. A grave-yard behind, an old grotto-looking well (then dry) on one side, and a carob tree on the other. This tree very much resembles an apple tree, and bears an edible bean, somewhat like the catalpa, which, in times of scarcity, is eaten by the poor. It is supposed to be the "husk" spoken of in the beautiful and touching parable of the prodigal son. Indeed, I have heard oriental scholars maintain that "husk" is not the proper translation of the Hebrew word. The fruit is called (by the Christians) St. John's bread, and the tree, which is an evergreen, "the locust tree," from the belief that its fruit is the locust eaten with wild honey by St. John in the desert. For the first time, perhaps, without the consular precincts, the American flag has been raised in Palestine. May it be the harbinger of regeneration to a now hapless people!

We were surrounded by a crowd of curious Arabs, of

all ages and conditions,—their costumes picturesque and dirty. The rabble already began to show their thievish propensities by stealing the little copper chains of our thole-pins. They thought that they were gold. Great fun to our sailors putting together the carriages, which with the harness were made in New York for the transportation of the boats. The men were full of jokes and merriment, at beginning camp life. Mûstafa, the cook, prepared our first tea in Palestine.

We had two tents made of American canvass. They were circular, so constructed that the boats' masts answered as tent-poles to them. The officers occupied the small and the men the large one. We had each, officers and men, a piece of India-rubber cloth, two yards long, to sleep on, and a blanket or comforter to cover us.

Night came, and the sentries were posted. The stars were exceedingly brilliant; the air clear and cool—almost too cool,—and the surf beat in melancholy cadence, interrupted only by the distant cry of jackals in the mountains. These, I suppose, are the foxes whose tails were tied together by Sampson.

Saturday, April 1. A day of tribulation. A little past midnight, the tinkling of bells announced the arrival of our horses, followed soon after by a screaming conversation in Arabic between the dragoman (interpreter) within our tent and the chief of the muleteers outside. Our sleeping was excessively uncomfortable,—what from the cold, and the stones on the ground, and the novelty, we scarce slept a wink. Some began to think that it was not a "party of pleasure," as an illiberal print had termed it.

With the first ray of light, we saw that our Arab steeds were most miserable galled jades, and upon trial entirely unused to draught. It was ludicrous to see how loosely the harness we had brought hung about

their meagre frames. On trial, as an exhibition of discontent, there was first a general plunge, and then a very intelligible equine protest of rearing and kicking. After infinite trouble, and shifting the harness to more than a dozen horses, we found four that would draw, *when once started*. But the load was evidently too much for them. We then chartered an Arab boat, to convey the boats, sails, and heavier articles, across the bay to Acre. Still, the horses could not, or would not, budge; so that we were compelled to re-launch the boats, and send them to the ship, which had sailed over, and was then blazing away, returning a salute of the town. With a sailor mounted on each of the trucks, the horses were at length made to draw them, by dint of severe beating. The road along the beach was as firm and hard as a floor. About half a mile from our camping-place, a branch of the Valley of Esdraelon opened on the right, drained by the "Nahr Mukutta" (the river of the ford), the Kishon of Scripture, in which Sisera and his host were drowned, after their defeat by Deborah and Barak, at the foot of Mount Tabor.

"The river of Kishon swept them away :

That ancient river,—the river of Kishon."

It was to the brink of this brook that the 450 prophets of Baal were brought from Mount Carmel, and put to death by order of Elijah. The half-frightened horses dashed into the stream, which they crossed without difficulty, it being only about eighteen inches deep, and as many yards across. Onward we went, occasionally coming to a dead halt, rendering necessary, renewed applications of the cudgel,—for lighter instruments of persuasion were of no avail.

The road ran along the beach,—in fact, the beach was the road, curving gently towards the north, and eventually to the west. Passing the wrecks of several vessels, buried

in the sand, about six miles from the Kishon, we came to the river Namàanè (Belus), nearly twice as deep and as wide again as the first. Pliny says, that near this river some shipwrecked Phœnician sailors discovered the mode of making glass, by observing the alkali of the dried seaweed that they burned, to unite with the fused silex of the shore. Thence, the beach sweeps out into a low projecting promontory, on which stands "Akka," the "St. Jean d'Acre" of the Crusades, and the "Ptolemais" of the New Testament.

Akka derived its name from the church of St. Jean d'Acre. It has been esteemed the key of all Syria; and Napoleon, when he saw it, exclaimed, "On that little town hangs the destiny of the East." It checked *him* in his victorious career, and *he*, who had never known a reverse, recoiled before it. An English fleet, a few years since, however, proved that it was not impregnable, and its walls and bastions are yet in a dilapidated state, but they are now being thoroughly repaired and strengthened.

It being necessary to see the consul and the governor, I preceded the party to the town. At the outer gate of this fortified stronghold, two or three soldiers were standing, and there was a guard-room just within it. I made my way, as well as I could, to the house of our consul, to which the stars and stripes occasionally beckoned me, as, from time to time, I caught a glimpse of them, floating above a lofty turret.

Riding through a mass of masonry, with every conceivable name in the science of fortification,—through tortuous, ill-paved streets, and narrow bazaars and covered ways, I found myself at the bottom of a "cul-de-sac." Dismounting before a low gateway, flanked by a gallery of blank walls, ascending a stone stairway, and passing through courts and ruined buildings, I reached the consul's house, and was in a few moments seated on his divan.

Had I not been in so much anxiety about our operations, the whole scene upon my entrance into St. Jean d'Acre would have been exceedingly interesting. It is the strangest-looking place in the world, besides its being so renowned from the days of chivalry to the English bombardment. Perhaps no other town in the world could have stood the hurtling of the iron hail-storm as well. In some places, but comparatively few in number, there were chasms, showing where a cannon-shot had passed; in others, the shot had formed a lodgment, and remained a fixture; and in others, again, had only made an indentation and fallen to the ground.

A short distance within the gate was a narrow bazaar, roughly paved, about two hundred yards in length, with small open shops, or booths, on each side. They only exhibited the common necessities of life for sale. A short distance farther, opposite to the inner wall, was a line of workshops, mostly occupied by shoemakers. These, with a few feluccas in the harbour, presented the only indications of commerce.

In the walls of our consul's castellated bomb-proof house several shot were lodged; and in the court I stumbled over broken bomb-shells and fragments of masonry. From the flat terrace roof we looked down upon numberless neighbours: women with golden hair-ornaments and ragged trousers,—for they were too large to be called pantalettes. There was, on an adjoining terrace, a young girl with a glorious profusion of curling tresses, which, from beneath a golden net-work on her head, fell gracefully down upon her dumpy form. Besides a boddice, or spencer, she wore a short pelisse and full trousers, which, to say the least, were rather the worse for wear. I should have admired the dark, wild-looking eye and the luxuriant hair, had it not been whispered to me that in the morning her beautiful head was seen undergoing a

more critical examination than would be necessary with one of our fair countrywomen.

The consul having prepared himself, we went forth to seek the governor, who, with his suite, had gone outside the walls. There were few people in the streets, but I noticed that the turban was more generally worn than in Beïrût, Smyrna, or Constantinople. Civilization has scarce landed upon these shores; and in Syria, we may look for more unadulterated specimens of the Muslim character than in the capital of the empire.

We found the governor just without the gate, seated in the most democratic manner, against the side of a thatched hut, a café, I believe. He received us courteously, and we were immediately provided with seats. It was a singular place of audience, and contrasted strangely with the sparkling gem upon the finger of the governor, the amber mouth-piece of his chibouque encircled with diamonds, and the rich dresses and jewel-hilted swords of some of his officers: but I liked it; there was no pretension or parade, and it looked like business; moreover, it had a republican air about it that was gratifying.

In this public place, the parley was held, and the horses that he had furnished were abused in unmeasured terms. His officers and ourselves were seated upon stools and benches; the attendants were in front, and the rabble stood around and listened to the talk.

Sa'id Bey, the governor, is about forty-five years of age. He is a Syrian by birth, an Egyptian by descent, and almost a mulatto in complexion. He was dressed in plain blue pantaloons and a long blue surtout, and wore a black beard and the red tarbouch. His countenance indicated cunning, if not treachery. The crowd seemed to be on such familiar terms with their superiors as would have been edifying to the citizens of some of our own states at home.

In brief terms, I told the governor how worthless the horses proved which he had sent. He professed his deep sorrow, but asked what could he do, for there were none better to be procured. I then proposed oxen, but he stated that it was then the height of seed-time, and that without great injury to the husbandmen he could not take them. This was confirmed by our dragoman and a Syrian gentleman, a Christian convert, educated by the missionaries at Beïrût. Of course, although burning with anxiety to proceed, I would not consent to profit by an act of injustice. From the governor's manner, however, I suspected that he was coveting a bribe, and determined to disappoint him.

Assuming a high stand, I told him that we were there not as common travellers, but sent by a great country, and with the sanction of his own government:—that I called upon him to provide us with the means of transportation, for which we would pay liberally, but not extravagantly. That his own sovereign had expressed an interest in our labours, and if we were not assisted, I would take good care that the odium of failure should rest upon the shoulders of Sa'id Bey, governor of Acre. By this time a great concourse of people had gathered around, and he said that he would see what could be done, and let me know in the course of the evening.

The "Supply" had in the mean time weighed anchor, and stood close in shore to land the provisions and things sent back in the morning. The boats of the expedition had also arrived, as well as the trucks drawn round the beach. The governor and his officers came to look at them, followed by nearly the whole population of the town. Such a mob! such clamour and confusion! I requested the governor to employ the police to clear a place for us to pitch our tents upon the beach. He did so immediately, but it was of no avail; for the crowd, driven



off at one moment, returned the next, more clamorous than before : and he confessed that he had not power to prevent the townspeople from gratifying their laudable desire for information,—not to speak of acquisition, for they are notorious thieves. But for its vexation, the scene would have been very amusing. In the midst of this Arab crowd were many women, with coloured trousers and long coarse white veils ; and some stood in the grave-yard immediately behind us, in dresses, veils and all, of common check, black and white.

Finding it utterly impossible to land our effects and encamp in this place, we returned and pitched our tents on the southern bank of the Belus. But even here the crowd followed us, evincing a curiosity only to be equalled by our own brethren of the eastern states. Since the authorities could not or would not protect us, we determined to take the law into our own hands and protect ourselves, and accordingly posted sentinels with fixed bayonets to keep off the crowd. Jack did it effectually, and the flanks of two or three bore witness to the “capable impressure” of the pointed steel ; after which we were no more molested. We then hauled the boats up to a small green spot beside the river, and a short distance from the sea. Behind us was the great plain of Acre. While thus engaged, some Arab fellahin (peasants) passed us, their appearance wild, and their complexions of the negro tint.

With conflicting emotions we saw the “Supply,” under all sail, stand out to sea. Shall any of us live to tread again her clean, familiar deck ? What matters it ! We are in the hands of God, and, fall early, or fall late, we fall only with his consent.

Late in the afternoon, I received an invitation from Sa'id Bey to come to the palace. Ascending a broad flight of steps, and crossing a large paved court, I was

ENCAMPMENT ON THE RIVER BELUS.





ushered into an oblong apartment, simply furnished, with the divan at the farther end. I was invited to take the corner seat, among Turks the place of honour. Immediately on my right, was the *cadi*, or judge, a venerable and self-righteous looking old gentleman, in a rich cashmere cloak, trimmed with fur. On *his* right sat the governor. Around the room were many officers, and there were a number of attendants passing to and fro, bearing pipes and coffee to every new comer. But, what specially attracted my attention, was a magnificent savage, enveloped in a scarlet cloth pelisse, richly embroidered with gold. He was the handsomest, and I soon thought also, the most graceful being I had ever seen. His complexion was of a rich, mellow, indescribable olive tint, and his hair a glossy black; his teeth were regular, and of the whitest ivory; and the glance of his eye was keen at times, but generally soft and lustrous. With the *tarbouch* upon his head, which he seemed to wear uneasily, he reclined, rather than sat, upon the opposite side of the divan, while his hand played in unconscious familiarity with the hilt of his *yataghan*. He looked like one who would be

“Steel amid the din of arms,  
And wax when with the fair.”

Just as we were seated, an old *marabout* entered the room, and, without saluting any one, squatted upon the floor and commenced chanting verses from the Koran. He had a faded brown cloak drawn around him, and a dingy, conical felt hat, such as is worn by the dervishes, upon his head. His whole person and attire were exceedingly filthy, and his countenance unprepossessing in the extreme. The company sat in silence while he continued to chant verse after verse in a louder and yet louder tone. At length the governor asked the cause of the interruption, but received no answer; save, that the

last word of the verse which the madman or impostor was reciting at the moment was sent forth with a yell, and the next verse commenced in a shriller key than the one which had preceded it. The whole council (for such I suppose it may be called) now resigned itself to the infliction; and, with a ludicrous, apologetic air, the *cadi* whispered to me, "It is a santon!"

At length the *marabout* paused for want of breath, and the governor repeated his former question. This time there was a reply, and a very intelligible one. He wanted charity. A sum of money was directed to be given to him, and he took his departure. Surely this is a singular country! Such an importunate mode of begging I never saw before, although I have been in Sicily. I relate the circumstance, with no farther comment, exactly as it occurred.

When we were again quiet, the governor stated that since he had parted with me he had received the most alarming intelligence of the hostile spirit of the Arab tribes bordering on the Jordan, and pointed to the savage chief as his authority. He named him 'Akil Aga el Hassee, a great border sheikh of the Arabs. The governor proceeded to say that the "most excellent sheikh" had just come in from the Ghor, where the tribes were up in arms, at war among themselves, and pillaging and maltreating all who fell into their hands. He was, therefore, of opinion that we could not proceed in safety with less than a hundred soldiers to guard us; and said that if I would agree to pay twenty thousand piastres (about eight hundred dollars), he would procure means for the transportation of the boats, and guaranty us from molestation.

He could not look me in the face when he made this proposition, and it immediately occurred to me that the Bedawin sheikh had been brought in as a bugbear to in-



AKIL AGA.



timidate me into terms. This idea strengthened with reflection, until I had reached a state of mind exactly the reverse of what Sa'id Bey anticipated.

The discussion lasted for some time, the governor, the cadi, the sheikh, and others, whose names and rank I did not know, urging me to accept the offer. This I positively declined, stating that I was not authorized, and if I were would scorn to buy protection: that if draught horses could be procured or oxen furnished, I would pay fairly for them and for a few soldiers to act as scouts; but that we were well armed and able to protect ourselves.

Finally, the governor finding that I would not embrace his terms, although he mitigated his demand, urged me to abandon the enterprise. To this I replied that we were ordered to explore the Dead Sea, and were determined to obey.

He then advised me, with much earnestness, to go by the way of Jerusalem. As he was too ignorant to understand the geographical difficulties of that route, I merely answered that we had set our faces towards the Sea of Galilee, and were not disposed to look back.

The sheikh here said that the Bedawin of the Ghor would eat us up. My reply was that they would find us difficult of digestion; but as he might have some influence with the tribes, I added that we would much prefer going peaceably, paying fairly for all services rendered and provisions supplied; but go at all hazards we were resolutely determined. Here the conference ended, it having been prolonged by the necessity of conversing through an interpreter, which had, however, this advantage, that it gave me full time to take notes.

Without the court I overtook the sheikh, who had preceded me, and asked him many questions about the tribes of the Jordan. In the course of the conversation I showed my sword and revolver—the former with pistol



barrels attached near the hilt. He examined them closely, and remarked that they were the "devil's invention." I then told him that we were fifteen in number, and besides several of those swords and revolvers, had one large gun (a blunderbuss), a rifle, fourteen carbines with bayonets, and twelve bowie-knife pistols, and asked him if he did not think we could descend the Jordan. His reply was, "You will, if anybody can." After parting from him, I learned that he was last year at the head of several tribes in rebellion against the Turkish government, and that, unable to subdue him, he had been bought in by a commission, corresponding to that of colonel of the irregular Arabs (very irregular!), and a pelisse of honour. It was the one he wore.

It was now near nightfall and the gates were closed; I therefore accompanied our consul to his house for refreshment and a bed, for I had eaten nothing since early in the morning. It was a great disappointment to me to be separated from the camp; for, apart from the wish to participate in its hardships, I was anxious to consult with Mr. Dale, who had cheered me throughout the day by his zealous co-operation.

On reaching the consul's, I was told that some American travellers from Nazareth had called to see me in my absence, and were to be found at the Franciscan Convent. Thither, I immediately hastened, anxious alike to greet a countryman, and to gather information, for Nazareth was nearly in our contemplated line of route.

They proved to be Major Smith, of the United States' Engineers, an esteemed acquaintance, and Mr. Sargent, of New York, together with an English gentleman. Their account confirmed the rumour of the disturbed state of the country, and they had themselves been attacked two nights previous, at the foot of Mount Tabor.

I can give a very inadequate idea of my feelings. To

turn back, was out of the question; and my soul revolted at the thought of bribing Sa'id Bey, even if I had been authorized to spend money for such a purpose. I felt sure that he had exaggerated in his statement, and yet the attack on our countrymen, so far this side of the Jordan, staggered me. Had my own life been the only one at stake, I should have been comparatively reckless; but those only can realize what I suffered, who have themselves felt responsibility for the lives of others.

From all the information I could procure of the Arab character, I had arrived at the conclusion, that it would tend more to gain their good-will if we threw ourselves among them without an escort, than if we were accompanied by a strong armed force. In my first interview with Sa'id Bey, therefore, I only asked for ten horsemen, to act as videttes, which, under the impression that they would be insufficient, he so long hesitated to grant, that I withdrew the application, and resolved to proceed without them. He afterwards pressed me to take them, and, calling upon me at the consul's, offered to furnish them free of cost; but I was steadfast in refusal.

The attack upon our countrymen, however, indicated danger of collision at the very outset, and I determined to be prepared for it.

On leaving the "Supply," I had placed a sum of money in charge of Lieutenant-Commanding Pennock, with the request, that he would, in person, deliver it to H. B. M. Consul at Jerusalem. Partly for that purpose, and in part to make some simultaneous barometrical observations, he had sailed for Jaffa, which is about thirty miles distant from the Holy City. To him, therefore, I despatched a messenger, asking him to call upon the Pasha, and request a small body of soldiers to be sent to meet us at Tiberias, or on the Jordan. This precaution taken, my mind was at ease, and, indeed, I was half ashamed of

the previous misgivings; for, from the first, I had *felt* that we should succeed.

In the camp, the day passed quietly. At one time, there was a perfect fête around it,—pedlers, fruit-sellers, and a musician with a bagpipe, who seemed to sing extemporaneously, like the Bulgarian, at San Stefano. At length, the crowd becoming troublesome, a space was cleared around the encampment, and lines of demarcation drawn. Crosses were then made at the corners, which, from some superstitious feeling, the people were afraid to pass.

In the evening, at the consul's, we received many visitors, scarce any three of whom were seated, or rather squatted, in the same attitude. There is no part of the world I have ever visited, where the lines of social distinction are more strictly drawn than here. In the present instance, the highest in rank were squatted, *à la Turque*, with their heels beneath them, upon the divan. The next in grade were a little more upright, in a half kneeling attitude; the third, between a sitting posture and a genuflexion, knelt with one leg, while they sat upon the other; and the fourth, and lowest I saw, knelt obsequiously, as if at their devotions. It was amusing to see the shifting of postures on the entrance of a visitor of a higher rank than any present;—when the squatters, drawing themselves up, assumed a more reverential attitude, and they who had been supported on one knee, found it necessary to rest upon two.

I was particularly struck with these evolutions, on the entrance of a fine old man, an Arab nobleman, called Sherîf Hazzâ of Mecca, the thirty-third lineal descendant of the Prophet. He was about fifty years of age, of a dark Egyptian complexion, small stature, and intelligent features. His father and elder brother had been sherîfs, or governors of Mecca until the latter was deposed by Me-

hemet Ali. He was dressed in a spencer and capacious trousers of fine olive cloth. His appearance was very prepossessing, and he evinced much enlightened curiosity with regard to our country and its institutions. We were told that from his descent he was held in great veneration by the Arabs; and I observed that every Muhammedan who came in, first approached him and kissed his hand with an air of profound respect. He was as communicative about his own affairs as he was inquisitive with respect to us and our country. Finding that he was now doing nothing, but inactively awaiting the decision of a law-suit, I suddenly proposed that he should accompany us. At first he smiled, as if the proposition were an absurd one; but when I explained to him that, instead of a party of private individuals, we were commissioned officers and seamen, sent from a far distant but powerful country to solve a scientific question, he became interested. I further added that, with us, I knew he believed in the writings of Moses; and that, with solutions of scientific questions, we hoped to convince the incredulous that Moses was a true prophet. He listened eagerly, and after some farther conversation, rose abruptly, and saying that he would very soon give me an answer, took his departure. I had, in the mean time, become very anxious; for it seemed as if he had been providentially thrown in our way. But it was necessary to conceal my feelings, for it is the nature of this people to rise in their demands in exact proportion to the anxiety you express; and even if he were to consent to accompany us, he might rate his services at an exorbitant price.

Sooner even than, in my impatience, I had anticipated, he returned and accepted the invitation, shaming my previous fears of imposition by saying that he left the remuneration of his services entirely to my own appraisement. He also brought a message from 'Akîl, the

handsome savage, to the purport that Sa'id Bey was a humbug, and had been endeavouring to frighten me. Sherif thought it not unlikely that the shiekh might also be induced to accompany us, if the negotiation were conducted with secrecy.

This Sa'id Bey is an instance of the vicissitudes of fortune in the Ottoman empire. Holding an office under Ibrahim Pasha, when the Egyptians were in possession of the country, he was detected in malpractices; and at the restoration of Acre to the Turks, was found in chains, condemned to labour for life. He now walks as master through the streets which he formerly swept. When the company had retired, the consul, "on hospitable cares intent," being a bachelor, superintended in person the preparation of my bed. Among other things, he had spread upon it a silk sheet, soft and fine enough to deck the artificial figure of a city belle, and sufficiently large for the ensign of a sloop-of-war.

Although the couch was luxurious, the balm of refreshing sleep was long denied, and for hours I laid awake and restless, for I was not alone—the fleas were multitudinous and remorseless.

There seemed to be no alternative but to take the boats apart and transport them across in sections, unless camels could be made to draw in harness, and I determined to try the experiment. During the night, I suffered dreadfully from the nightmare, and the incubus was a camel.

Sunday, April 2. In the afternoon, when the religious exercises of the day were over, the experiment of substituting camels for draught horses was tried *and proved successful*; and my heart throbbed with gratitude as the huge animals, three to each, marched off with the trucks, the boats upon them, with perfect ease.

The harness, all too short, presented a fit-out more gro-



SHERIF OF MECCA.



tesque even than that of a diligence in an interior province of France ; but, with alterations, it answered the purpose, and we felt independent of Sa'id Bey, for camels, at least, could be had in abundance. Determined, therefore, not again to have recourse to the grasping governor, I contracted with Sa'id Mũstafa, a resident of the town, for the necessary number of camels and horses.

The first attempt to draw the trucks by camels was a novel sight, witnessed by an eager crowd of people. The successful result taught them the existence of an unknown accomplishment in that patient and powerful animal, which they had before thought fit only to plod along with its heavy load upon its back.

The qualities of the camel, uncouth and clumsy as he is, are scarcely appreciated in the East, or he would be more carefully tended. It is a matter of surprise that the Romans never employed them. Porus used them against Alexander, and the Parthians against Crassus ; but, I believe, as far as history tells, the Romans never employed them in warfare, nor in any manner as means of transportation.

Monday, April 3. We were moving betimes, packing up and waiting for the camels to transport our baggage, the boats having gone ahead. After many vexatious delays, made a start at 2.30 P. M., but soon after two of the camels breaking down, we were compelled to camp again. While Mr. Dale was getting the camp in order, I rode out into the plain after the boats and a part of the caravan which had gone ahead with the bedding. About five miles from town I overtook them and turned them back. As the sun sank beneath the Mediterranean, which lay boundless as the view to the west, the mountains and the plain presented a singular appearance.

At times, from the mountains to the sea the land was entirely concealed by mist, which condensing as the heat



decreased, had the effect of a mirage, and seemed to extend the plain as far in one direction as the sea did in another, and made them one illimitable green, except where large spots of the surface were decked with the daisy, the anemone, and the convolvulus, which, intermingling in beautiful contrast, presented a mosaic of emerald, ruby, turquoise and gold.

Here and there, scattered upon the plain, were conical-shaped green tents, with tethered horses feeding near them; some of the last, belonging to the Pasha, were beautiful Arabians, exceedingly quick and graceful in their movements.

Just without the town we met the Bedawin sheikh 'Akīl, who handed me a letter sent by express from our consul at Beirût. The sheikh, on his way to Abelin, one of his villages, was kind enough to be the bearer of the letter. It contained the required firman from the Pasha of Damascus. 'Akīl was dressed in the same scarlet cloak, flowing white trowsers, and red tarbouch and boots as in the council two days previous. He was mounted on a spirited mare, and long after our parting I could see his scarlet cloak streaming in the wind as he scoured across the plain.

We camped on the same spot we had occupied the two preceding days, and were soothed with the promise of having a sufficient number of camels in the morning. The sherif paid us a visit and promised to join us on the route, as he feared that Sa'id Bey would detain him if he heard of our engagement. The son of Dr. Anderson had come with us from Beirût, and proposed remaining at Acre until he heard from his father, and with him I left the following letter for the Doctor, in the event of our not meeting for some time :

“DEAR SIR:— Having at your request associated you in the expedition under my command, with the express

understanding that you are to make no communication, verbal or otherwise, of the labours or results thereof, of yourself or any member pertaining to it, save to myself officially, until relieved from the obligation by the Hon. Secretary of the Navy, I beg leave to name a few points, in the elucidation of which, I believe, as well as hope, that you can materially aid us.

“The geological structure and physical phenomena of the shores of the Dead Sea and the terraces of the Jordan, and if time permit, of the ranges of the Lebanon also, constitute in their investigation one of the most interesting and important objects of the expedition.

“The volcanic phenomena of the Dead Sea require the strictest investigation, that in connexion with a line of soundings by the surveying party, the presumed fault running north and south through it may be verified or disproved.

“It is desirable to obtain mineralogical specimens, to ascertain if the surrounding regions be volcanic, and for the future purpose of comparing them with similar specimens from Vesuvius or some modern active volcano, in order to ascertain whether or not modern volcanic productions differ from more ancient ones.

“The nature of the soil, on the eastern shore especially, as formed by disintegration, and the nature of the vegetation as connected with it, are points of useful enquiry.

“The soil in which grapes of such extraordinary size are said to grow should be collected for analysis, to ascertain if the chemical composition has any influence on the size of the fruit.

“In a minute examination for volcanic characters, parts of the eastern coast may be found to consist of basaltic rocks, with a crystalline structure, perpendicular to the surface, and disintegrating in such a manner as to present perpendicular cliffs. Trap rocks may be found

cropping out through other rocks, more or less homogeneous in their appearance, with small disseminated crystals sometimes magnetic. The dark basaltic rock is (said to be) frequent near Tiberias. Rocks containing fossils claim particular attention, and as many varieties of fossils should be collected as possible.

“Specimens of mud from various parts of the sea, river and lake, should be collected and placed in air-tight vessels.

“It is said that the mountains of the west coast consist principally of a bituminous limestone, which inflames, smokes, and is foetid.\* Lumps of sulphur as large as a walnut have been found at Ain el Feshkha. On the west coast small fragments of flint, flesh red and brown, have also been found; and on the banks of the Jordan, nearly opposite Jericho, rolled pebbles of white carbonate of lime with thin veins of quartz.

“Although not immediately within your province, I invite your attention to *Cochlæ* and *Conchæ*. Specimens of any species of *crustacæa*, even the most minute, are very desirable.

“It is most important to ascertain whether birds live on the shores, or fish within the depths, of the Dead Sea; and not less, to note carefully every stream and fissure, their direction and their depth, and to ascertain, if possible, whether the former are perpetual, or only temporary, torrents.

“It is not my intention to limit your inquiries, or to pretend to instruct you, on a subject wherein you are so much better informed than myself; but to give you an idea of the general range of investigation, deemed most advisable to attain a satisfactory result.

“H. J. ANDERSON, M. D.”

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\* Robinson and Smith.

## CHAPTER VII.

### FROM ST. JEAN D'ACRE TO DEPARTURE FROM THE SEA OF GALILEE.

TUESDAY, April 4. The daylight brought disappointment. As Sa'id Mûstafa was not to be found, I sent the dragoman to our consul, requesting him to call immediately upon the governor, and demand more camels; for I had determined that I would not, under any circumstances, again present myself before him. By 8 o'clock, two additional camels arrived, and, at 9 o'clock, we took up the line of march after the boats,—sixteen horses, eleven loaded camels, and a mule.

As we were starting, Sa'id Bey had the effrontery to send to me for a letter, stating that he had rendered all the services I had required. I sent him word in reply, that he had done nothing to assist us; and that of his gross attempt at extortion, I had apprised our government at home, our minister at Constantinople, and his superior, the Mushir, at Beirût.

Following the beach to within two hundred yards of the town, we turned off to the east, and skirted a hill, whence, on the left, we saw an aqueduct, and the garden of Abdallah Pasha,—a grove in the midst of a verdant, but treeless plain. Pursuing the same route taken the evening before, we crossed the great plain of Acre, enamelled with flowers, and struck into a rolling country of gentle undulations. Besides the profusion of flowers, a stunted tree was here and there presented.

The evening before, I had promised 'Akîl to visit him in his mountain fortress, if I could, and one of his followers now presenting himself as a guide, we rode ahead of the caravan. The village of Abelin was soon visible on the summit of a high hill, rising abruptly from the southern slope of the plain. To the east and south-east, in the far distance, were two other villages; all else was a nearly level plain, with broken ground in front. Riding over the shoulder of the hill, we opened upon the head of a ravine,—wide at first, but narrowing to a gorge as it descended, and swept around the bases of the hills. Crowning the one opposite, Abelin\* looked like an inaccessible lion's hold. I had been cautioned to be upon my guard; knew nothing of 'Akîl, except that he was a daring Arab chief; had never before seen my guide, and was uncertain whether he would prove treacherous or faithful. I had accepted the invitation, for I was anxious to prevail on 'Akîl also to accompany us, and I felt that it would not answer to show distrust. To guard against the worst, however, I gave to a fellah, whom we met, a note for Mr. Dale, directing him, if I should not return, to push on, without delay, and accomplish the objects of the expedition.

The steep rugged path had never before been trodden by any other than an Arab horse; and but that the one upon which I rode was singularly surefooted, he would have often stumbled and dislodged me, for I could not guide him, so much were my senses engrossed by the extraordinary variety, fragrance, and beauty of innumerable plants and flowers.

The village, perched upon the loftiest peak, commands

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\* Can this village take its name from the district of Abilene, mentioned in the third chapter of St. Luke, and of which Lysanias was the tetrarch? It is generally supposed, that the district was in another direction.

an extensive view from the "Album promontorium" to the Convent of Mount Carmel. But, if the situation be beautiful, the place itself is indescribably poor and filthy. The houses, built of uncemented stones, are mostly one story high, and have flat, mud roofs; and without, and encircling the whole, is a row of small, dome-roofed hovels, made entirely of mud, and used for baking bread; all enveloped in a most offensive atmosphere, tainted by the odour of the fuel,—the dried excrement of camels. There appeared to be as many as one of those little hovels to each dwelling.

After having been detained in an open court until I became impatient, I was ushered into a large room, open in front, with a mud floor and smoke-stained rafters, covered with twigs. A collection of smouldering embers was in the centre, stuck into which, a small and exceedingly dirty brass coffee-pot stood simmering; and, seated at the farther end, a short distance from it, were the Sherîf, 'Akîl, and a number of Arabs, armed to the teeth. I had parted with the first, at a late hour the previous evening, when he started for Haifa, ten miles in another direction; and how he could have come there, puzzled me.

For some moments, scarce a word was said; and, from inability to speak the language, I could not break the awkward silence, having left the interpreter with the train, where his services were necessary.

There were some twelve or fifteen present. Look where I would, their keen black eyes were riveted upon me; and wherever I turned my eyes, theirs immediately followed the same direction. I turned to Sherîf, in the hope that he would say something, which would have been cheering, although I could not understand his language; but, lost in thought, he seemed to be studying the geological structure of the lighted coal upon the bowl of his narghilé. To 'Akîl I made a friendly sign of recognition,

which was returned without rudeness, but without cordiality. My position began to be irksome, rendered not the less so, from the circumstance that the pipe and the cup of coffee, the invariable marks of welcome beneath an Arab roof, were withheld.

I do not know when I have so earnestly longed for a cup of coffee; for, apart from the danger inferred to myself, its not being tendered, seemed an ominous sign for the expedition. The whole business looked like a snare.

While these thoughts were passing through my mind, a few words had been exchanged between the leaders and their followers,—mostly brief questions and monosyllabic replies, the last almost invariably the Arabic negative, “Lah!”

Presently one of the questions elicited quite a warm discussion, during which I sat entirely unnoticed, except that occasionally one of the speakers looked towards me, when his example was followed by the whole assembly. There was an evident air of constraint; I had been received with bare civility, and they seemed undecided what measures to pursue. There were evidently conflicting opinions.

Fretted with impatience, and perhaps more nervous than I should have been, without thinking, I looked at my watch. There was an instant pause in the conversation, and while Sherif asked to see it, they all crowded eagerly round. It was no curiosity to him, but most of those present examined it earnestly, like so many wild Indians for the first time beholding a mirror. I took as much time as possible to exhibit the works, and when they would look no longer, drew my sword, and glad to feel it in my grasp, pointed out to them the peculiar construction of the handle. They examined it as closely as they could, for, unlike the watch, I would not part with it;

when, just as their curiosity was becoming sated, a cheering sound struck upon my ear. A single glance satisfied me that I was not mistaken, and springing to my feet, I stretched out one hand for the watch, while with the other I pointed to the foot of the hill, and cried out "djemmell!" Djemmell! djemmell! (camel! camel!) was echoed by many voices, for the caravan was in sight, and from that moment there was a marked change in their manner towards me.

I cannot venture to say that there was an intention to rob me, for, despite appearances, I could hardly think so. It may be that the omission of the chibouque and coffee made an undue impression on me, and that my ignorance of Arab habits did the rest. Perhaps, too, I was rendered morbidly suspicious by the consciousness of having a large sum of money about me. If a robbery were contemplated, I came upon them, perhaps, before their plans were mature; or the arrival of Sherîf, who could have preceded me but a short time, might have disconcerted them. At all events, I now felt safe; for the gaping mouth of the blunderbuss and the sheen of the carbines borne by my companions proved ample protectors.

Notwithstanding the awkwardness of our recent position towards each other, I felt no hesitation in entering into an agreement with 'Akîl on the same terms as with the Sherîf. Our language was that of signs, fully understood by both parties.

According to the Arab code of morals, 'Akîl would have been perfectly justified in robbing me prior to a contract; but to do so afterwards would be the height of dishonour. From subsequent conversations with him, I was enabled, perhaps, to trace the cause of my cool reception. There was an emissary of Sa'id Bey present, he said, and he wished to mask his intention of joining us.

On leaving Acre, our course was first due east to



E. S. E., then gradually round to south, when, crossing a ridge by Abelin, which shuts in the plain, the train entered a narrow gorge, and thence steering E. by N., came to the Blowing Valley or valley of the winds, with forests of white oak on the flanks of the hills.

I rejoined the caravan as it passed by Abelin, leaving our allies to follow. They were to bring ten spears, and formidable ones they proved to be. The road becoming difficult for the carriages, we moved slowly, and our Arab scouts soon overtook us. They had all assumed the garb of the desert, and each, with a flowing dark āba (cloak) on, and the yellow koofeeyeh upon his head, bound round with a cord of camel's hair, dyed black; and bearing a spear eighteen feet in length, some of them tufted with ostrich feathers, looked the wild and savage warrior.

In the middle of Wady en Nafakh (Blowing Valley), we came to a halt, three miles from Abelin. It was yet early, 3 P. M.; but the great regulator of every thing connected with life and motion in the East is water. We had passed a well about a mile back, and between us and the next one was a narrow defile, presenting great obstructions to the passage of the boats. We therefore pitched our tents upon a gently sloping esplanade, and our Bedawin friends were over-against us.

It was a picturesque spot; on the left of our tents, which faced the south, were the trucks with the two boats, forming a kind of entrenchment; behind these were about thirty camels and all our horses. From the boats, and in front of our white tents, the American flag was flying; and just beyond, an officer and two sailors, with carbines, had mounted guard, with the loaded blunderbuss between them. The tent of our allies was a blue one; and the horses tethered near, and tufted spears in front, together with their striking costume, varied and enlivened the scene.

Towards each end of the valley, about half a mile from the camp, one of the Arab horsemen was stationed, and, cutting sharp against the sky, 'Akīl was upon the crest of the hill in our rear, taking a reconnoissance. They promised to make admirable videttes. We had reason to rejoice at having secured them. One brought us a sheep, which we shared between the camps; and Mr. Dale and myself went over and took a tiny cup of coffee with them. Abelin bore from the camp S. W. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., per compass. We took solar and barometrical observations; and at night, observed Polaris.

We this day passed through the narrow tract on the coast of Syria, which was never subdued by the Israelites, and through the narrowest part of the land of the tribe of Asser into that of Zebulon, where we then were.

At first,

“Night threw her sable mantle o’er the earth,  
And pinned it with a star;”

but, by degrees, the whole galaxy came forth, and twinkled upon the scene. It was a brilliant night, but we had reason to consider that the place was appropriately named. About midnight, the wind blew with great violence, and we were compelled to turn out, and assist the officer of the watch in securing the instruments.

Wednesday, April 5. We were early on the move; the sun was rising beautifully over the eastern hills; the camels were straying about upon their slopes, and the flags and ostrich feathers were drooping with the mist. Called all hands, breakfasted, struck tents, hitched camels, and started at 8.20 A. M. The carriages, with the boats, were drawn by three camels each, two abreast and one as leader, with twelve spare ones, to relieve every half hour. Our party numbered sixteen in all, including dragoman and cook, with eleven camels, laden with baggage, tents, instruments, &c.; and fifteen Bedawin, all

well mounted, the followers and servants of the Sherif of Mecca and Sheikh 'Akīl Aga el Hassee.

Our course was at first east for a quarter of a mile, and then by a short turn to S. E., down a narrow gorge. Through this we found it impossible to drag the boats; and therefore, deploying to the left, we drew them to the summit of an overhanging hill, and there, taking the camels out, lowered them down by hand. It was an arduous and, at times, a seemingly impracticable undertaking, but by perseverance we succeeded.

Passing along this ravine, in a south-easterly direction, for three-quarters of a mile, the boats rattling and tumbling along, drawn by the powerful camel trains, we came, at 9.30, upon a branch of the great plain of Buttauf. The metal boats, with the flags flying, mounted on carriages drawn by huge camels, ourselves, the mounted sailors in single file, the loaded camels, the sherif and the sheikh, with their tufted spears and followers, presented a glorious sight. It looked like a triumphal march.

The sun was curtained, but not screened, from the sight by the ascending vapour, and the soft wind was wooing nature to assume her green and fragrant livery. The young grain, vivified by the heat, sprang up in prolific growth, and carpeted the earth with its refreshing verdure. The green turf of the uncultivated patches of the plain, and the verdant slopes of the hills, were literally enamelled with the white and crimson aster, the pale asphodel, the scarlet anemone, the blue and purple convolvulus, the cyclæmen, with flowers so much resembling the eglantine rose, and many others of brilliant hues and fragrant odours; while, interspersed here and there upon the hill-sides, were clumps of trees, on the branches of which the birds were singing, in the soft light of an early spring morning,—enjoying, like ourselves, the balmy air and smiling landscape. It was an exquisite



CARAVAN OF THE EXPEDITION.



scene, and elevated the mind, while it gratified the love of the beautiful. Surely,

“There lives and works  
A soul in all things, and that soul is God.”

In front was a level lake of verdure and cultivation, and down the gentle slope, towards its basin, our long cavalcade wended its way,—officers and men in single file, their arms glittering in the sunlight, and the wild Arabs, with their lances pointed at every angle, some of them mounted upon the best blood of Arabia, seeming impatient at the slowness of the march.

Winding around a green hill, tufted with oak, we came, at 10.15, to Khan el Dielil, now in ruins, with an excellent well beside it. A few hundred yards beyond, we came to a shallow pond of water, the collection of winter rains, where we stopped to water the caravan. Here we took chronometer observations,—having to remove some distance, in consequence of the vibration caused by the movement of the animals.

From this ruined khan, across the plain, bearing south, cresting a lofty hill, was the castle of Sefûrich (Sepphoris), the Dio Cesarea of the Romans. It was, for some time, the successful rival of Tiberias; and, in the 12th century, was the great rendezvous of the Crusaders, before the fatal battle of Hattin. There is a tradition among the Arabs, that Moses married and lived here twenty years. Thence south-east, over a hill, lay *Nazareth*, but three hours distant from us. How we grieved that our duties prevented us from visiting a place which, with Bethlehem and Calvary, the scenes of the birth, the residence, and the death of the Redeemer, are of most intense interest to the Christian! To the left, almost due east, one hour distant, lay Cana of Galilee.

Who has not, in thought, accompanied the Saviour to that marriage-feast, and thanked him from his heart, that

he should have gladdened with his presence the fleeting festivities of sinful man, and that his first miracle should have been, to all succeeding generations, a lesson of filial love!

Each day, some of the sherif's or the sheikh's followers brought us a sheep or a lamb as a present, for which, however, they expected, and always received, a fair equivalent. In doing so, they placed a quiet trust in Providence with regard to the payment, for which they never asked. Where the value of things is so well ascertained as among this primitive people, how much better is this plan than a higgling bargain!

At 11 o'clock, started again,—our route E. N. E. along the plain; our Arabs caracoling their steeds, and giving us specimens of their beautiful horsemanship,—plunging about and twirling their long spears, and suddenly couching them in full career, as they charged upon each other. It was like the game of the djerid, of which we had all read so often, except that, instead of the short blunted spear of pastime, these were the sharp-pointed instruments of warfare. The old sherif was mounted upon a splendid grey mare, worth many thousand piastres, and wore himself a rich cloth cloak, embroidered with silver. Beautiful bay mares were ridden by the sheikh and his followers; among the last were two jet-black Nubians,—one of them of Herculean frame, disfigured by several scars.

1, P. M. Coming to a broken and rocky country, we encountered much difficulty with the boats. At first sight it seemed impossible that the ponderous carriages could be drawn over such a rugged road. The word road means, in that country, a mule-track. Wheel-carriages had never crossed it before. In their invasion of Syria, the French transported their guns and gun-carriages (taken apart) on the backs of camels, over the lofty ridges, and mounted them again upon the plain.

At length, making a detour to the right, breaking off a projecting crag here, and filling up a hollow there, we got the boats over the first ridge. It was shortly, however, succeeded by another and another, and the trains were obliged to abandon the road altogether. Winding along the flanks of several hills, we came, at 2.30, upon an elevated plain of cultivated fields. Turning then more to the north, and skirting a ridge of rocky limestone, we gradually ascended a slope covered with olive orchards. Presently we came in sight of Turân, an Arab village.

In our acceptation of the word, a village means a number of scattered peasant dwellings, but here it is a stronghold of the agricultural population. Since leaving Acre, we had not seen a single permanent habitation without these walled villages. Turân is quite a fortification. It is small; the houses are built of uncut and uncemented stone, with flat mud roofs, not exceeding one story in height. Just beyond the village, over the brow of the hill, we pitched our tents upon the outskirts of an olive orchard. In the plain, immediately beneath, was fought a decisive battle between the Syrians and the French. Mount Tabor bore S. S. W. We were in the lands assigned to the tribe of Zebulun. By invitation, I accompanied Sherîf and 'Akîl into the village, and smoked a pipe and drank coffee with its sheikh, who wore the graceful and becoming turban. But for his costume, he would, in our country, pass for a genteel negro, of the cross between the mulatto and the black. In order to economize time and provisions, and to prepare us for the endurance of future privations, I had from the first restricted the whole party to two meals a day—one early in the morning, before starting, the other when we had camped for the night. There was not an objection or a murmur.



While at supper, Dr. Anderson joined us. On his way to Acre, he had, from a height, seen the expedition moving along the plain. He described it as a beautiful sight.

The sheikh of the village punctually returned my visit, and was duly regaled with pipes and coffee. He seemed to prefer our tobacco to his own. In the evening we went down to the tent of our Arabs, pitched a short distance from us, with their horses tethered near and neighing loudly. What a patriarchal scene! Seated upon their mats and cushions within, we looked out upon the fire, around which were gathered groups of this wild people, who continually reminded us of our Indians. Then came their supper, consisting of a whole sheep, entombed in rice, which they pitched into without knives or forks, in the most amusing manner. There was an Arab bard withal, who twanged away upon his instrument, and sung or rather chanted mysterious Arabic poetry. He will never

"Make a swan-like end,  
Fading in music."

We had ascended upwards of 1500 feet, which, better than any description, will give an idea of the steepness, but not of the ruggedness, of the road since we left the plain of Acre. To-morrow we may reach the Sea of Galilee! Inshallah!

Thursday, April 6. A beautiful morning, wind light and weather very pleasant. As, in consequence of great impediments, the boats moved but slowly, we started with them at an early hour. At 11, the camp followed us. Nothing could be more picturesque than the appearance of our cavaliers of the desert, when they rejoined us, mounted on their spirited steeds, with their long spears and flowing garments of every variety of hue.

At first our course was east, down a long descent, and thence over the undulations of a rolling plain. At 1

P. M., reached a large artificial reservoir, with an area of about three acres, partly filled with rain-water, where we stopped fifteen minutes. Our friends, who had preceded us and Sherîf, with one of his followers, had gone aside to perform their devotions in a field apart.

While at this fountain, wishing to take some bearings, one of our swarthy friends, in the most graceful and polite manner, held my horse, and otherwise assisted me. Thus far these terrible Arabs had conducted themselves like gentlemen. In courtesy, civilization could not improve them.

At 1.45 we passed immediately north of the village of Lubieh, differing only in its less conspicuous position from Turân and Abelin. Our Arabs rode into the village, but I declined the invitation to coffee, and kept on with the cavalcade.

Since leaving the olive groves of Turân we had not seen a tree or a bush, except on the hill-sides of Lubieh; yet the whole surface of the valley was dotted with unenclosed fields of growing grain, and carpeted with green.

We continued rising until, at 2.25, we opened on our right a magnificent crater-like series of slopes, with a bare glimpse of the Sea of Galilee and the mountains of Bashan beyond. These slopes are fields of grain, divided into rectangles of different hues and different stages of growth. Besides these, were patches of flowers scattered about,—here the scarlet anemone, there the blue convolvulus;—but the gentle and luxuriant slopes looked like mosaic, with a prevailing purple tinge, the hue of the thorny shrub merar. On our route thus far the prevailing rock has been limestone, but since leaving Lubieh we have seen several nodules of quartz, and much trap, totally destitute of minerals. The prevailing flower is the convolvulus, from the root of which scammony is

said to be extracted. Ragged peasants were ploughing in the fields; but not a tree, not a house. Mount Taber now bore due south.

Pursuing the route along the northern ridge of this valley, in half an hour we came to a fountain, on the high road from Jerusalem to Damascus. Some Christian pilgrims, from the latter to the former place, were seated around it; their tired horses, with drooping heads, waiting their turn to drink. Soon after leaving them, a small party passed us; among them, the only pretty female we had seen in Palestine: a young Syrian girl, with smooth bronze skin and regular features.

Unable to restrain my impatience, I now rode ahead with Mūstafa, and soon saw below, far down the green sloping chasm, the Sea of Galilee, basking in the sunlight! Like a mirror it lay embosomed in its rounded and beautiful, but treeless hills. How dear to the Christian are the memories of that lake! The lake of the New Testament! Blessed beyond the nature of its element, it has borne the Son of God upon its surface. Its cliffs first echoed the glad tidings of salvation, and from its villages the first of the apostles were gathered to the ministry. Its placid water and its shelving beach; the ruined cities once crowded with men, and the everlasting hills, the handiwork of God,—all identify and attest the wonderful miracles that were here performed—miracles, the least of which was a crowning act of mercy of an Incarnate God towards his sinful and erring creatures.

The roadside and the uncultivated slopes of the hills were full of flowers, and abounded with singing birds—and there lay the holy lake, consecrated by the presence of the Redeemer! How could travellers describe the scenery of this lake as tame and uninteresting? It far exceeded my most sanguine expectations, and I could scarce realize that I was there. Near by was the field,

where, according to tradition, the disciples plucked the ears of corn upon the sabbath. Yet nearer was the spot where the Saviour fed the famishing multitude; and to the left the Mount of Beatitudes, where he preached his wonderful compend of wisdom and love. At its foot, as if to show how little man regards the precepts of his Maker, was fought one of the most dreadful battles recorded on the page of history. I neither put implicit faith in, nor yet, in a cavilling spirit, question the localities of these traditions. Unhappy is that man, who, instead of being impressed with awe, or exultant with the thought that he is permitted to look upon such scenes, withholds his homage, and stifles every grateful aspiration with querulous questionings of exact identities. Away with such hard-hearted scepticism — so nearly allied to infidelity! What matters it, whether in this field or an adjoining one — on this mount, or another more or less contiguous to it, the Saviour exhorted, blessed, or fed his followers? The very stones, each a sermon, cry shame upon such a captious spirit — a spirit too often indulged, not in the sincerity of unbelief, but to parade historical or biblical lore.

Not a tree! not a shrub! nothing but green grain, grass and flowers, yet acres of bright verdure. Far up on a mountain-top stands conspicuous the "holy city" of Safed, the ancient Japhet. Nearer is the well into which Joseph was put by his brethren. Beyond the lake and over the mountains, rise majestic in the clear sky the snowy peaks of Mount Hermon. We descended the steep hill towards the lake. How in the world are the boats ever to be got down this rocky and precipitous path, when we are compelled to alight and lead our horses? From Acre to this place, we have dragged the boats along a series of valleys and ridges, but from hence there is a sheer descent. This difficulty overcome, we shall only

have our own familiar element to deal with. We shall, therefore, have to brace ourselves to a desperate effort.

The boats could come no farther than the fountain, where the trains stopped for the night. Along the elevated plain the trap formation made its appearance in scattered fragments, covering the brown soil; large boulders then succeeded, and on the shore enormous masses crop-out in the ravines. Winding down the rugged road, we descended to the city, seated on the margin of the lake. Tiberias (Tūbariyeh) is a walled town of some magnitude, but in ruins, from the earthquake which, in 1837, destroyed so many of its inhabitants. Not a house nor a tree without the walls, yet cultivated fields behind and beside them. On an esplanade, a short distance from the dismantled gateway, were the tents of a small detachment of Turkish soldiers.

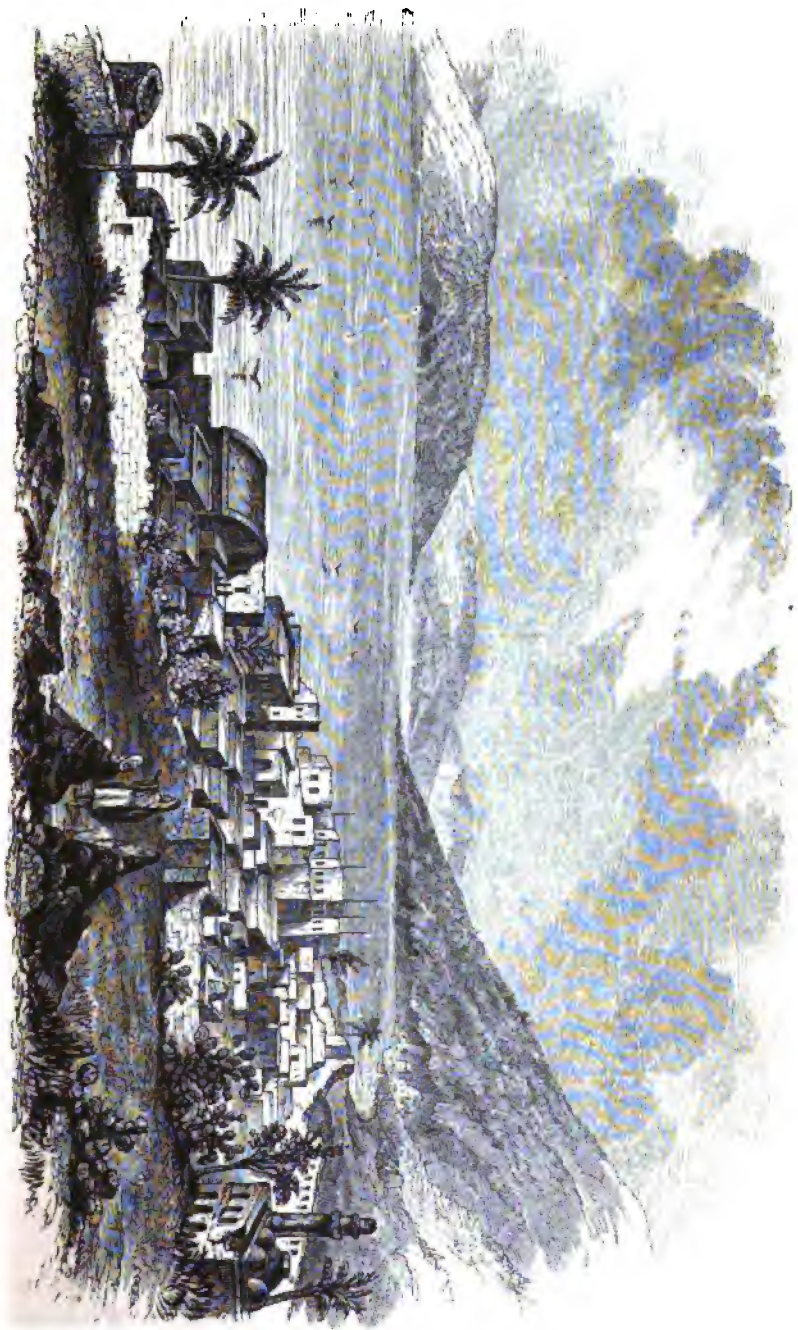
Safed and Tiberias, Jerusalem and Hebron, are the four holy cities of the Jews in Palestine. Tiberias is held in peculiar veneration by the Jews, for here they believe that Jacob resided, and it is situated on the shores of the lake whence they hope that the Messiah will arise. In Robinson's elaborate work, is an accurate account of it.

Turning to the south, leaving behind us a beautiful concave slope, consecrated by tradition for the miraculous draught of fishes, we entered the northern half-ruined portal of the town.

We were yet in the land of Zebulon; on the opposite side of the lake are the lands of the tribe of Manasseh.

It being necessary to adjust and fix the rate of our instruments, we rented part of a house in town,—many being proffered for our accommodation,—indicative alike of the hospitality of the people and the unprosperous condition of the place. We had letters to the chief rabbi of the Jews, who came to meet us, and escorted us through labyrinthine streets to the house of Heim Wiseman, a

TOWN OF TIBERIAS.





brother Israelite. It is an hotel *sui generis*, as well in the mode of entertaining as in the subsequent settlement with its guests. In a book which was shown to us we read the following gentle insinuation:—"I beg the gentlemen arriving at my house that, at their departure, they will have the goodness to give me, in my hands, what they please. Tibaria, April 7, 1845." The above is an exact copy of the notice referred to, in English. It is likewise written in bad Italian and worse Spanish.

Sherif and 'Akil turned up as if by magic. Here they were before us, although they stopped at Lubiye, and we did not see them pass us on the road. Nothing but their kind feelings towards us could have induced them to enter the house of a Jew. They received three rabbis, who came to see us, with much respect, and greeted their own Muslim visitors with the true oriental embrace. The governor, who was a relative of 'Akil, was among the first who called.

There was no doubt of the high standing of Sherif and his nephew, Sherif Musaid, a much younger and very prepossessing Arab, who had recently joined us. The governor was a small intelligent Arab, with a dark Egyptian complexion. Our friends soon left us to quarter upon him.

Our sailors were delighted with the novelty of having a roof above them, and we all felt relieved in no longer hearing the shrill and vociferous screams of the camel-drivers,—the noisiest of the children of men. *Our saloon* looked out upon the lake. It has mere apertures in its blank walls for doors and windows. A number of swallows, regardless of our presence, flitted in and out, busied in the construction of their nests amid the sustaining rafters of the mud roof. The windows might have been, but, from an error in its construction, the door could not be, closed.



We had fish, delicious fish from the lake, for our supper, which we ate in thankfulness, although we knew that we should pay for it in flesh,—for the king of the fleas, it is said, holds his court in Tiberias.

Our apartment, which was at once our parlour, eating-room, and chamber, was the rendezvous of the curious, and, it seemed to us, also, of all the Arab camel and mule-drivers in the town. We were surrounded by a motley assembly of all classes, standing, sitting, or reclining in democratic disregard of all rank or distinction, and looking with amazement, not unmingled with mirth, at our strange and elaborate mode of eating.

Our instruments were uninjured, notwithstanding the ruggedness of the road, and we fitted them up in a separate room, preparatory to a series of observations; and then, wearied but gratified, laid down to sleep.

Friday, April 7. The beams of the rising sun, reflected from the lake, were dancing about on the walls of the apartment when we awoke. A light breeze ruffled its surface, which

“Broke into dimples, and laughed in the sun.”

There was a silence of some moments, as we looked forth upon it, and the mind of each no doubt recurred to the time when an angry wind swept across, and the Apostle of wavering faith cried, “Lord, save me, or I perish!”

Our first thought was for the boats; but, notwithstanding the utmost exertions, at sunset they were only brought to the brink of the high and precipitous range which overlooked the lake from the west.

In the course of the day, I returned the visit of the governor. He received me in a large room, opening on a small court, with a divan in a recess opposite to the door.

Justice was administered with all the promptitude and simplicity of the East. On my way, I had been exasperated almost to the point of striking him, by a half-grown

boy beating an elderly woman, who proved to be his mother. The latter made her complaint shortly after my entrance. The case was fairly but briefly examined by the governor in person, and in a few words the sentence was pronounced. From the countenance of the culprit, as he was led forth, I felt satisfied that he was on his way to a well-merited punishment.

Another woman complained that her husband had beaten her. In this, as in the previous case, the complainant directly addressed the governor. The husband seemed to be a man of influence, and the trial was somewhat protracted. The evidence was clear against him, however, and he was made publicly to kiss her forehead, where he had struck her.

A trifling circumstance will show in what thraldom the Jews are held. Our landlord, Heim Wiseman, had been kind enough to show me the way to the governor's. On our entrance, he meekly sat down on the floor, some distance from the divan. After the sherbet was handed round to all, including many dirty Arabs, it was tendered to him. It was a rigid fast-day with his tribe, the eve of the feast of the azymes, and he declined it. It was again tendered, and again declined, when the attendant made some exclamation, which reached the ears of the governor, who thereupon turned abruptly round, and sharply called out, "Drink it." The poor Jew, agitated and trembling, carried it to his lips, where he held it for a moment, when, perceiving the attention of the governor to be diverted, he put down the untasted goblet.

On our return, Mr. Wiseman led me to a vaulted chapel dedicated to St. Peter, built on the traditionary spot of one of the miracles of our Lord. Strange that a Jew should point out to a Christian the place where the Messiah, whom the first denies and the last believes in, established his church upon a rock.

The Jews here are divested of that spirit of trade which is everywhere else their peculiar characteristic. Their sole occupation, we were told, is to pray and to read the Talmud. That book, Burckhardt says, declares that creation will return to primitive chaos if prayers are not addressed to the God of Israel at least twice a week in the four holy cities. Hence the Jews all over the world are liberal in their contributions.

Returned the visit of the Rabbis. They have two synagogues, the Sephardim and Askeniazim, but live harmoniously together. There are many Polish Jews, with light complexions, among them. They describe themselves as very poor, and maintained by the charitable contributions of Jews abroad, mostly in Europe. More meek, subdued, and unpretending men than these Rabbis I have never seen. The chief one illustrated the tyranny of the Turks by a recent circumstance. In consequence of the drought of the preceding year there had been a failure of the crops, and the Sultan, whose disposition is humane, ordered a large quantity of grain to be distributed among the fellahin for seed. The latter were accordingly called in;—to him whose portion was twenty okes\* was given ten, and to him whose portion was ten, five okes were given,—*after* each had signed a paper acknowledging the receipt of the greater quantity. How admirably the scriptures portray the manners and customs of the east! Here is the verification of the parable of the unjust steward. It is true, that in this instance the decree was issued by the Turks—a comparatively modern people,—but it was carried into effect by the descendants of the ancient Gentile races of the country.

In the evening we visited several of the synagogues. It was impressive yet melancholy to witness the fervid

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\* An oke is about two and three-quarter pounds.

zeal of the worshippers. In gabardines, with broad and narrow phylacteries, some of them embroidered, the men were reading or rather chanting, or rather screaming and shouting, the lamentations of Jeremias — all the time swaying their bodies to and fro with a regular and monotonous movement. There was an earnest expression of countenance that could not have been feigned. The tones of the men were loud and almost querulous with complaint; while the women, who stood apart, were more hushed in their sorrow, and lowly wailed, moving the heart by their sincerity. In each synagogue was an octagon recess, where the Pentateuch and other sacred works were kept. Whatever they may be in worldly matters, the Jews are no hypocrites in the article of faith.

The females marry very early. There was one in the house, then eleven and a half years of age, who, we were assured, had been married eighteen months. Mr. Wiseman pointed out another, a mere child in appearance, ten years of age, who had been two years married. It seems incredible. The unmarried wear the hair exposed, but the married women studiously conceal it. To make up for it, the heads of the latter were profusely ornamented with coins and gems and any quantity of another's hair, the prohibition only extending to their own. Their dress is a boddice, a short, narrow-skirted gown, and pantalettes gathered at the ankles. Unlike the Turkish and the Arab women, they sometimes wear stockings. The boddice is open in front, and the breasts are held, but not restrained, by loose open pockets of thin white gauze.

There are about three hundred families, or one thousand Jews, in this town. The sanhedrim consists of seventy rabbis, of whom thirty are natives and forty Franks, mostly from Poland, with a few from Spain. The rabbis stated that controversial matters of discipline

among Jews, all over the world, are referred to this sanhedrim.

Besides the Jews, there are in Tiberias from three to four hundred Muslims and two or three Latins, from Nazareth.

P. M. Received an express with letters from Jerusalem. Among them is a firman, or buyuruldi, from the Pasha, which I transcribe as a curiosity.

“Translation of Buyuruldi,  
from the Pasha of Jerusalem.

6 April, 1848.

“Observe what is written in this, all ye who stand and see it, by the sheiks and elders of the Arabs and keepers of the highways: let it be known to you openly, according to this buyuruldi, that fifteen of the honourable persons of the government of America desire to depart from this to the Sea of Lot and thereabouts, there to take boats and go down into the above-mentioned sea. And accordingly, as it was necessary, we have drawn this, our buyuruldi, to you; and it is necessary for you, O ye that are spoken to, that to the above persons, at their passing your districts, you do all that you can for their comfort, and let no one annoy them—but care and protection is required for them; and if they are in want of food or other things for price, or animals for hire, you are to supply them. And if God please, no more command is wanting; but to the persons that are here mentioned, by all means give comfort; and for this reason we have drawn for you this buyuruldi from the divan of the honorable Jerusalem, Nablus, and Gaza. So by this ye may know, according to what is written, ye are not to do the contrary. Know and beware, and know according to what is herein, and avoid the contrary.

“Translated by Moses Tanoos,  
British Consulate,  
JERUSALEM.”

Mr. Pennock wrote me that Mr. Finn, H. B. M. consul, has been very active and friendly, and I feel that we are much indebted to him. Our landlord was with poor Costigan, just prior to his attempt to circumnavigate the Dead Sea. From him, and from an Arab boatman, we received an account of the attack upon the boat of Lieutenant Molyneux, his pursuit by the Arabs, and subsequent death. Poor fellows! If God spare us, we will commemorate their gallantry and their devotion to the cause of science.

The express from Jerusalem was a Janissary, sent by the Pasha, with four soldiers. In the firm belief that we should not need them, I paid them and directed them to return. Our Bedawin friends served as videttes, to apprise us of danger. It was only ambuscades we feared.

Saturday, April 8. A beautiful, calm morning. Quiet as a sleeping infant, the lake lay in the lap of its lofty hills. Received an express from Acre, with letters. They brought intelligence of revolutions in Europe.

"It is the low booming of that mighty ocean, which, wave after wave, is breaking up the dikes and boundaries of ancient power." The spirit of revolution is abroad. It stands upon the grave of the past. As our beautiful institutions took life and vigour from the first breathings of this spirit, we feel deeply interested in its nature and tendency. It engages all our affections, it awakens all our sympathies. It is the cause of the universe—it is the voice of the great family of nations, which is coming up from the four winds to proclaim change and reformation among the sons of the children of men. It is, perhaps, the last of the Sibylline volumes, containing new truths, burthened with the ripening destinies of man.

"Man is one!

And he hath one great heart.

It is thus we feel, with a gigantic throb across the sea,  
Each other's rights and wrongs!"

Heaven speed the cause of freedom!

Took all hands up the mountain to bring the boats down. Many times we thought that, like the herd of swine, they would rush precipitately into the sea. Every one did his best, and at length success crowned our efforts. With their flags flying, we carried them triumphantly beyond the walls uninjured, and, amid a crowd of spectators, launched them upon the blue waters of the Sea of Galilee—the Arabs singing, clapping their hands to the time, and crying for backshish—but we neither shouted nor cheered. From Christian lips it would have sounded like profanation. A look upon that consecrated lake ever brought to remembrance the words, "Peace! be still!"—which not only repressed all noisy exhibition, but soothed for a time all worldly care.

Buoyantly floated the two "Fannies," bearing the stars and stripes, the noblest flag of freedom now waving in the world. Since the time of Josephus and the Romans, no vessel of any size has sailed upon this sea, and for many, many years, but a solitary keel has furrowed its surface.

Sunday, April 9. Another glorious morning. Rose early and went to the hot baths southward of the town, near the ruins of Emmaus, fitted up by Ibrahim Pasha when Syria was in possession of the Egyptians. The road runs along the sea-beach, upon which also the baths are situated. On the way we passed some prostrate columns, and broken arches, and vestiges of ruins half concealed beneath mounds of earth and rank vegetation. These are no doubt the ruins of the ancient city of Tiberias, the present site of the town being a more modern one. A short distance back, the rugged face of the brown mountains, with here and there a yawning cavern, over-

looked the narrow plain and pellucid sea. Now and then a splash of the water indicated the gambollings of fish beneath the surface, while above, the fish-hawk sailed slowly along, ready for a swoop, and just out of gun-shot a flock of wild ducks were swimming along in conscious security.

There are two baths — the old one, all in ruins — and the one to the north of it, now in use. In a square vaulted chamber is a circular basin about eighteen feet in diameter and four feet in depth. The temperature of the water is  $143^{\circ}$ , almost too hot for endurance. It is only by slow degrees that the body can be immersed in it. We procured some of it for analysis. It is salt, bitter, and has the nauseous smell of sulphuretted hydrogen. There are several other springs in their natural condition, which discolour the stones as they flow to the sea. It is said that these baths are much resorted to in the summer months, particularly by rheumatic patients. It is Humboldt, I believe, who remarks that in all climates people show the same predilection for heat. In Iceland the first Christian converts would be baptized only in the tepid streams of Hecla; and in the torrid zone, the natives flock from all parts to the thermal waters.

In all this luxuriant plain, which might be a perfect garden, there were only some cucumber and melon beds and fields of millet. The melons of this valley, according to Burckhardt, are celebrated all over the east. On the slope of the hill towards the north, some kersenna was growing — a small hard pea resembling a large radish seed — the husk dark brown, the kernel a deep pink colour, the taste sweet. It is raised almost exclusively for the camel. We saw no cattle. Camels, horses, mules and goats were the only four-footed animals to be seen.

P. M. We pulled up the lake, and visited Mejdel, on the plain of Genesareth. It must have been a singular



sight from the shore,—our beautiful boats, the crews, in man-of-war rig, with snow-white awnings spread, and their ensigns flying, the men keeping time with their oars, as we rowed along the green shores of the silent sea of Galilee! Pulling to the shore, we inquired the name of the place, of a fellah who was watering his donkey. His reply was, “Mejdel.” This is the ancient Magdala, the birth-place of Mary Magdalen, and was once visited by our Saviour. We were coming in closer, and yet closer, contiguity to sacred scenes. On our way from Beirût to Haifa, we had passed the ruins of Tyre, where the Saviour yielded to the importunities of the Canaanitish woman, and healed her. Passing between Nazareth and Cana, and approaching this lake, we looked at them from a distance, but here we were upon their threshold. I do not know what was passing in the minds of others, but I felt myself all unworthy to tread upon the consecrated spot. Instead of landing, we pulled a short distance from the shore, and, lying upon the oars, looked in silence upon the scene.

Mejdel is now a poor village of about forty families, all fellahin. The houses, like those of Turân, are of rough stone, with flat mud roofs. Above it are high hills, with rounded faces to the north-east, and perpendicular precipices behind, presenting a stratified appearance. In the face of the precipice are many caverns, whether natural or artificial, from this distance we could not tell.\* In these caverns, it was said that a band of robbers once fortified themselves, and were with difficulty expelled. Josephus states that the assailants were lowered down in chests from the summit to the mouths of the caverns. While pulling about the lake, a squall swept down one of

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\* Burckhardt, who visited them, says that they are natural, but united together by artificial passages. He estimates that they would shelter about 600 men.

the ravines, and gave us a convincing proof how soon the placid sea could assume an angry look.

We had not time to survey the lake,—the advancing season, and the lessening flood in the Jordan, warning us to lose no time. We deferred making the necessary observations, therefore, until our return. The bottom is a concave basin,—the greatest depth, thus far ascertained, twenty-seven and a half fathoms (165 feet); but this inland sea, alternately rising and falling, from copious rains or rapid evaporation, apart from its only outlet, is constantly fluctuating in depth.

The water of the lake is cool and sweet, and the inhabitants say that it possesses medicinal properties. It produces five kinds of fish, all good,—viz. the “Musht,” “Abu Bût,” “Huffâfah,” “Abu Kisher,” and “Bûrbût;” the last, from some superstitious idea, is not eaten by the Jews. The musht, about one foot long and four or five inches wide, resembles the sole. Burckhardt mentions one called Binni, like the carp. All that we tasted, and we tried to procure them all, were delicious.

In the evening, we had a long conversation with the Arab boatman, who was one of the crew of Molyneaux’s boat. He gave a disheartening account of the great, and, as he thought, the insuperable impediments to boats as large as ours. He dwelt particularly upon the rapids and cascades, false channels and innumerable rocks, and was inclined to think that there was a cataract in the part of the river along which they transported their boat upon a camel. Among other things, he stated that many rivers empty into the Jordan, which I did not believe.

That we should encounter great obstacles, perhaps seemingly insurmountable ones, I did not doubt; but I had great faith in American sailors, and believed that what men could do, they would achieve. So there was no thought of turning back.

When in Constantinople, my patience was severely tried by a countryman, who, with the best intentions, but in bad taste, gave me a circumstantial account of the death of three British naval officers, of my name, engaged in expeditions to the east. One captain and two lieutenants; the first perishing with his vessel in the Euphrates; one of the others massacred by the Arabs, and the third dying in the desert. Had their names been Jones and mine Jenkins, there would have been no forebodings; but as it was, the supposed astounding information was conveyed in a mysterious whisper, with an ominous shake of the head!

The house we inhabited was owned by a Jew; and if the king of fleas holds his court in Tiberias his throne is surely here. But that the narrow and tortuous lanes of the town (there are no streets, in our acceptation of the word) were crowded with filthy and disgusting objects, I should have given the palm of uncleanness to our host and his family. They were, in person and attire, literally unwashed, uncombed, slouching, shuffling, dirty, and repulsive. Unlike all other places we have seen, the women are not more cleanly than the men; and while the married ones carefully conceal their hair, they all studiously exhibit the formation of their breasts, which renders them anything but attractive.

The men have the abject, down-trodden look which seems peculiar to this people in the east. Many of the children are quite handsome; but filth, poverty, avarice, and tyranny, have changed the old into disgusting libels upon humanity. Compared to them, our wild Arabs are paragons of manly cleanliness.

The pashas and governors, in this country, have an off-hand, arbitrary, and unfeeling mode of transacting business. When our camels broke down at Acre, Sa'id Bey was applied to, by our consul, for additional ones. There

happened, unfortunately, to be a fellah coming from Nazareth with two loaded camels, just then without the walls. He was made to throw his sacks of grain in the road; and without clothes, or communication with his family, sent to assist in the transportation of our effects. By chance, he found a friend to take care of his grain. Of course we knew nothing of this; and would rather not have come at all, than have our progress facilitated by such an act of tyranny. It was not until about to settle with the camel-drivers, that we were told of it. The poor fellah was remunerated for his loss of time, and paid liberally for the use of his camels, the amount being deducted from the sum contracted for with Sa'id Mŭstafa.

We found here an old frame boat, which I purchased for six hundred piastres, about twenty-five dollars, in order to relieve the other boats, lessen the expense of transportation down the Jordan, and carry our tents upon the Dead Sea; for it was fast becoming warm, and we might not be able to work in that deep chasm without them. We repaired and named her "Uncle Sam."

Since we occupied these quarters, as well as along the route from Acre, Mŭstafa had purchased and cooked our provisions. He was inestimable;—a genuine Arab, speaking a little English, and able to boil a kettle, or roast a sheep, in a gale of wind in the open air. But his great recommendation was his unvarying cheerfulness at all times, and under all circumstances. Every morning, before and during breakfast, our room was thronged with Arabs, and Mŭstafa knew exactly what amount of attention to bestow on each. To the governor and the sheikhs, he tendered the tiny cup of coffee, or the chibouque, with his head bowed down, and his left hand upon his breast: to those approaching his own degree, they were handed with cavalier nonchalance.

Monday, April 10. It was necessary to procure other camels here, the owners of those we brought from Acre not being willing to trust them in the desert, for which reason we had been detained, but not in idleness, for we were constantly occupied in making barometrical and thermometrical observations, and taking sights to ascertain the rate of the instruments. It was necessary, also, to purchase and carry our provisions with us. Last night the camels were reported as coming, and this morning their arrival was announced. All, therefore, was the busy note of preparation.

A distinguished guest at our usual extempore levée this morning, was the Emir or Prince of the tribes on the upper banks of the Jordan. This royal personage delights in the euphonious patronymic of Emir Nasser 'Arar el Güz-zaway. He had heard of our purpose, and came to proffer the hospitalities of his tribes. He was considerably taller and stouter than the generality of the race; his complexion was of the tint of burnt umber, his eye black, lascivious, and glistening like that of a snake; he wore a tangled black beard, and, with his fang-like teeth, smiled à la Carker. His costume was in no manner distinguished from that of his numerous attendants, unless in its superlative uncleanness, and a pre-eminence in the liberal mode of ventilation adopted by this people.

The dirty barbarian affected a love of nature, and a slight taste for botany. Reclining lazily upon the cushions of the divan, with a kind of oriental voluptuousness, he ever and anon raised a rose-bud to his nostril, and enjoyed its fragrance with the exquisite languor of a city beau. The ogre prince! We accepted the invitation, and he joined the caravan.

In order that, by a division of labour, our work might be well performed, I assigned to each officer and volunteer of this expedition his appropriate duty. With the com-

mand of the caravan, Mr. Dale was to take topographical sketches of the country as he proceeded, and such other notes as circumstances would permit.

Dr. Anderson was directed to make geological observations, and collect specimens where he could; Mr. Bedlow to note the aspect of the country on the land route, and the incidents that occurred on the march; and Mr. Francis Lynch, who was charged with the herbarium, to collect plants and flowers.

In the water party, I assigned to myself, in the "Fanny Mason," the course, rapidity, colour, and depth of the river and its tributaries,—the nature of its banks, and of the country through which it flowed,—the vegetable productions, and the birds and animals we might see, with a journal of events. To Mr. Aulick, who had charge of the "Fanny Skinner," was assigned the topographical sketch of the river and its shores.

It was my anxious desire to avoid taking camels down the Ghor; but, from the best information we could obtain respecting the river, I was obliged to employ them. As the Jordan was represented to run between high banks which form the terraces of another valley yet above them, I felt that our safety and the success of the expedition would depend materially upon the vigilance and alacrity of the land party. I therefore placed it under command of Mr. Dale. It consisted of Dr. Anderson, Mr. Bedlow, Mr. Lynch, Sherif, 'Akil, Mûstafa and ten Bedawin videttes. They were directed to keep as near to the river as the nature of the country would permit, and should they hear two guns fired in quick succession, to leave the camel-drivers to take care of themselves, and hasten with all speed to our assistance. I felt sure that Mr. Dale would not fail me, and in that respect my mind was at ease. The Sherif, 'Akil and the Emir all assured me that there was no danger to the caravan, but that the

great fear was an attack upon the boats when entangled among rocks and shoals.

After much delay and vexation, quarrelling of the boatmen, loud talking of the camel-drivers, and a world of other annoyances, we of the water saw our friends of the land party take their departure.

Winding through the narrow streets, over piles of rubbish, filth and garbage, encountering ruin, want, and wretchedness at every turn, they issued from the northern gate of the town to join our Bedawin friends at the "Baths," the appointed place of rendezvous.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### FROM THE SEA OF GALILEE TO THE FALLS OF BŪK'AH.—DEPARTURE OF THE BOATS.

BRIGHT was the day, gay our spirits, verdant the hills, and unruffled the lake, when, pushing off from the shelving beach, we bade adieu to the last outwork of border civilization, and steered direct for the outlet of the Jordan. The "Fanny Mason" led the way, followed closely by the "Fanny Skinner;" and the Arab boatmen of the "Uncle Sam" worked vigorously at the oars to keep their place in the line. With awnings spread and colours flying, we passed comfortably and rapidly onwards.

Our Bedawin friends had many of them exchanged their lances for more serviceable weapons, long-barrelled guns and heavily mounted pistols. 'Akīl alone wore a scimeter. The priestly character of the Sherif forbade him to carry arms. With the addition of Emir and his followers, they amounted in all to thirty horsemen. Passing along the shore in single file, their line was long and imposing. Eleven camels stalked solemnly ahead, followed by the wild Bedawin on their blooded animals, with their ābas flying in the wind, and their long gun-barrels glittering in the sun; and Lieutenant Dale and his officers in the Frank costume brought up the rear.

Gallantly marched the cavalcade on the land, beautiful must have appeared the boats upon the water. Little did we know what difficulties we might have to encounter! But, placing our trust on high, we hoped and feared not.



We started at 2 P. M., the temperature of the air 82°, of the water 70°. For the first hour we steered S. E., then S. E. by S., and E. S. E., when, at 3.40, we arrived at the outlet. The same feeling prevented us from cheering as when we launched the boats, although before us was the stream which, God willing, would lead us to our wondrous destination.

The lake narrowed as we approached its southern extremity. In its south-west angle are the ruins of ancient Tarrichæa; opposite, on the eastern shore, a lovely plain sweeps down to the lake, and on the centre of the water-line a ravine (wady) comes down. Due west from it, across the foot of the lake, the Jordan debouches shortly to the right. The right or western shore descends in a slope towards the lake; the left is somewhat more depressed, and much washed with rains.

X The scenery, as we left the lake and advanced into the Ghor, which is about three-quarters of a mile in breadth, assumed rather a tame than a savage character. The rough and barren mountains, skirting the valley on each hand, stretched far away in the distance, like walls to some gigantic fosse, their southern extremities half hidden or entirely lost in a faint purple mist.

At 3.45, we swept out of the lake; course, W. by N. The village of Semakh on a hill to the south, and Mount Hermon brought into view, bearing N. E. by N.; the snow deep upon its crest, and white parasitic clouds clinging to its sides. On the extreme low point to the right are the ruins, called by the Arabs, Es Sumra, only a stone foundation standing. A number of wild ducks were upon the water, and birds were flitting about on shore. 3.55, our cavalcade again appeared in sight, winding along the shore. The Bedawin looked finely in their dark and white and crimson costumes.

At 4.30, course W. S. W. abruptly round a ledge of

small rocks; current, two knots. Our course varied with the frequent turns of the river, from N. W. by W. at 4.35, to S. at 4.38. The average breadth about seventy-five feet; the banks rounded and about thirty feet high, luxuriantly clothed with grass and flowers. The scarlet anemone, the yellow marigold, and occasionally a water-lily, and here and there a straggling asphodel, close to the water's edge, but not a tree nor a shrub. x

At 4.43, we passed an inlet, or bay, wider than the river, called El Mâh, which extended north a quarter of a mile. We lost sight of the lake in five minutes after leaving it. At 4.45, heard a shot from the shore, and soon after saw one of our scouts: 4.46, passed a low island, ninety yards long, tufted with shrubbery; left bank abrupt, twenty-five feet high; a low, marshy island, off a point on the right, which runs out from the plain at the foot of the mountains. Water clear and ten feet deep. 4.55, saw the shore party dismounted on the right bank. Mount Hermon glittering to the north, over the level tract which sweeps between the mountain, the lake, and the river. x

When the current was strong, we only used the oars to keep in the channel, and floated gently down the stream, frightening, in our descent, a number of wild fowl feeding in the marsh grass and on the reedy islands. At 4.56, current increasing, swept round a bend of the shore, and heard the hoarse sound of a rapid. 4.57, came in sight of the partly whole and partly crumbled abutments of "Jisr Semakh," the bridge of Semakh.

The ruins are extremely picturesque; the abutments standing in various stages of decay, and the fallen fragments obstructing the course of the river; save at one point, towards the left bank, where the pent-up water finds an issue, and runs in a sluice among the scattering masses of stone.

From the disheartening account we had received of the river, I had come to the conclusion that it might be necessary to sacrifice one of the boats to preserve the rest. I therefore decided to take the lead in the "Fanny Mason;" for, being made of copper, quite serious damages to her could be more easily repaired; and if dashed to pieces, her fragments would serve to warn the others from the danger.

After reconnoitering the rapid, at 5.05, we shot down the sluice. The following note was made on shore:

"We halted at the ruins of an old bridge, now forming obstructions, over which the foaming river rushed like a mountain torrent. The river was about thirty yards wide. Soon after we halted, the boats hove in sight around a bend of the river. See! the Fanny Mason attempts to shoot between two old piers! she strikes upon a rock! she broaches to! she is in imminent danger! down comes the Uncle Sam upon her! now they are free! the Fanny Skinner follows safely, and all are moored in the cave below!"

As we came through the rapids, 'Akil stood upon the summit of one of the abutments, in his green cloak, red tarbouch and boots, and flowing white trousers, pointing out the channel with a spear. Over his head and around him, a number of storks were flying disorderly.

What threatened to be its greatest danger, proved the preservation of the leading boat. We had swept upon a rock in mid-channel, when the Arab crew of the Uncle Sam unskilfully brought her within the influence of the current. She was immediately borne down upon us with great velocity; but striking us at a favourable angle, we slid off the ledge of rock, and floated down together. The Fanny Skinner, drawing less water, barely touched in passing.

The boats were securely moored for the night in a little

cave on the right bank, and were almost hidden among the tall grass and weeds which break the force of the eddy current.

From a boat drawing only eight inches water striking in mid-channel at this time of flood, I was inclined to think that the river must be very shallow in the summer months, particularly if much snow has not fallen among the mountains during the preceding winter.

We found the tents pitched on a small knoll, commanding a fine view of the river and the bridge. Over the ruins of the latter were yet hovering a multitude of storks, frightened from their reedy nests, on the tops of the ruined abutments, by the strange sights and sounds. There were two entire and six partial abutments, and the ruins of another, on each shore. The snowy crest of Mount Hermon bore N. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. The village of Semakh, lying in an E. N. E. direction, was concealed by an intervening ridge.

Our course, since leaving the lake, has varied from south to N. W. by N.,—the general inclination has been west; river, twenty-five to thirty yards wide; current, two and a half knots; water clear and sweet. We passed two islands, one of them very small.

We were upon the edge of the Ghor. A little to the north, the Ardh el Hamma (the land of the bath) swept down from the left. The lake was concealed, although, in a direct line, quite near; and a lofty ridge overlooked us from the west. The soil here is a dark rich loam, luxuriantly clothed three feet deep with flowers,—the purple bloom of the thistle predominates, and the yellow of the marigold and pink oleander are occasionally relieved by the scarlet anemone. The rocks nowhere crop-out, but large boulders of sandstone and trap are scattered over the surface. Some flowers were gathered here, which equal any I have ever seen in delicacy of

form and tint. Among them, besides those I have named, were the Adonis or Pheasant's eye; the Briony, formerly used in medicine; the Scabiosa Stellata, in great luxuriance, and which is cultivated at home; and two kinds of clover,—one with a thorny head, which we have never seen before, and the other small but beautiful, with purple flowers.

From the eminence above, our encampment beside the rapids looked charming. There were two American, one Arab, and one Egyptian (Dr. Anderson's) tents, of different colours,—white and green, and blue and crimson. In the soft and mellow light of the moon, the scene was beautiful.

On this side is the land of Zebulon; that of the tribe of Gad lies upon the other.

The sheikh of Semakh holds a tract of land on a singular tenure. The condition is that he shall entertain all travellers who may call, with a supper, and barley for their horses. Our Bedawin determined to avail themselves of the privilege. Nothing could be more picturesque than their appearance as they forded the stream in single file, and galloped over the hill to Semakh. And what a supper they will have! A whole sheep, and buckets of rice!\*

Our friends returned late at night, splashing the water, shouting, and making such a clatter that we sprang to our arms expecting an attack. Repeatedly afterwards during the night we were disturbed by Dr. Anderson's horse, which, since the moment he joined us at Turân, had kept the camp in constant alarm, getting loose at night and rushing frantically over the tent-cords, attacking some slumbering Arab steed, his bitter enemy.

Tuesday, April 11. Very early this morning culled for

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\* Usually, when the sheikh is not wealthy, the tents of the tribe take it in turn to entertain strangers.

RUINED BRIDGE OF SEMAKH.





our collection two varieties of flowers we had not before seen. At 6 A. M., called all hands, and prepared for starting. To avoid stopping in the middle of the day, we were necessarily delayed for breakfast in the morning.

8.10 A. M., started, the boats down the river, the caravan by land. The current at first about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  knots, but increasing as we descended, until at 8.20 we came to where the river, for more than three hundred yards, was one foaming rapid; the fishing-weirs and the ruins of another ancient bridge obstructing the passage. There were cultivated fields on both sides. Took everything out of the boats, sent the men overboard to swim  $\times$  alongside and guide them, and shot them successively down the first rapid. The water was fortunately very deep to the first fall, where it precipitated itself over a ledge of rocks. The river becoming more shallow, we opened a channel by removing large stones, and as the current was now excessively rapid, we pulled well out into the stream, bows up, let go a grapnel and eased each boat down in succession. Below us were yet five successive falls, about eighteen feet in all, with rapids between, — a perfect breakdown in the bed of the river. It was very evident that the boats could not descend them.

On the right of the river, opposite to the point where the weirs and the ruined bridge blocked up the bed of the stream, was a canal or sluice, evidently made for the purpose of feeding a mill, the ruins of which were visible a short distance below. This canal, at its outlet from the river, was sufficiently broad and deep to admit of the boats entering and proceeding for a short distance, when it became too narrow to allow their further progress.

Bringing the boats thus far, we again took everything out of them, and cleared away the stones, bushes and other obstructions between the mill sluice and the river. A breach was then made in the bank of the sluice, and as



the water rushed down the shallow artificial channel, with infinite labour, our men, cheerfully assisted by a number of Arabs, bore them down the rocky slope and launched them in the bed of the river,—but not below all danger, for a sudden descent of six or seven feet was yet to be cleared, and some eighty yards of swift and shallow current to be passed before reaching an unobstructed channel.

1 P. M. We accomplished this difficult passage, after severe labour, up to our waists in the water for upwards of four hours. Hauled to the right bank to rest and wait for our arms, instruments, &c. We were surrounded by many strange Arabs, and had stationed one of our men by the blunderbuss on the bows of the Uncle Sam, and one each by the other boats, while the remainder proceeded to bring down the arms.

We lay just above an abrupt bend from S. to N. E. by E. The left bank, in the bend, is sixty feet high, and precipitous, of a chocolate and cream-coloured earth. The river continues to descend, lessened in rapidity, but still about five knots per hour. It breaks entirely across, just below. There were thick clusters of white and pink oleander in bloom along the banks, and some lily-plants which had passed their season and were fading away. Here we killed an animal having the form of a lobster, the head of a mouse, and the tail of a dog: the Arabs call it *kelb el maya*, or water-dog.

1.20 P. M., started again. 1.45, descended a cascade at an angle of  $30^{\circ}$ , at the rate of twelve knots, passing, immediately after, down a shoal rapid, where we struck, and hung, for a few moments, upon a rock. Stopped for the other boats, which were behind. The course of the river had been very circuitous, as reference to the chart will show.

At 2.05, saw some of our caravan on a hill, in the dis-

tance. Wet and weary, I walked along the difficult shore to look for the other boats, when, seeing a cluster of Bedawin spears on the bank above, I went up to see to whom they belonged. It was a party of nine strange Arabs, who were seated upon the grass, their horses tethered near them. They examined my watch-guard and uniform buttons very closely; and eagerly looked over my shoulder, uttering many exclamations, when I wrote in my note-book. They repeatedly asked for something which I could not understand, and as they began to be importunate, I left them. Shortly after, while walking further up, I came upon their low, black, camel's hair tent, almost concealed by a thicket of rank shrubbery.

At 2.40, came to two mills, the buildings entire, but the wheels and machinery gone, with a sluice which had formerly supplied them with water. As in the morning, we turned the water from the upper part of the sluice into the river, carried the boats along, and dragged them safely round these second series of rapids.

The soil is fertile, but the country about here is wholly uncultivated. The surface of the plain is about fifteen feet above the river, thence gradually ascending a short distance to a low range of hills; beyond which, on each side, the prospect is closed in by mountains.

At 4.45, stopped to rest, after descending the eleventh rapid we had encountered. The velocity of the current was so great that one of the seamen, who lost his hold (being obliged to cling on outside), was nearly swept over the fall, and, with very great difficulty, gained the shore. The mountains on the east coast of Lake Tiberias were visible over the left bank. The summit of Mount Hermon (thé snowy summit could alone be seen) bore N. E. by N.

At 5 P. M., passed a ravine (wady) on the left, in a bend between high, precipitous banks of earth. We here

saw canes for the first time, growing thickly. On the right are lofty, perpendicular banks of earth and clay. The river winding with many turns, we opened, at 5.04, an extensive uncultivated plain on the right; a small, transverse, cultivated valley, between high banks, on the left;—the wheat beginning to head. The river fifty-five yards wide and two and a half feet deep. Current, four knots; the water becoming muddy. We saw a partridge, an owl, a large hawk, some herons (hedda), and many storks, and caught a trout.

At 5.10, rounded a high, bold bluff, the river becoming wider and deeper, with gravelly bottom. A solitary carob tree, resembling a large apple tree, on the right. At 5.40, the river about sixty yards wide, and current three knots, passed the village of 'Abeidiyeh, a large collection of mud huts, on a commanding eminence on the right;—the people, men, women, and children, with discordant cries, hurrying down the hill towards the river when they saw us. It was too late to stop, for night was approaching, and we had seen nothing of the caravan since we parted with them, at the ruined bridge, this forenoon.

If the inhabitants intended to molest us, we swept by with too much rapidity for them to carry their designs into execution. 5.44, passed a small stream coming in on the right. 5.46, another small stream, same side, 150 yards below the first; some swallows and snipes flying about. 5.48, passed a bank of fullers' earth, twenty feet high, on the left; a beautiful bank on the right, clothed with luxuriant verdure; the rank grass here and there separated by patches of wild oats.

The mountain ranges forming the edges of the upper valley, as seen from time to time through gaps in the foliage of the river banks, were of a light brown colour, surmounted with white.

The water now became clearer,—was eight feet deep;

hard bottom; small trees in thickets under the banks, and advancing into the water—principally Tūrfa (tamarisk), the willow (Sifsaf), and tangled vines beneath.

We frequently saw fish in the transparent water; while X  
ducks, storks, and a multitude of other birds, rose from the reeds and osiers, or plunged into the thickets of oleander and tamarisk which fringe the banks,—beyond them are frequent groves of the wild pistachio.

Half a mile below 'Abeidiyeh the river became deeper, X  
with a gentle descent,—current, three and a half knots. 6.15, passed a small island covered with grass: started up a flock of ducks and some storks; a small bay on the left, a path leading down to it from over the hills; canes and coarse tufted grass on the shores. 6.19, another inlet on the left; 6.21, one on the right. The left shore quite marshy,—high land back; the water again became clear, and of a light green colour, as when it left the lake; many birds flying about, particularly swallows.

At 8 P. M., reached the head of the falls and whirlpool of Būk'ah; and finding it too dark to proceed, hauled the boats to the right bank, and clambered up the steep hill to search for the camp. About one-third up, encountered a deep dyke, cut in the flank of the hill, which had evidently been used for purposes of irrigation. After following it for some distance, succeeded in fording it, and going to the top of the hill, had to climb in the dark, through briars and over stone walls, the ruins of the village of Delhemiyeh. A short distance beyond, met a Bedawin with a horse, who had been sent to look for us. Learned from him that the camp was half a mile below the whirlpool, and abreast of the lower rapids. Sent word to Mr. Aulick to secure the boats, and bring the men up as soon as they were relieved, and hastened on myself to procure the necessary guards, for our men were excessively fatigued, having been in the water without food since

breakfast. A few moments after, I met 'Akīl, also looking for us. At my request, he sent some of his men to relieve ours, in charge of the boats.

The village of Delhemîyeh, as well as that of Būk'ah opposite, were destroyed, it is said, by the Bedawin, the wandering Arabs. Many of the villages on and near the river are inhabited by Egyptians, placed there by Ibrahim Pasha, to repress the incursions of the Bedawin — somewhat on our plan of the military occupation of Florida. Now that the strong arm of the Egyptian "bull-dog," as Stephens aptly terms him, is withdrawn, the fate of these villages is not surprising. The Bedawin in their incursions rob the fellahin of their produce and their crops. Miserable and unarmed, the latter abandon their villages and seek a more secure position, or trust to chance to supply themselves with food (for of raiment they seem to have no need,) until the summer brings the harvest and the robber. Once abandoned, their huts fall into as much ruin as they are susceptible of, which is nothing more than the washing away of the roofs by the winter rains.

Although I knew it to be important to note everything we passed, and every aspect of the country, yet such was the acute responsibility I felt for the lives placed in my charge, that nearly all my faculties were absorbed in the management of the boats—hence the meagreness of these observations. As some amends, I quote from the notes of the land party.

"Our route lay through an extensive plain, luxuriant in vegetation, and presenting to view in uncultivated spots, a richness of alluvial soil, the produce of which, with proper agriculture, might nourish a vast population. On our route as we advanced, and within half an hour (distance is measured by time in this country) from the last halting-place, were four or five black tents, belonging to those tribes of Arabs called fellahin, or agriculturists,

as distinguished from the wandering warrior Arab, who considers such labour as ignoble and unmanly.

"Enclosing these huts was a low fence of brush, which served to confine the gambols of eight or ten young naked barbarians, who, together with a few sheep and a calf, were enjoying a romp in the sunshine, disregarding the heat. We declined the invitation to alight, but accepted a bowl of camel's milk, which proved extremely refreshing.

"A miserable collection of mud huts upon a most commanding site, called 'Abeidiyeh, attracted our attention as we passed it. The wild and savage looking inhabitants rushed from their hovels and clambered up their dirt-heaps to see the gallant sight—the swarthy Bedawin, the pale Franks, and the laden camels. Still further on, we passed the ruins of two Arab villages, one on each side of the Jordan, and upon elevations of corresponding height, 'Delhemîyeh' and 'Būk'ah.'

"Below these villages, and close upon the Jordan's bank, where the river in places foamed over its rocky bed with the fury of a cataract, we pitched the camp. Here we were to await the arrival of the boats. At 2.30 we encamped, and at 5 they had not yet arrived. The sun set and night closed upon us, and yet no signs of them. We became uneasy, and were about mounting to go in search of them, when the captain made his appearance."

About 9 P. M., Emir Nasser, with his suite, came to the tent. After the customary cup of coffee he said that he would go with us to Bähr Lût (Dead Sea), or wherever else I wished, from pure affection, but that his followers would expect to be paid, and requested to know how many I required; how far they were to go, and what remuneration to receive. I replied that I was then too weary to discuss the matter, but would tell him in the

morning, and he retired. Either from exposure, or fatigue, or the effect of the water, one of the seamen was attacked with dysentery. I anxiously hoped that he would be better in the morning, for each one was now worth a host.

Our encampment was a romantic one. Above was the whirlpool; abreast, and winding below, glancing in the moonlight, was the silvery sheen of the river; and high up, on each side, were the ruined villages, whence the peaceful fellahin had been driven by the predatory robber. The whooping of the owl above, the song of the bulbul below, were drowned in the onward rush and deafening roar of the tumultuous waters.

We were now approaching the part of our route considered the most perilous, from the warlike character of the nomadic tribes it was probable we should encounter. It therefore behoved us to be vigilant;—and notwithstanding the land party had been nearly all day on horseback, and the boats' crews for a longer period in the water, the watches could not be dispensed with; and one officer and two men, for two hours at a time, kept guard around the camp, with the blunderbuss mounted for immediate use in front.

Every one lay down with his cartridge-belt on, and his arms beside him. It was the dearest wish of my heart to carry through this enterprise without bloodshed, or the loss of life; but we had to be prepared for the worst. Average width of river to-day, forty yards; depth from two and a half to six feet; descended nine rapids, three of them terrific ones. General course, E. S. E.; passed one island.

It was a bright moonlight night; the dew fell heavily, and the air was chilly. But neither the beauty of the night, the wild scene around, the bold hills, between which the river rushed and foamed, a cataract, nor moon-

light upon the ruined villages, nor tents pitched upon the shore, watch-fires blazing, and the Arab bard singing sadly to the sound of his rebabeh,\* could, with all the spirit of romance, keep us long awake. With our hands upon our firelocks, we slept soundly; the crackle of the dry wood of the camp-fires, and the low sound of the Arab's song, mingling with our dreams; dreams, perchance, as pleasant as those of Jacob at Bethel; for, although our pillows were hard, and our beds the native earth, we were upon the brink of the sacred Jordan!

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\*The rebabeh is shaped like a miniature spade, with a short handle; the lowest and widest part, covered with sheepskin on both sides, is about one inch thick and five wide. The ghoss (bow) is simply a bent stick, with horse-hair for strings. This instrument is, perhaps, a coarser specimen of the nokhara khana, which is played before the gateways of palaces in Persia.



## CHAPTER IX.

### FROM THE FALLS OF BŪK'AH TO FOURTH CAMPING PLACE ON THE JORDAN.

WEDNESDAY, April 12. Went out at daybreak this morning to look at the whirlpool and rapids, above and below the camp. My ankle feeling sore, from a sprain yesterday, I returned for a horse, and rode nearly down to where the Yermâk (ancient Hieromax) falls into the Jordan from the east, when I saw Sherif coming rapidly towards me, on his spirited mare, and calling out, in an angry tone, to some Arabs, who, I now perceived, were approaching under cover of the bank. They turned back, and when he joined me he said nothing about them, but kept close by me the remainder of the ride. He ordered these people about as if he were a sovereign. During the ride, he was of great service in assisting me to gather flowers, of which there was a profusion; among them were the "bisbas," a yellow, and the bughûk, a crimson flower. The last like the mullen, except that each flower grows on a separate stem, branching out at the top, some distance from the main stalk. It was seven feet high, a miniature tree in blossom. The banks were fringed with the laurestinus, the oleander, the willow, and the tamarisk; and farther inland, on the slope of the second terrace, grew a small species of oak and the cedar. The arbutus (strawberry tree) was mingled with the flowers of the plain. From the banks to the elevated ridges, on either side, the grass and the flowers presented a surface of luxuriance and beauty.

Picked up some specimens of quartz and trap. The chain of transverse hills through which the Jordan forces its way, is most probably that which separates the Ardh el Hamma from the vale of Jezrael.

The tribes through whose territories we had passed thus far, as given to me by 'Akil, were the Beshâtewa, one hour above and below the bridge of Semâkh, numbering two hundred fighting men; next, the 'Obeidiyeh, on both sides, one hour back from the river, mustering five hundred; and the Es Sûkr, in whose territories we were now encamped, numbering three hundred warriors.

About three hours from this, on an eminence, at the foot of which flows the Yermâk, was Um Keis (the mother of ruins), the ancient Gadara. This place, restored by Pompey the Great, is said to contain magnificent ruins, in an extraordinary state of preservation. In its wonderful tombs, it is believed that the demoniac of the Gospel dwelt, when our Lord performed a miracle; and in its hot baths is laid the strange scene of incantation in the life of Iamblicus, where he is said to have called up the spirits of Eros and Anteros.\*

As the hot baths indicated the existence of volcanic characters, which might throw light upon the geological structure of that region, I gave Dr. Anderson an escort, and directed him to diverge from the line of march, visit Um Keis, and rejoin us at the appointed place of rendezvous at night.

The trap continued on both sides, with occasional interruptions of limestone, sandstone, and conglomerate.

Lake Tiberias was but four hours distant, in a direct line; although we had been a day and a half on the river, so tortuous is its course, and so interrupted is its channel. X

Before starting this morning, I sent for the elder sherîf

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\* Quarterly Review.

and 'Akīl, and told them, and desired them to repeat to the Emir, that we did not ask for, and would neither buy nor receive, protection:—that we were willing to pay for guides and provisions, and for all services rendered in descending the river, as well as for all damage we might occasion to weirs or mill-dams,—but for nothing more; and that the Emir and his guides would not be required beyond the limits of their territory. They said that we were perfectly right; but as the Emir had travelled to Tūbarīyeh to welcome us, and, with his people, had since been very useful, suggested that a present should be made to him. This was reasonable; and the Emir received an āba and a kōofeeyah. Among other things, we had provided ourselves in Acre with articles of Arab wearing apparel for occasions like the present. In this country, it is usual to pay the followers of a sheikh for services in money; but to the sheikh himself, a present is made. With much other judicious advice, the Rev. Mr. Smith had in Beirūt cautioned me not to employ the Arabs of one tribe as guides through the territories of another.

The “Uncle Sam” foundered, notwithstanding all our exertions to keep her afloat. Built of wood, she was less elastic than our metallic boats, and the thumps upon the rocks which only indented the last, shattered her. Thus ended all our hopes of transporting the tents from place to place along the Dead Sea, and thereby protect the party from the dews of night. In every evil, however, there is an antidote, and we now had conclusive proof of the superior qualities of metallic boats for such service. Frame boats, constructed even in the strongest manner, would sooner or later have shared the fate of the “Uncle Sam.”

Having reconnoitred in the morning from where the boats lay to the Yermâk, we went immediately after

breakfast to endeavour to bring the former down. With a lofty hill, the terminus of a lateral range on each side, there was no possibility of conveying them round the falls, and we had, therefore, to shoot them. The current was too strong to use the grapnel.

At 10.15 A. M., cast off and shot down the first rapid, and stopped to examine more closely a desperate-looking cascade of eleven feet. In the middle of the channel was a shoot at an angle of about sixty degrees, with a bold, bluff, threatening rock at its foot, exactly in the passage. It would therefore be necessary to turn almost at a sharp angle in descending, to avoid being dashed to pieces. This rock was on the outer edge of the whirlpool, which, a caldron of foam, swept round and round in circling eddies. Yet below were two fierce rapids, each about 150 yards in length, with the points of black rocks peering above the white and agitated surface. Below them again, within a mile, were two other rapids — longer, but more shelving and less difficult.

Fortunately a large bush was growing upon the left bank, about five feet up, where the wash of the water from above had formed a kind of promontory. By swimming across some distance up the stream, one of the men carried over the end of a rope and made it fast around the roots of the bush. The great doubt was whether the hold of the roots would be sufficient to withstand the strain, but there was no alternative. In order not to risk the men, I employed some of the most vigorous Arabs in the camp to swim by the side of the boats, and guide them, if possible, clear of danger. Landing the men, therefore, and tracking the Fanny Mason up stream, we shot her across, and gathering in the slack of the rope, let her drop to the brink of the cascade, where she fairly trembled and bent in the fierce strength of the sweeping current. It was a moment of intense anxiety.

The sailors had now clambered along the banks and stood at intervals below, ready to assist us if thrown from the boat and swept towards them. One man, with me in the boat, stood by the line; a number of naked Arabs were upon the rocks and in the foaming water gesticulating wildly, their shouts mingling with the noise of the boisterous rapids, and their dusky forms contrasting strangely with the effervescing flood, and four on each side, in the water, were clinging to the boat, ready to guide her clear of the threatening rock if possible.

The Fanny Mason, in the meanwhile, swayed from side to side of the mad torrent, like a frightened steed, straining the line which held her. Watching the moment when her bows were brought in the right direction, I gave the signal to let go the rope. There was a rush, a plunge, an upward leap, and the rock was cleared, the pool was passed, and, half full of water, with breathless velocity, we were swept safely down the rapid. Such screaming and shouting! the Arabs seemed to exult more than ourselves. It was in seeming only, they were glad; but we were grateful. Two of the Arabs lost their hold and were carried far below us, but were rescued with a slight injury to one of them.

It was exactly twelve o'clock when we cleared the cascade. Mr. Aulick soon followed in the "Fanny Skinner," and by his skill and coolness passed down in perfect safety.

Stopping sufficiently long to give the men and the Arabs who had assisted us some warm coffee, we started again at 4.5 P. M., and at one o'clock had completed the descent of the third rapid to-day. Hard work for all hands.

At 1.45, passed down the fourth fall and a shelving rapid of one third of a mile. Hauled over to the right bank, just above a shelving rapid, with a yet more ugly

sheer at an abrupt angle, and waited for the "Fanny Skinner." Sent for the arms, and gave directions for the caravan to proceed to Jîsr el Mejâmiâ (bridge of place of meeting), about three miles distant by land, but much farther, and far more difficult, by the river. It was represented by our friends as the only place where the caravan and boats could meet that night, and where, in the opinion of Sherîf, yet greater difficulties awaited us.

Gathered some geological specimens, and afterwards, as our awnings, sails, &c., had been left in the camp to lighten the boats, and the sun was beginning to warm up, I took shelter under an oleander bush in full bloom. But its fragrance above (for the oleander is here fragrant) scarce compensated for the annoyance of the insects beneath it. Soon, from sheer fatigue, I fell asleep, and was awakened by the sun shining full upon me. We here saw some wire-grass for the first time. The water had a sweet taste.

At 2.30, the caravan passed about a mile off, a camel being detached towards us with our arms. When it came up, as all the arms had been packed away, I imprudently consented to let them be carried back to the caravan, taking out only a few weapons that were convenient. At 3.15, saw the caravan again, creeping along the crest of the high hills to the southward, in an extended and picturesque line. There is no road;—in other words, no camel or mule track.

At 3.50, the "Fanny Skinner" came down, and we descended the fourth rapid, rounding back from W. S. W. to S. E. by S. in a distance of ninety yards. 4 P. M., shot the equally circuitous but less difficult rapid below.

At 4.20, passed the mouth of the Yermâk (Hieromax), forty yards wide, with moderate current, its centre bearing E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. 4.22, passed an island twelve feet high, covered with grass and weeds. 4.48, a small island—

river very rapid—abreast of this island was the most perilous part of our passage, owing to great velocity of current, about twelve miles an hour, and some sunken rocks, one of which we escaped by about two inches.

At 4.32, stopped to examine a bend of the river. 4.45, rounded the bend, a bold, precipitous cliff on the left, a flat peninsula on the right, covered with luxuriant grass and weeds—some resembling the cheat, and others the timothy. At 4.55, a very steep and tumultuous rapid. On hands and knees I climbed an almost perpendicular hill-side to examine for a passage. The hill-side and summit were thickly clothed with grass and flowers, which rendered it very slippery to climb.

The hill was about three hundred feet high, and the view from the summit wild and peculiar. The high alluvial terraces on each side were everywhere shaped by the action of the winter rains into a number of conical hills, some of them pyramidal and cuniform, presenting the appearance of a giant encampment, so perfectly tent-like were their shapes. This singular configuration extends southward as far as the eye can reach. At intervals I caught a glimpse of the river in its graceful meanderings, sometimes glittering like a spear-head through an opening in the foliage of its banks, and again, clasping some little island with its shining arms, or, far away, snapping with the fierceness and white foam of a torrent by some projecting point.

Fortunately there were some bushes on the right bank, which determined me to attempt the descent. Bearing the boats as far down as we could hold them against the current, we fastened the end of a rope to a bush and lowered them down to near its end; then sheering in shore, fastened the rope to another bush, lowered away, and dropped through one of the most frightful rapids we had yet encountered. It was near sunset when both

boats had accomplished the passage, and it became necessary in so wild a country to make every exertion to reach our friends, for we had but one carbine and three pistols with us.

After shooting two more slight rapids, we came, at 6.15, in sight of Jîsr Mejâmiâ (bridge of the place of meeting), above which we landed on the right shore, and ascended the cliff to examine the fall and rapid immediately below.

A ruined khan crowned the crest of the hill, at the foot of which large masses of volcanic rock or tufa were lying about, as if shaken from the solid mass by the spasm of an earthquake. The khan had evidently been a solid structure and destroyed by some convulsion, so scattered were the thick and ponderous masses of masonry. The bridge gracefully spans the river at this point. It has one large and three smaller Saracenic arches below, and six smaller ones above them, four on the east and two on the west side. The river, deep, narrow, and impetuous, flows through the larger arch and immediately branches,—the left arm rushing down a nearly perpendicular fall of about eight feet, and scarce a boat's length ahead encounters the bold rock of the eastern bank, which deflects it sharply to the right. The right branch, winding by an island in the centre, and spreading over a great space, is shallow and breaks over a number of rocks.

Above and below the bridge and in the bed of the river are huge blocks of trap and conglomerate; and almost immediately opposite is a great fissure exposing perpendicular layers of basalt, the structure distinct, black, and porous. Upon the left bank, which is about sixty feet above the river, a short distance up, were twenty or thirty black Bedawin tents, with a number of camels grazing around,—the men seated in groups—the women, the drudges of each tribe, passing to and fro, busied appa-



rently in culinary preparations, and near them some children playing. We decided to try the right branch, for we dreaded these ugly leaps.

In some instances during the day the rapids had been perfect cataracts, down which the boats plunged with such velocity as to drive them over the rocks below, upon which they would otherwise have rested, from the shallowness of the water.

At 6.24, resumed the oars, shot through the main arch and down about two hundred yards of the descent to the right, when it becoming too dark, hauled to the bank and made fast for the night. Took everything out of the boats and proceeded with the crews to the camp, about a quarter of a mile below. Our main course had been S. S. W., but the river was very serpentine. We descended three very threatening and four less difficult rapids. The only tributary passed was the Yermâk, coming in from the east, as wide and as deep nearly as the Jordan. The current was very rapid, averaging eight miles per hour.

Our tents were pitched upon a small promontory, commanding a fine view of the ruined khan and the bridge, with the river dashing and foaming through its arch. Directly in front, the river, filled with fragmentary rocks, is quite wide, and, separating into several channels, forms some small sedgy islands, where snipe were flitting about, and discordant frogs were croaking.

The bridge is on the road from Nabulus, through Bê-sân, to Damascus. The second place, now in ruins, was the Bethsean of the Bible and Scythopolis of the Greeks. Saul and his three sons, after the defeat of Mount Gilboa, threw themselves upon their swords, and their bodies were exposed from the walls of this town.

"Mejâmiâ" means "place of meeting." Can this be the place called by Jacob, "Mahanaim" (place of meeting), where the angels of God met him?

At noon to-day the thermometer stood at 90° in the shade. The elder sherîf (who by way of distinction we call *the* sherîf) and 'Akîl frequently visited us in our tent. The former was our counsellor, sagacious and prudent; the latter was the bold warrior and the admirable scout. On the march, it was said that he contrived to get a sight of the boats when no one else could. We never tired of the company of this graceful savage. Altogether, he was the most perfect specimen of manhood we had seen. Looking at his fine face, almost effeminate in its regularity of feature, who would imagine that he had been the stern leader of revolt, and that his laughing, careless eye had ever glanced from his stronghold on the hill upon the Pasha's troops in the plain, meditating slaughter in their ranks and booty from the routed Turk; or searched the ravines and the hill-sides, the wady and the valley, for the lurking fellahin and their herds? That arm which, in its easy and graceful position, seemed almost nerveless, had wielded the scimitar with fatal strength; and *he*, seemingly so mild, had successfully led a small but desperate band against the authority of the sultan, and forced the governor of Acre to treat with him, and purchase the security of the district with a high office and the crimson pelisse of honour.

'Akîl did not excel in physical qualities alone; his intelligence was far above mediocrity; and although a barbarian, he had much of the manners and feelings of a gentleman. Indeed, we had never seen manners more courtly, or an address more winning, than his. Sherîf was the Nestor, and 'Akîl the Achilles, of our camp.

When 'Akîl was this evening asked why he did not settle down on some of the fertile lands in his district, and no longer live on pillage, his reply was, "Would you have me disgrace myself, and till the ground like one of the fellahin?"

When I told him that many of our most eminent men were tillers of the ground, his smile was more of a contemptuous one than we had ever seen upon his handsome features. This genuine barbarian owned a small pistol, which he has been known to give loaded to his children for a plaything.

We were all fatigued, and retired early to our hard but welcome beds. The moon was almost at her full, and the same wild scene of Arabs' tents, tethered horses, and watch-fires, with the strange, monotonous, song of the Bedawin bard, formed a repetition of last night's romance. Early in the evening, Dr. Anderson returned.\* In the

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\* The following is an extract from Dr. Anderson's notes of his visit to the ruins of Gadara:—

"At 9.15 A.M., left to visit Um Keis. Trap exposed at the banks of the Jordan. Ascended the plain on the east side, in a south-easterly direction at first. Crossed the Sheriat el Mandur, by a bridge in good preservation, called Jisr el Ahmar. The sides of the stream rocky and water-worn—trap, with basaltic fissures. Water running with rapid current. Occasionally cascades.

"10.15. Apparently in the middle of the great plain. The view down the Ghor is uninterrupted. Atmosphere very clear. Hermon seen on right of the north end of the Ghor.

"10.50. Had crossed the great plain (terrace?). The southern extremity of the Ghor bears S. 30° W. The shores of the Dead Sea faintly visible. The surface of the plain a brown, loamy soil. Vegetation very rank.

"11.02. Half-way up the bluff, on the east side of the Jordan, limestone and trap.

"11.15. On the plain, near the summit. View of Lake Tiberias and town.

"11.19. Saw on right of road two fallen columns, formed of a conglomerate rock.

"11.30. On right of Wādy el 'Arab, many *Būtm* trees (*Pistacia terebinthus*).

"The guides brought me here, frequent specimens of esculent roots, having, the most of them, a not unpleasant taste. One of these is the root of a plant resembling the burdock, which they called *rejâteh*. It tastes something like a young and very tender radish, without its pungency.

forenoon, the weather was warm; towards noon it clouded up and looked like rain, but in the evening, cleared away and was pleasant.

We are in the land of Issachar, that of Gad still opposite.

There is another, resembling this, called the harfish, tasting a little like the green stalks of young celery, but more juicy and less aromatic.

"11.53. Fairly on the summit-plain, which extends horizontally for miles around. The rock is trap, the soil good. Our course was here, E. 15° N. Cultivated fields of barley.

"11.56. Um Keis in sight, east of us, a mile or more distant.

"12.10. The road runs east; then, 12.12, E. S. E. for seven minutes; then east again.

"12.20. A number of broken and fallen columns on the right of the road. Some of conglomerate, some of trap.

"Before us, a descent of no great depth, and the ruins on the slope east of it.

"12.26. Um Keis. No inhabitants—no habitable buildings.

"The remains of Gadara occupy an eminence, with an inconsiderable valley on the west side, and a steeper and deeper one on the north. The ground southwardly inclines, with some undulations, towards the Wādy el 'Arab.

"The descent on the north is determined by the Wādy el Yarmāk. The ruins comprise a spacious area, covered with many broken columns, &c., a large theatre, a smaller inclosure, and a necropolis.

"The walls may be traced very distinctly on the west side of the great area, and less obviously on the east. The main part of the miscellaneous ruins lies north of the theatre. With some difficulty, I could refer the fragments to distinct buildings, and distinguish passages, which may have been determined by lanes or streets.

"The columns are principally of Haurān basalt, rudely sculptured, a few still standing on their original pedestals; some are of a calcareous conglomerate, brought from the neighbouring hills. Towards the N. E., I observed a few sarcophagi. The ruins here are so buried in weeds and brambles, that it is not easy to make them out.

"The theatre has the form of a half-oval, the longer semi-axis running nearly east and west,—opening on the west. The short diameter, or breadth of the edifice, measured inside of the inclosure, is about eighty feet; including the inclosure, about 120 feet.

"The long semi-diameter, reckoning from the rear of the seats to the

Thursday, April 13. Hearing that Muhammed Pasha, military governor of the district of Nabulus, was encamped in the Valley of Esdraelon (Jezrael?), a short distance from Beisan, I sent Lieutenant Dale, this morning, to call upon him. I considered this a becoming mark of respect;

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middle of the open part, is little short of the interior breadth. Fifteen steps, or seats, separated at the fifth by one much higher than the others, ascend from the arena to the platform of the inclosing walls.

"At the upper edge of each step is a cornice of several inches in breadth. Every part of this building appears to have been constructed of the Haurân basalt, which, though porous, is of a very firm texture. The seats are interrupted by five passages, converging towards the centre of the open space below. Beside these adits are the remains of two others, corresponding with the western base.

"Exterior to the seats are three concentric walls, furnishing a covered corridor of eighteen or twenty feet width within, and an outer opening occupied by staircases ascending to the upper gallery on a level with the hinder seats. The lower lobbies are arched, where necessary, with circular arches formed of large blocks. On the walls of these passages I observed frequently single letters of the Roman alphabet, with several stones marked with Arabic numerals, and not unfrequently stars, crosses, and other symbolic characters of different creeds and times.

"I was told that the warm springs were about an hour and a half distant, towards the N. E. The necessity of returning before night obliged me reluctantly to give up the idea of going to them. They have been described by Irby and Mangles, Seetzen and Buckingham.

"From the brow of the hill there is a fine view of nearly the entire lake of Tiberias, including the valley of the Hieromax in the foreground, and Mount Hermon in the distance.

"4.40 P. M. We descended into the Ghor by the path we had taken in going up; but, in crossing the plain, struck a course south of the morning track, towards a point where we expected to find the camp. The trap was again traceable in fragments, gradually diminishing in size until within a half hour's ride of the Jordan. On the eastern cliff, south, if I remember, of the Wâdy el'Arab, I was shown the village of Sidum'âd, where a few fellahîn, by the payment of an annual tribute, still maintained themselves against the encroachments of the nomad tribes. Along the higher hills, far inwardly, might be seen two or three clusters of black tents, belonging to the Bedawin of Es Serî. Down the Ghor, as far as the eye could reach, a forest of weeds and thistles draw from the teeming soil a sustenance that

for, except Sa'id Bey, the Turkish officers have been very civil to us.

Although it threatened rain yesterday, this morning's sky was cloudless. After much labour we succeeded in getting the boats down the rapids uninjured, except a few indentations in the bilge, and got on board the arms and instruments. At 9.30, started at the same time with the caravan. As we would to-day reach the utmost limits of cultivation, and approach the lower Ghor—a perfect desert, traversed by warlike tribes,—Sherif warned me to be prepared. I therefore mounted the blunderbuss on the bows of the Fanny Mason. Formidable it must have looked, with its gaping mouth, pointed down stream, and threatening slugs and bullets to all opponents.

At 10.40, came to an ugly rapid, a long, thatched hut on the right bank. Notwithstanding all our efforts, the Fanny Mason struck and broached-to, broadside on, against the rocks beneath the surface, and was thrown upon her bilge, taking in a quantity of water. For some moments, I feared that she would go to pieces; but, all hands jumping overboard, her combined strength and buoyancy carried her safely over. On the first heights of the Ghor, to the eastward, is the village Sidum'âd; and the village Jum'ah, on the western bank. At 9.40, passed the village of Kaukab el Hauma, visible to the west, on a lofty height, which presents trap-rock with

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might have fed the half of Palestine. It was too plain that we had reached a land where property was a crime.

“6. The descent from the upper terrace of the Ghor to the present valley of the Jordan is here a gradual one. Very near the stream a more sudden change of level is apparent, but there was nothing to prevent our coming down to the bridge El Mejâmi'ah at a gallop. On both sides of the river the polygonal structure of the rock is very remarkable, and we passed for several hundred yards over the uncovered heads of enormous vertical prisms of columnar basalt. The upper surface was excessively rough and uneven.”

fissures. 10.12, a rapid. At 11.02, we heard a small tributary falling in, from S. E. by E., but, owing to the thicket, could not see it. A village in sight on a hill far to S. E.

There are evidently two terraces to the Jordan, and through the lowest one, the river runs its labyrinthine course. From the stream, above the immediate banks, there is, on each side, a singular terrace of low hills, like truncated cones; the upper terrace of which I have spoken; which is but the bluff terminus of an extended table-land, reaching quite to the base of the mountains of Hauran on the east, and the high hills on the western side. Their peculiarity of form is attributable, perhaps, to the washing of rain through a long series of years. The hill-sides presented the appearance of chalk, without the slightest vestige of vegetation, and were absolutely blinding, from the reverberated sunlight.

At times we would be perfectly becalmed, the trees and bushes which lined the banks intercepting the light air that came down from the mountains;—when, even at this early season, the heat would be intense; and the birds, ceasing to sing, hid themselves among the foliage, from which even the noise we made could not startle them.

There is nothing more vivid than the impression made by such scenes—the stillness of an untrodden wilderness, when “the slightest sound makes an onslaught upon silence,”—a silence rarely broken, except by the noise of the far-distant rapid, which comes upon the ear like the wind when it sweeps the dry leaves of autumn before it.

On one of these occasions, when the stream was shadowed by the graceful oleander, the low, drooping willow and the fern-like tamarisk, and a stillness audible prevailed, we were swept sharply round the base of a high barren bluff, towards the opposite shore, when it became

necessary to pull out again into the channel. In so doing, the water-worn banks distinctly echoed the steady beat of the oars in the rullocks; but it was soon after lost in the hoarse murmur of the rapid we were approaching, which went surging over the shallows in its burly, blustering course.

At 11.20, passed an island about a quarter of a mile long, with many trees upon it. A singular gap in the mountains to the southward.

Heretofore the course of the river had varied to every quarter of the compass, but to-day it preserved a more southerly direction. The prevailing growth upon the banks were the ghurrah (like the aspen), the tûrfa (tamarisk), sifsaf (willow), and diffeh (oleander). The principal flowers had been the bisbâs (yellow), and the baghûk (a crimson one).

At 11.25, Castle Kaukab (star), the Belvoir of the crusaders, bore W. by N. Soon after reached Zor el Basha, the territories of the tribe el Gaurîneh (Emir Nassir's), occupying two hours on the banks of the river, and numbering three hundred fighting men. 11.40, stopped to take observations for the latitude.

There were many wild pigeons flying about, some of them very large. At 12.09, started again; passed two successive but slight rapids, with many trees in the stream. 12.30, stopped to rest in a grove of tamarisk; the weather becoming warmer every day. We were changing our climate in a twofold manner, by descent and by progress southward. We found here the "derukma," a pleasant tasted vegetable, with flat seeds growing at the extremities of the branches. The seeds are the parts eaten. We also found the ghûmsilân, a root resembling a parsnep, of a pale-brown colour; it is not edible; and sîfân, a dry, brown fungus, adhering to a tree.

2 P. M. Started again, the river becoming serpentine--



course, all round the compass. A great many Arabs on the shore, who ran after us, shouting loudly. They were the subjects of the Emir. Some Arab women on a high hill to the left. The river thirty-five yards wide, six feet deep, gravelly bottom; current, five knots. 2.18, four Arabs in sight; current strong but unobstructed. 2.39, remarkably smooth but rapid descent. 2.41, river very serpentine, five feet deep; a beautiful strip of variegated sands and marls; passed a wady, or dry ravine, on the right. 2.46, course S. W. to W. by N., thick canes and thistles; water appeared to have fallen two feet within the last day or two; steady descent. 2.58, the land ahead worn into small mounds; we saw a beautiful land-bird—brown body, white wings tipped with black, and a white ring round the neck, and at root of tail. Large rolled stones on the banks, alternating with clay and sand.

For the last hour, we had seen no rocks. At 3.15, a small rapid, the river running from left to right, across the valley. On the right, a round point with an Arab encampment upon it, the population in an uproar; men, women, and children shouting, and running down to the landing-place; passed a small island just below.

At 3.15, a long reach in the river; the first straight line we have seen in its entire course, thus far. Passed the territory of the tribe Es Sükr el Ghor, 500 fighting men. There were large ghurrah trees on each side. They are like the aspen, and are said to bear a juicy, sweet-flavoured fruit. There were many birds on shore, and several fish-hawk (hedda) flying about. At 6.10, a cluster of small islands; and at 6.30, a number of short turns in the river. Saw 'Akil, our tutelary genius, on the summit of a high bank. Brought-to for the night, and secured the boats. The banks were high and precipitous, but guarded in some measure from the erosive

action of the swift current by the gnarled roots of the trees and the thicket growth along the bluff. Just above and below this spot, which was selected for our camping-ground, the river describes a series of frantic curvilinears, and returns in a contrary direction to its main course, thus forming a peninsula; and the isthmus, now rapidly wearing away on both sides, bids fair speedily to become an island. The boats were secured to the right bank, thirty feet below the summit. We have descended to-day three large and seven small rapids; general course, S. by E. We passed one small stream coming in from south-east, and four small islands. The river averaged forty-five yards width, four feet deep, and five knots current.

We were yet in Galilee, in the land of Issachar; opposite was Gilead, the land of Gad. The caravan started with us this morning, 'Akil and his scouts acting as guides. As far as the eye could reach, the plain extended before them; the course of the river distinctly distinguishable in some of its mazes and graceful sinuosities, and again hidden by some bold bluff or conical hill, at the base of which it turned abruptly, and left them in doubt whether it flowed north, east, south, or west.

They first passed some cultivated patches of wheat and barley, even at this early season looking ripe, and nearly ready for the harvest. Who would reap them? Not a human being was in the scope of vision; nor tent, nor hut, nor sight of human dwelling. There was no sound, save the rush of the river and the noise of the wind, as it swept over the nodding grain—a yellow sea! where light seemed chasing shadows as the breeze passed over. And yet, the hands that planted would come to reap them in the season,—if not anticipated by the spoiler. The wheat and the barley would fall before the sickle, and the hands of the gleaner be busy in the steps of the reaper; the

tents would be spread by the river-side, and the young and the old, the strong and the feeble, the youth and the young girl, would be abroad in those silent fields. And when the sheaves are bound with the withes, and the unmuzzled ox has trodden out the golden grain, or the threshing sledge has been trailed round the slippery croft, and the light wind has winnowed the uptossed wheat,—then, all their wealth close reaped and gleaned, once more, upon their waste, unsheltered fields, will settle silence and the desert heat.

The first hour of their journey, which was through a most beautiful tract of alluvial, the country was entirely destitute of cultivation; nothing but a rank luxuriance of thistles and wild grass indicating the natural productiveness of the soil. The variety of thorns and thistles was remarkable.

Along the banks of the river ran a singular terrace of low hills, in shape like truncated cones, which extended quite to the base of the mountains.

From thistles and wild grass, they advanced into utter barrenness and desolation; the soil presenting the appearance of chalk, without the slightest vegetation. Around, and quite near, were large flocks of storks, walking with exceeding vanity, and in no manner alarmed or disconcerted; some even stood on one leg, in quiet contemplation of the unusual spectacle which the caravan presented.

At one time, they stopped to rest; and, seated in the wilderness, the fierce sun beat upon their heads, and glittered on the barrels of their guns, until they became painful to sight and touch. Not a tree, nor a shelter from the heat, in that vast plain! but up from the parched and blasted earth went streaming, like visible air, the waving, heated atmosphere; and the whole extent of land, to the deep-rooted hills in the purple distance, was quivering with the heat.

Starting afresh, a short ride brought them once more near the banks of the river, down to which they turned their horses. It was almost impossible to restrain the thirsty brutes. At the sight and sound of the flowing river, they dashed down the slope, plunged through the thicket, and, standing mid-leg in the stream, thrust in their heads to the very eyes, and drank till their whole frame shook with the action.

The day was considerably advanced when they came in sight of an encampment of black tents. Diverging from their line of march, they ascended the steep bank to an elevated plain, upon which the encampment stood. Several of the tribe came to meet them, bearing the tufted spear, which indicates the sheikh himself or some of his sons. Dismounting, they entered the tent pointed out to them, where mats were spread, and coffee and pipes in readiness, indicating an expectation of their arrival.

"Pottle-bellied children," with hair unkempt and streaming in a scalp-lock (the rest of the head close-shaven), naked as cherubim in a church picture, were rolling on the grass and performing other gambols peculiar to that tender age. Soon after, the old men and the Badawiyeh (female Bedawin), their palms and fingernails tinged with henna, and their cheeks and lips tattooed purple by the khol powder, came forth to look upon and wonder at the Franks. Some of the young girls would have been pretty, were it not for the disfiguring tattoo, which gave the lips an appearance almost revolting, from its resemblance to the livid hue of death. Some of the young men of the tribe were cast in as soft and delicate a mould as manhood is susceptible of, without leaning to effeminacy. The brother of the Emir was a perfect Antinous, with Hyperian locks and Apollonian limbs, who, however, thought more of his personal beauty than became a brave, and the brother of a warlike sheikh.

The encampment consisted of some thirty or forty of those peculiarly constructed tents, made of coarse cloth of goats' hair. They were supported by a row of poles in the centre (for they are not shaped like the ordinary tent), the sides slightly inclined and hauled out by ropes which are pinned to the ground. In shape they resemble somewhat an oblong shed, and are, generally speaking, miserable substitutes for a shelter or dwelling.

The little cup (for they had but one, apparently) having been artistically cleansed by the thumb of the attendant Ganymede, and presented to each in turn (the Franks, as guests, having the precedence), the coffee it contained being a concentrated essence of that luxury, pipes were offered, and then having, as usual, submitted to be stared at, and their arms handled about and inspected as if they were at muster, water was brought and poured upon their hands from a very equivocal water-jar, after which followed the repast. A large wooden bowl of pilau (boiled rice, liberally larded with rancid butter) constituted this pastoral banquet; the enjoyment of which could not be attained through the medium of fork or spoon, but demanded a kind of scientific conversion of the hands and fingers into these civilized conveniences.

An hour's ride thence brought them to the end of the plain, or tabular summit of the low range of sand-hills upon which the encampment they had visited was situated. Here descending the precipitous hill to the plain or terrace below, they came once more upon the banks of the Jordan. Numerous black tents occupied the green and richly cultivated plain, or were scattered here and there, close to the river bluff, half hidden by the pale green willow and the deeper shadow of the tamarisk. Here they pitched the tents and waited for the boats — the whole population crowding round them in speechless admiration of all that transpired.

Camp E. by N. from Beïsan, which was two hours distant.

With the interpreter, Mr. Ameuny, and the Arab escort, Mr. Dale had started at an early hour to call upon Muhammed Pasha. The banks of the Jordan, he reports, are divided into two regular steps or terraces, one on each side, before reaching the mountains: 1st, a flat through which the river winds, and 2d, an elevated plain. After passing a deep ravine, he came upon the Emir's wheat fields, which covered the sloping plain to Beïsan; the soil a rich marl.

Following the wady (ravine) towards Beïsan, he came to quite a large stream, issuing directly from the base of a hill, with a solitary palm-tree near it; the first tree of any kind he saw on the elevated plain. The flat, however, was covered with trees. This spring forms an oasis, and is called Ain és Sauda, the black spring.

Instead of passing through the ruins of Beïsan, he went north, about a mile distant from them. He then came in sight of a magnificent valley, filled with the Pasha's tents, and a thousand horses, all picketed out to graze.

Muhammed Pasha, a fat Osmanlie, received him frankly and kindly. He said he was about to move his command (one thousand Turkish cavalry), for the purpose of chastising a band of bad Arabs to the southward, but had delayed his march on our account, for fear of exasperating them to some attack upon us. He gave him coffee, pipes, and oranges, and insisted upon sending ten horsemen to accompany the expedition through the dangerous territory.

It was a magnificent sight, the camp and war-horses spread over this beautiful plain of Jezrael, a branch of Esdraelon.

After a long talk about European affairs, in which the

interpreter endeavoured, quite in vain, to explain to him the beauties of republicanism, Mr. Dale took his departure, and rode through the ancient city of Scythopolis, or Beisan. There were acres of building-stone, old walls, a theatre, &c., in good preservation. A few columns still stood in the valleys. Most of the present buildings appeared to be Saracenic, mills and khans. On the summit was a large fortress-looking building, the court now converted into a cow-yard by the Arabs, who have formed a village round it. He then descended to the plains, passing through two or three collections of black tents, the possessions of the Emir Nassir.

I regretted that the Pasha had sent the horsemen, for their presence would tend more, perhaps, to endanger than to aid us; but, as it was meant in kindness, it would have seemed rude to send them immediately back, particularly as the march of the Turkish detachment had been delayed on our account. But the presence of the horsemen increased my anxiety: the sight of them might exasperate the Arabs, and I had no faith in their courage or fidelity.

The Emir insisted upon our dining with him this evening, and would take no denial. It was decided that a part should go, and a part remain to guard the camp. At 5, the former set out to partake of the wild Arab's hospitality in his black tent. These tents, as I have said, are nothing but strips of black cloth, made of goats' hair, put up hut-fashion, and opening in front. This cloth is coarse and porous, but is said to swell when wet, and thus become impervious to the rain.

When we arrived at their encampment, an Arab woman screamed out and wept bitterly at the sight of 'Akil. In him she recognised the murderer of her husband, in a foray the previous year. If 'Akil felt remorse, as he certainly must have done, he possessed too much

of the stoicism of the savage to let it become apparent.

Great was the Emir's delight at our visit, and more particularly at the honour of receiving a lineal descendant of the Prophet in his tent. He exhibited his flocks of sheep, his cows (the first we had seen on the Jordan), his goats, his camels, and little dirty objects which he called his children. There was the children's pet, a beautiful young camel, three months old, white as drifted snow, with hair soft and fleece-like as wool.

At sunset, a young man wearing a white turban, probably a müllah (or teacher), spread his sheep-skin jacket upon the ground, and stood up and called the faithful to prayer. The Sherif and four others formed a line behind the müllah, who led the recitations. While going through their prostrations, like a file of soldiers, the others were talking as usual.

To add to the scene, the file of horsemen sent by the Pasha, on their way to our camp, arrived in time to partake of our dinner, just then brought in. It consisted of an enormous wooden bowl, filled with a stew of mutton and rice for the Arabs, and a smaller one for ourselves. The sheep had been killed and dressed immediately in front of the tent. All ate with their hands,—the Arabs gathering up small balls of unctuous rice, and fairly cramming it into their mouths. The ogre prince was the most voracious of all, and, instead of Guzzawy, should be called Guzzle-away. Hungry as we were, it was impossible to eat; for, although a separate bowl was placed before us, we had seen the poor sheep killed, and had misgivings of the cleanliness of the cook. The most we could do, was to affect to eat.

It was a wild sight after dark, to see groups of these ragged Ghuarineh seated, in front of the encampment, around a blazing fire.



It was a soft, clear night, and the dew fell heavily in the mid-watch; and the bulbul sang a low, plaintive song in the myrtle thicket, and the sentinels walked to and fro upon the bank, which was wearing away beneath them.

“Hark! their heedless feet from under,  
Drop the crumbling banks for ever;  
Like echoes to a distant thunder,  
They fall into the gushing river.”

“Some gentle thing has heard their tread,” for there was the sound of wings, and a quick, shrill cry, growing fainter and fainter in the distance. This sweet hour of romance was broken in upon by the most appalling sounds:—  
“To arms! to arms!” What is it? Dr. Anderson’s horse has made a foray upon his unsuspecting enemies.

## CHAPTER X.

### FROM FOURTH CAMP ON THE JORDAN TO THE FORD OF SEK'Â.

FRIDAY, April 14. A beautiful morning; but several of us quite sick. Took leave of the caravan for the day, and, with Sherîf and the Emir, descended to the boats by the aid of the gnarled and tangled roots which protruded from the face of the bank; and, with a "push off," "let fall," and "give way," we shot into the current, and swept away before the eyes of the wondering Ghaurîneh. Their astonishment at beholding our boats, and our strange appearance, had in it something extremely ludicrous. On rising at an early hour this morning (for we were generally up and stirring long before the lagging sun), we found the whole bank lined with these wondering barbarians, who were lying at full length upon the bluff, with their heads projecting over the bank, and looking upon the floating wonders beneath; turning, from time to time, to regard the race to whom belonged such rare inventions, such famous mechanism, as boats and six-barrel revolvers.

The boats had little need of the oars to propel them, for the current carried us along at the rate of from four to six knots an hour, the river, from its eccentric course, scarcely permitting a correct sketch of its topography to be taken. It curved and twisted north, south, east, and west, turning, in the short space of half an hour, to every quarter of the compass,—seeming as if desirous to prolong its luxuriant meanderings in the calm and silent valley, and X

reluctant to pour its sweet and sacred waters into the accursed bosom of the bitter sea.

For hours in their swift descent the boats floated down in silence, the silence of the wilderness. Here and there were spots of solemn beauty. The numerous birds sang with a music strange and manifold; the willow branches were spread upon the stream like tresses, and creeping mosses and clambering weeds, with a multitude of white and silvery little flowers, looked out from among them; and the cliff swallow wheeled over the falls, or went at his own wild will darting through the arched vistas, shadowed and shaped by the meeting foliage on the banks; and, above all, yet attuned to all, was the music of the river, gushing with a sound like that of shawms and cymbals.

There was little variety in the scenery of the river to-day. The stream sometimes washed the bases of the sandy hills, and at other times meandered between low banks, generally fringed with trees and fragrant with blossoms. Some points presented views exceedingly picturesque—the mad rushing of a mountain torrent, the song and sight of birds, the overhanging foliage and glimpses of the mountains far over the plain, and here and there a gurgling rivulet pouring its tribute of crystal water into the now muddy Jordan. The western shore was peculiar, from the high calcareous limestone hills, which form a barrier to the stream when swollen by the efflux of the sea of Galilee during the winter and early spring; while the left or eastern bank was low, and fringed with tamarisk and willow, and occasionally a thicket of lofty cane, and tangled masses of shrubs and creeping plants, giving it the character of a jungle. At one place, we saw the fresh track of a tiger on the low clayey margin, where he had come to drink. At another time, as we passed his lair, a wild boar started with a

savage grunt and dashed into the thicket; but, for some moments, we traced his pathway by the shaking cane and the crashing sound of broken branches.

The birds were numerous, and at times, when we issued from the shadow and silence of a narrow and verdure-tented part of the stream into an open bend, where the rapids rattled and the light burst in, and the birds sang their wildwood song, it was, to use a simile of Mr. Bedlow, like a sudden transition from the cold, dull-lighted hall where gentlemen hang their hats, into the white and golden saloon, where the music rings and the dance goes on.

The hawk, upon the topmost branch of a blighted tree, moved not at our approach, but

“Stood with the down on his beak,  
And stared with his foot on the prey;”

and the veritable nightingale ceased not *her* song, for she made day night in her covert among the leaves; and the bulbul, whose sacred haunts we disturbed when the current swept us among the overhanging boughs, but chirruped her surprise, calmly winged her flight to another sprig, and continued her interrupted melodies.

Unable to obtain one alive, we startled the solitude of the wilderness with a gun-shot, and secured the body of a brown-breasted, scarlet-headed and crimson-winged bird, the eastern bulbul. The Arabs call a pretty bird a bulbul, but Sherîf, who was with me in the boat, insisted upon it that it was the specific name of the bird we had killed. We were less successful with others of the feathered race, for although the sharp crack of the rifle and the louder report of the carbine awoke the echoes of the Jordan wilds, no other trophy than this unhappy bulbul could be produced when we met at night. The gentle creatures seemed each to bear a charmed life, for

when we fired at them, they would spread their wings unhurt, and dart into the thick and tangled brushwood, and burst forth again in song from a more hidden covert; or sometimes just rise into the air and wheel above the broken sprig, or torn leaf, to settle once more as calmly as if the noise which had startled them were but the familiar sound of the breaking of a dried branch, or the plunge of a fragment of the soil from the water-worn banks into the current below.

Our course down the stream was with varied rapidity. At times we were going at the rate of from three to four knots the hour, and again we would be swept and hurried away, dashing and whirling onward with the furious speed of a torrent. At such moments there was excitement, for we knew not but that the next turn of the stream would plunge us down some fearful cataract, or dash us on the sharp rocks which might lurk unseen beneath the surface.

For the reasons I have before stated, the Fanny Mason always took the lead, and warned the Fanny Skinner when danger was to be shunned or encountered. When the sound of a rapid was distinct and near, the compass and the note-book were abandoned, and, motioning to the Fanny Skinner to check her speed, our oars began to move like the antennæ of some giant insect, to sweep us into the swiftest, which is ever the deepest, part of the current; when it caught us, the boat's crew and our Arab friend Jūmah (Friday) leaped into the angry stream, accoutred as they were, and, clinging to her sides, assisted in guiding the graceful Fanny down the perilous descent. In this manner she was whirled on, driving between rocks and shallows with a force that made her bend and quiver like a rush in a running stream;—then, shooting her through the foam and the turmoil of the basin below, where, in the seething and effervescing

water, she spun and twirled, the men leaped in, and, with oars and rudder, she was brought to an eddying cove, from whence, by word and gesture, she directed her sister Fanny through the channel.

Beyond these interruptions, the river flowed broad and deep, yet maintaining much of the features of a torrent.

Many islands, some fairy-like, and covered with a luxuriant vegetation, others mere sand-bars and sedimentary deposits, intercepted the course of the river, but were beautiful features in the general monotony of the shores. The regular and almost unvaried scene of high banks of alluvial deposit and sand-hills on the one hand, and the low swamp-like shore, covered to the water's edge with the tamarisk, the willow, and the thick, high cane, would have been fatiguing without the frequent occurrence of sand-banks and verdant islands. High up in the sand-bluffs, the cliff-swallow (*asfûr*) chattered from his nest in the hollow, or darted about in the bright sunshine, in pursuit of the gnat and the water-fly.

A little before twelve o'clock we stopped to take a meridian observation. This requiring but a short time, we were soon on our way again, to encounter more trials in this difficult navigation. As the evening shadows lengthened more and more upon the stream, we repeatedly stopped to look out for the caravan. The Sherif was evidently very uneasy. On each occasion the faithful Jūmah was our scout, but he never landed without putting on a belt with a brace of pistols. He returned, at last, with the intelligence that he had seen the caravan pursuing its march in the distance, and we continued on our way.

The loud report of a carbine presently echoed among the cliffs, and a flock of storks rose from the margin of the river, and flew past us. The Sherif had wounded one

poor fellow, and his leg hung shattered and dangling, as he strove to keep up with his frightened companions. His efforts were unavailing; the movement of his wings was but a spasm of his agony, and he fell in the water before us. The stream carrying him down, threw him on a low marshy bank, where the poor creature was making desperate efforts to drag himself from the water, as we dashed by on the rapid out of sight. I could not refrain from telling Sherif that it was a pity to shoot a bird unfit to eat, and not required as a specimen, and which, by the Muhammedan law, was regarded as a sacred one.

For an hour or more we swept silently down the river, and the last tints of sunset were resting on the summits of the eastern mountains; wet and weary, without a change of clothes, and with neither tents nor provisions, we began to anticipate a night upon the river, separated from our friends, when, at a turn, we beheld a horseman on the crest of a high hill, his long āba and his koofeeyeh streaming in the wind. To our great delight we recognised him to be our gallant 'Akīl. He descended rapidly the almost perpendicular hill-side! None but an Arab steed and rider could have done it!

The brief remainder of our day's journey was rendered more perilous even than the commencement, from the frequency of rapids and the difficulty of navigation in the fast-fading light. The swift current, as we sometimes turned a point of land, would seize us and send us off at a salient angle from our course, as if it had been lurking behind that point like an evil thing, to start out and clutch us suddenly and dash us upon the opposite bank, or run us under the low hanging boughs, as if for the purpose of *rubbing us all out*, or injuring us against the gnarled and projecting roots, where skulked the long clammy earth-worm and the green lizard.



JUM'AH, OF THE TRIBE EL HASSEE.





The scenery became also more wild as we advanced; and as night, like a gloomy Rembrandt, came throwing her dark shadows through the mountain gorges, sobering down the bright tints upon their summits, the whole scene assumed a strange and savage aspect, as if to harmonise with the dreary sea it held within its midst, madly towards which the river now hurried on.

But, altogether, the descent to-day was much less difficult than those which had preceded it. The course of the river formed a never-ending series of serpentine curves, sometimes dashing along in rapids by the base of a mountain, sometimes flowing between low banks, generally lined with trees and fragrant with blossoms. Some places presented views extremely picturesque, the rapid rushing of a torrent, the song and sight of birds, the overhanging trees, and glimpses of the mountains far over the plain. Here and there a gurgling rivulet poured its tribute of pure water into the now discoloured Jordan. The river was falling rapidly; the banks showed a daily fall of about two feet, and frequently we saw sedge and drift wood lodged high up on the branches of overhanging trees — above the surface of the banks — which conclusively proves that the Jordan in its “swellings” still overflows the lower plain, and drives the lion from his lair, as it did in the ancient time.

In some places the substratum of clay along the banks presented the semi-indurated appearance of stone. For the first time we saw to-day sand, gravel, and pebbles, along the shores, and the cane had become more luxuriant, all indicating the approach to the lower Ghor. The elevated plain or terrace, on each side, could be seen at intervals, and the high mountains of Ajlûn were visible in the distance.

At 6.40 P. M., hauled up just above an ugly rapid, which runs by Wady Yâbes (dry ravine).

It looking too hazardous to "shoot" without lightening the boats of the arms, instruments, &c., and there being no near place of rendezvous below, we pitched our tents immediately against the falls and opposite to the ravine.

We have, to-day, passed through the territories of the Emir Nassir el Ghûzzawy, which are two hours in extent, but more than twice the distance along the tortuous course of the river. The tribe musters 300 fighting men. His territory, in size and fertility, surpasses some of the petty kingdoms of Europe.

The Emir and some of his people have wiry hair and very dark complexions, but no other feature of the African. His brother and some of the tribe are bright, but less so than 'Akîl and his followers. The darker colour of the skin may, perhaps, be attributed to the climate of the Ghor.


The hills, forming the banks of the upper terrace, have, to-day, assumed a conical form, with scarped and angular faces, marked with dark bands, and furrowed by erosions. These hills, and the high banks of alluvial deposit, with abrupt and perpendicular faces, indicate that the whole valley has once been covered with water. The prevailing rock seen has been siliceous limestone and conglomerate,—much of the last lying in fragments in the river, covered with a black deposit of oxide of iron and manganese. Towards the latter part of the day, rock was less abundant, alluvion began to prevail, and pebbles, gravel, and sand, were seen beneath the superincumbent layers of dark earth and clay. Just above where we had secured the boats, were large blocks of conglomerate in the stream.

The prevailing trees on the banks have been the willow, the ghurrah, and the tamarisk; the last now beginning to blossom. There were many flowers, of which

the oleander was the most abundant, contrasting finely with the white fringe blossom of the asphodel. Where the banks were low, the cane was ever at the water's edge. The lower plain was covered with a luxuriant growth of wild oats and patches of wild mustard in full flower.

In our course, to-day, we have passed twelve islands, all, but three, of diminutive size, and noted fourteen tributary streams, ten on the right and four on the left bank. With the exception of four, they were but trickling rivulets.

We saw many fish, and a number of hawks, herons, pigeons, ducks, storks, bulbuls, swallows, and many other birds we could not identify—some of them of beautiful plumage. At one time, there were a number of moths flitting over the surface of the stream, and we caught one of them. Its body was about the size of a goose-quill, was an inch in length, and of a cream colour, widest at the head, and its wings, like silver tissue, were as long as the body. After frightening the wee thing by our close inspection, we let it go. Just before coming in sight of camp, we observed several tracks of wild boars.

The surface of the hill behind us was thickly covered with boulders of quartz and conglomerate. Dr. Anderson found the remains of walls at the summit; and one large stone, dressed to a face, and marked . He distinguished two separate formations, one an early and the other a late conglomerate. The bank opposite was high and rocky, and consisted of the same puddingstone, with layers of indurated marl.

In our route of upwards of twenty miles to-day, we saw the scouts but twice; and, in consequence of the nature of the country, the caravan was compelled to diverge

so far from the river, that the guns we fired from time to time at the wild-fowl were unheard.

As we were now approaching the territories of the bad Arabs, and were not far from the place where the boat of poor Molyneux was attacked, every precaution was taken. Our tent was pitched beside a brawling rapid, while all around were lances and tethered horses, betraying the position of the Arabs for the night. On the crest of the hill behind us, the Sherif was looking out upon the vast plain to the southward, although I had just seen the old man asleep on the ground near our tent. He was the counsellor, and 'Akīl the warrior.

It was a strange sight: collected near us lay all the camels, for security against a sudden surprise; while, in every direction, but ever in close proximity, were scattered, lances and smouldering fires, and bundles of garments, beneath each of which was a slumbering Arab, with his long gun by his side. The preparations for defence reminded one of Indian warfare.

At night, Sherif and 'Akīl came to our tent to consult about to-morrow's journey. They stated their suspicions of the tribes through whose territories we were about to pass, and how necessary it would be for the land and the river parties to keep close together. They gave it as their opinion, that it would be impossible for the caravan to proceed on the western shore to-morrow, and advised that early in the morning it should cross over to the eastern side. This course was adopted; and it was agreed that 'Akīl and his scouts should keep along the western, while the caravan took the eastern side,—thus having the boats between, so that one or other of the land parties might be within hearing, and hasten to their rescue, if attacked. It was further agreed, that whenever, by the intervention of the mountains, the land parties were long out of sight

of the boats, scouts should be sent to the summits to look out for them, and that two gun-shots, in quick succession, should be the signal, if attacked. They both said that there was not the slightest danger to the land parties, but expressed great solicitude for the boats. Sherif thought it best for him to be with the caravan to-morrow, as his influence might be of service with the sheikhs of tribes, should they be inclined to hostilities. From the tortuous course of the river, it was supposed that the caravan on the eastern side would be ever in advance of, while the scouts on the western shore would keep pace with, the boats.

Stationing the sentries, we then retired,—some of us quite exhausted, from frequent vomiting throughout the day. I thought that our Bedawin magnified the danger, to enhance their own importance. But it was well to be prepared.

The course of the river varied to-day from N. E. by N. and N. N. W. to S.,—the true course, from the place of departure this morning to our present camp, S. S. W. The width of the river was as much as seventy yards, with two knots current, and narrowed again to thirty yards, with six knots current:—the depth ranging from two to ten feet. The trees and flowers the same as yesterday. X

We struck three times upon sunken rocks during the day, and the last time nearly lost the leading boat: with everything wet, we were at length extricated, in time to direct the channel-way to the Fanny Skinner. The water was slightly discoloured. When we left the camp, the thermometer stood at 76°; but in a few hours the weather was oppressive.

About five miles nearly due west from the camp, were the supposed ruins of Succoth. To get to this place, Jacob must have made a retrograde movement after

meeting Esau, and crossed the Jordan, or recrossed the Jabok.

Saturday, April 15. We were up and off at an early hour this morning, with less than the usual disturbance between the camel-drivers and their insufferable beasts. — Of all the burden-bearing beasts, from the Siam elephant to the Himmaleh goat, this “ship of the desert,” as he has been poetically termed,—this clumsy-jointed, splay-footed, wry-necked, vicious camel, with its look of injured innocence, and harsh, complaining voice, is incomparably the most disagreeable.

Loud have been the praises of its submissive and self-sacrificing spirit, all gentleness and sagacity; its power of enduring hunger and thirst for an indefinite period, and its unwearied tramp day after day through the smiting sun and over the burning sands of the desert; but this animal is anything but patient or uncomplaining. As to the enormous weight it can carry, we have heard it growl in expostulation at a load which the common “kadish” (Syrian pack-horse) would be mortified to have allotted to him as suited to his thews and sinews.

The steady little donkey, with preposterous ears and no perceptible hair on his hide, that leads the trudging caravan, and eats his peck of barley (if he be a lucky donkey), and travels stoutly all day long, is a model for him in endurance; and the most unhappy mule that ever bore pack, or, blindfold, turns the crank of Persian water-wheel, is an example to him of patient meekness and long-suffering. While on the road, *they* do not loiter by the way, dropping their loads and committing trespasses upon the fields of grain, and rarely need to be urged on by the unceasing cry of “yellah,” “hem-she,” and the application of the belabouring cudgel of the mukris. While the “djemmel” (camel), with his hypo-

critical, meek look, his drunken eye, and sunken nether lip, begins to expostulate in a voice discordant with mingled hatred and complaint, from the moment he is forced upon his callous knees, until he clumsily rises with his burden and goes stalking lazily on his road.

The meek enduring look of the camel is a deception ; we have seen it refusing the load, or, shaking it off, rise with a roar, and dash furiously at its master, even while its lip was reeking with the fresh and juicy herb he had just gathered for it.

It is a pity to contradict the pleasing accounts given of this friend of the wandering Bedawin, but our opinions have been formed after close observation of its manners and habits in the desert. Much of the ill-nature and obduracy of the camel is doubtless attributable to the almost entire neglect of its owner in providing food and cleansing its hide, so subject to cutaneous diseases.

In the neighbourhood of towns, where it cannot graze, straw is given to it ; but in the desert it must crop the thistle or the parched herbage as it passes, straying from side to side in its march, like the yawing of a stately ship before the wind. At night, if it be necessary to keep the camels within the encampment for security, the mukris gather thistles, herbage, and dwarf bushes for them, but otherwise turn them loose to graze. There is no question that if the camel were well fed and gently treated, it would sustain the character ascribed to it by partial writers.

The soft, spongy, india-rubber-looking foot of the camel is eaten by the Arabs, and considered a great luxury. ! Perhaps it is the same dish to which "rare Ben Jonson" alludes, when he describes our ancestors of the sixteenth century as eating—

"The tongues of carps, dormice, and *camel's heels*,  
Boiled in the spirit of sol."



Leaving the place of encampment for the ford Wacabes, the caravan wound round the base of a low conical sand-hill, and traversed a small grove of oak and arbutus and a thick and matted undergrowth of brush and briers, with long, keen, penetrating thorns. Here, as had been arranged, 'Akil and his Bedawin scouts separated from the caravan and proceeded down the western shore; while the latter crossed over to the eastern side.

A little barren island divided the stream at the ford, and the current swept by with such rapidity as to render it doubtful whether the passage could be effected. Mr. Bedlow, however, made the attempt, and succeeded in reaching the island with no greater inconvenience than dripping extremities and a moist saddle. The rest were soon in the stream, clumsy camels and all, breasting and struggling, with various success, against the foaming current. There was a singular mixture of the serious and the grotesque in this scene, and the sounds that triumphed above the "tapage" of the boisterous ford, were the yells of the camel-drivers and the cries of the Arabs, mingled with shouts of unrestrained laughter as some impatient horse reeled and plunged with his rider in the stream, and the water was scattered about in froth and spray like a geyser.

The depth and impetuosity of the river caused us some apprehensions for the safety of our cook, Mûstafa, who, being mounted on an ill-favoured, scrubby little beast, already laden to the ears with the implements and raw materials of his art, was in danger, donkey and all, of being snatched from us, like another Ganyমেде, by the Epicurean river-gods, or borne away by some deified Apicius, disguised as a donkey, for the little brute looked at times as if he were swimming away, not fording the stream. The tiny animal, as soon as it had achieved the passage, clambered, dripping, up the sloping bank, and

convulsively shaking his eminently miscalculated ears, signalised his triumphant exploit by one prolonged, hysterical bray, which startled the wilderness, and seemed to be a happy imitation of a locomotive whistle, and the sound of sawing boards, declining gradually to a sob.

From the river, the banks sloped gradually to the terrace above; presenting a broad and undulating surface of sparse wild oats and weeds, and a few fields of grass, intermingled with low bushes, and a slender brown fringe of such light and frail structure, as to bend low with the faintest breath of air.

Among this scanty herbage, and yet hidden by it in the distance, the earth was covered with a luxuriant growth of crimson flowers (the anemone), so thickly matted together, that, to the eye, the ground at times seemed covered with a crimson snow. Here and there, among this sea of scarlet bloom, were patches of yellow daisy, looking like little golden islands in the incarnadined and floral ocean; while the bases of the hills were fringed with a light purple blossom, which not inaptly represented the foam of this preternatural sea.

When the wind, sweeping down the gorges of the hills, passed over the plain, a broad band of crimson marked its course; for the wild grain, light and elastic, bent low, and revealed the flowers beneath it,—presenting the appearance of a phantom river of blood, suddenly issuing from the earth, and again lost to sight, to reappear elsewhere, at the magic breath of the breeze.

This plain was bounded towards the south by a deep ravine, and on its eastern and western sides it rose, in slight and irregular undulations, to a higher terrace or plateau, which blended with the hills in the distance, and seemed like the slopes of mountains, instead of the elevated plain which we knew it to be. Except upon the banks of the river, there was not a tree to be seen;

the sun poured down upon hill, and valley, and stream, a flood of heat and splendour, though as yet it was but early day.

Shortly after passing the rapid, immediately below our place of encampment, the boats were whirled along with great velocity, and barely escaped a rock near the water's edge, and directly in the channel. The stream was fringed with trees of the same variety as have been heretofore noticed, and we began to meet with many false channels, which rendered our navigation more tedious and difficult.

In order that no feature of the river might be omitted, I noted every turn in the course, the depth, the velocity, and temperature of the river; the islands and tributary streams; the nature of its banks; the adjacent scenery, when visible; the trees, flowers, weeds, birds, and tracks of wild beasts. As all this would be tedious in perusal, however necessary for the construction of a chart and an accurate knowledge of the river, I have deemed it best to embody it in an Appendix to the official report.

At 8.34, started from below the rapid. Air, 75°; water, 71°. At 9.28 A. M., we passed Wady el Hammâm (ravine of the bath), with a small stream coming down on the right or western side. It is a slender thread of water finding its way down a chasm, a world too wide for its little stream; but, joined here and there in its meandering descent by tiny tributaries, it comes rattling down its pebbly bed, with the brawling joyousness of a mountain stream. At 9.34, came to a rather ugly rapid, by Wady el Malakh (ravine of salt), with a small stream of clear but brackish water running down from W. N. W. Beheld 'Akîl and some of the scouts upon a hill beyond it. Stopped to examine the rapid for a passage. Saw tracks of a tiger upon the shore, and found some plants of the ghurrah, its leaves triangular-shaped, of a light green

colour, their inner surfaces coated with a saline efflorescence: the other parts of the stem purple, the new growth a light green: the taste of the stem and leaves salt and bitter. The fennel was also quite abundant, the stalks of which, Jūmah, our Arab friend, ate greedily. There were some large blocks of fossil rock on the right bank, and in the bed of the river, of which we collected specimens. The temperature of the brackish stream was 70°.

At 11.30 A. M., we stopped to take a meridian observation of the sun. Temperature of the air, 82°; that of the river, at twelve inches below the surface, at which depth it is always taken, 74°. The heat was exceedingly oppressive for the thermometrical range; for, the wind being excluded by the lofty hills and overhanging trees, it was ever a perfect calm; except when, at times, it came in squalls down the yawning ravines.

The plain above the ravine was much broken, presenting abrupt mounds and sand-hillocks, covered with varieties of the thistle, some of which were peculiar from the sabre shape of their thorns, and the rough and hairy coating of the leaves; the latter emitting a milky fluid when broken. The thorn-bushes were so large and so abundant as to look like apple-orchards. The sides of the ravine exposed conglomerate rocks.

Before starting again, we gathered some flowers for preservation, and a plant with which we were unacquainted. It bears clusters of seeds, eight or ten together, on the extremity of the stamen, resembling in appearance those of the melon; the main stem is five feet high, with thirty-five stamens, each ten inches long. It grows like the castor bean, and is called, by the Arabs, *kelakh*.

The hills preserved their conical shapes, with bald faces, and the water was becoming of a light mud, approaching a milk colour.

Except during the heat of mid-day, when every living thing but ourselves had sought refuge in the thicket or in the crevices of the banks, there were birds flying about in all directions.

At 12.42, we saw the mountains of Salt and Belka ahead, from a turn of the river.

At 1.32 P. M., we stopped to take a sketch of the extraordinary appearance of the terraces of the Jordan. At 2.23, Wady Ajlûn in sight on the left. The land of Fâriâ begins here. The tribe El Fâriâ numbers 100 fighting men. Their territory was on both sides of the river, for one hour in extent. We have, to-day, passed through the territory of Es Sükr el Ghor, the tribe numbering 200 warriors.

The mountains towards the east assumed a gloomy aspect to-day, and stood out like rough and verdureless crags of limestone. Yet, when the eye could withstand the bright glare of the illuminated cliffs and jagged ridges, it detected many portions which seemed susceptible of cultivation; and when breaks in the calcined rocks caught the intense brilliancy, and reflected it into the deep gorges, patches of verdure relieved the arid monotony; but the scene, from the blinding light, permitted no minute investigation.

At 2.34, saw the caravan halted on the bank. Came to and pitched our tents at the ford of Sek'â, on the left or eastern bank, abreast of two small islands. The plain extended six or eight miles on the eastern, and about three-fourths of a mile on the western side. The place of encampment takes its name from a village of the Sükr, two miles distant.

'Akîl was on friendly terms with this tribe, and some of them, who had just come in, stated that their village was last night attacked by about two hundred Bedawin,

who killed several of their men, and carried off nearly all their horses, cattle, and sheep.

About eighteen miles E. by N. are the ruins of Jerash, supposed to be the ancient Pella, to which, Eusebius states, the Christians were divinely admonished to fly, just before the siege of Jerusalem by Titus. With Gadara (Um Keis), it was one of the cities of the Decapolis. It has magnificent ruins, many of them churches, and we deeply regretted our inability to visit them. Its situation is said to be the most beautiful, and its ruins the most interesting, in all Syria. What a field the Hauran presents for exploration!

This was a most solitary day's travel. We had not seen the caravan from the time of starting until now, and 'Akil and his party were visible but once. With the last exception, we did not see a human being. The caravan was a little more fortunate. Shortly after crossing the wady El Malakh (salt ravine), they discovered a solitary plane tree (dilbeh), gnarled and twisted by the action of the winds, its only companions the crimson poppy and the golden daisy, which clustered round its protruding roots like parasites. Their attention was instantly drawn to this solitary tree, for beneath its scanty shade, they saw the glitter of a spear-head, and soon after, two Bedawin horsemen, who came forth, and, hastening in another direction, were soon lost in the thick copse-wood which lined the ravine. For an instant, our Arabs drew the rein and consulted among themselves, when four or five started off at headlong speed in pursuit. Making a long detour to intercept the strange horsemen, they plunged into the ravine, and, like those they pursued, were soon lost to sight in the thick foliage that skirted its sides.

This incident created more excitement than one so trifling would seem to justify; but we were wanderers in an unknown and inhospitable wilderness, among bar-

barous tribes of warlike Arabs, where the only security against rapine and murder is strength of numbers and efficiency of weapons, and where the sight of a stranger to the party prompts each one instinctively to feel for his carbine, or grasp unconsciously the handle of his sword.

The strange horsemen proved to be friendly Benì Sükr on their way to Beisan.

Crossing the ravine of Ajlun, with a considerable stream running down, they met some agricultural Arabs, one of whom kissed Sherif's hand. From the southern side of the ravine, they saw an immense plain stretching towards the Dead Sea. Far off was also visible the village of Abu Abeidah, containing the tomb of a general of Muhammed, some say of a great sultan of Yemen, who died on his way from Arabia Felix to Damascus. While crossing an extensive plain before halting, they saw many very large thistles in full bloom, the flowers various and beautiful; and a prevailing yellow flower, called "murur" by the Arabs. Just before camping, they passed large fields of wheat and barley, fast ripening.

Although the day was some hours past its meridian, the weather was exceedingly sultry, and the eye ached from the reverberated glare of light it had encountered since morning.

There was something in this solitude—in these spots, forsaken and alone in their hopeless sterility and weird silence—that begat reflection, even in the most thoughtless. In all this dreary waste there was no sound; for every living thing had retired, exhausted, from the withering heat and blinding glare. Silence, the fit companion of desolation, was profound. The song of a bird, the chirrup of a grasshopper, the drone of a fly, would have been out of harmony. The wind, without which even solitude is incomplete, sounded mournfully as it went sweeping over the barren plain, and sighed, even in the broad and garish

day, like the blast of autumn among the marshy sedge, where the cold toad croaks, and the withered leaf is spotted like a leprosy.

Here, the eye looked in vain for the soft and tender sky, so often beheld in utter listlessness in our own far-distant land, and yet, dull and ungrateful that we were, we remained untouched with the beauty of its transparent and penetrable blue—pure azote and oxygen—into the immeasurable depths of which the eye pierced and wandered, but to return to earth again, dazzled and unfixed, as though it had caught a glimpse of infinity, and, wearied and overpowered, sought the finite and the tangible,—the comprehensible reality of laminated hills, broad plains, deep valleys, and the mountains, broad of girth and firmly rooted. The heavens of more favoured climes,—climes as yet uncursed of God; skies, tender, deep, and crystalline, so profound in their unfathomableness, and, with their lightning and black thunder-cloud, so terrific in their wrath,—such skies are never seen here.

Here, there is no shifting of the scenes of natural beauty; no ever-varying change of glory upon glory; no varied development of the laws of harmony and truth, which characterise her workings elsewhere; no morning film of mist, or low, hanging cloud of unshed dew; no clouds of feathery cirrus, or white and wool-like pinnacles of cumuli; or light or gorgeous tints, dazzling the eye with their splendours; no arrowy shafts of sunlight streaming through the rifts of drifting clouds; no silvery spikes of morning shooting up in the east, or soft suffusion of evening in the west: but, from the gleam of dawn, that deepens at once into intensity of noon, one withering glare scorches the eye, from which, blood-shot and with contracted pupil, it gladly turns away.

Here, night but conceals and smoulders the flame which



seems to be consuming earth and heaven. Day after day, there is no change. Nature, which elsewhere makes a shifting kaleidoscope with clouds, and sunshine, and pure azure, has here the curse of sameness upon her, and wearies with her monotony.

Beneath a sky hollowed above us like a brazen buckler, and refracting the shafts of smiting sunlight, we journeyed on, heeding neither light nor heat, hunger nor thirst, danger nor fatigue; but each day looked cheerfully forward to the time when we should be gathered on the margin of the river,—the tents all spread, the boats fastened to the shore, the watch-fires blazing, and the sound of human voices breaking the tyrannous silence, and giving a home-like aspect to the wilderness.

The character of the whole scene of this dreary waste was singularly wild and impressive. Looking out upon the desert, bright with reverberated light and heat, was like beholding a conflagration from a window at twilight. Each detail of the strange and solemn scene could be examined as through a lens.

The mountains towards the west rose up like islands from the sea, with the billows heaving at their bases. The rough peaks caught the slanting sunlight, while sharp black shadows marked the sides turned from the rays. Deep-rooted in the plain, the bases of the mountains heaved the garment of the earth away, and rose abruptly in naked, pyramidal crags, each scar and fissure as palpably distinct as though within reach,—and yet we were hours away; the laminations of their strata resembling the leaves of some gigantic volume, wherein is written, by the hand of God, the history of the changes he has wrought.

Towards the south, the ridges and higher masses of the range, as they swept away in the distance, were aerial

and faint, and softened into dimness by a pale transparent mist.

The plain that sloped away from the bases of the hills was broken into ridges and multitudinous cone-like mounds, resembling tumultuous water at "the meeting of two adverse tides;" and presented a wild and chequered tract of land, with spots of vegetation flourishing upon the frontiers of irreclaimable sterility.

A low, pale, yellow ridge of conical hills marked the termination of the higher terrace, beneath which swept gently this lower plain, with a similar undulating surface, half redeemed from barrenness by sparse verdure and thistle-covered hillocks.

Still lower was the valley of the Jordan! The sacred river! Its banks fringed with perpetual verdure; winding in a thousand graceful mazes; its pathway cheered with songs of birds and its own clear voice of gushing minstrelsy; its course a bright line in this cheerless waste. Yet beautiful as it is, it is only rendered so by contrast with the harsh, dry, calcined earth around. The salt-sown desert!

There is no verdure here that can vie, in intensity or richness, with that which June bestows upon vegetation in our own more favoured but less consecrated land; where the margins of the most unnoticed woodland stream are decked with varieties of tree and shrub in almost boundless profusion.

Here are no plummy elms, red-berried ash, or dark green hazel; no linden, beech or aspen; no laurel, pine, or birch; and yet, unstirred by the wind, the willow and the tamarisk droop over the glittering waters, with their sad and plume-like tresses; the lily bending low, moistens its cup in the crystal stream, and the oleander blooms and flowers on the banks. Amid the intricate foliage cluster the anemone and the asphodel, and the tangled

copse is the haunt of the bulbul and the nightingale. There is a pleasure in these green and fertile banks, seen far along the sloping valley; a tracery of life, amid the death and dust that hem it in;—

“A thing of beauty and a joy for ever,”

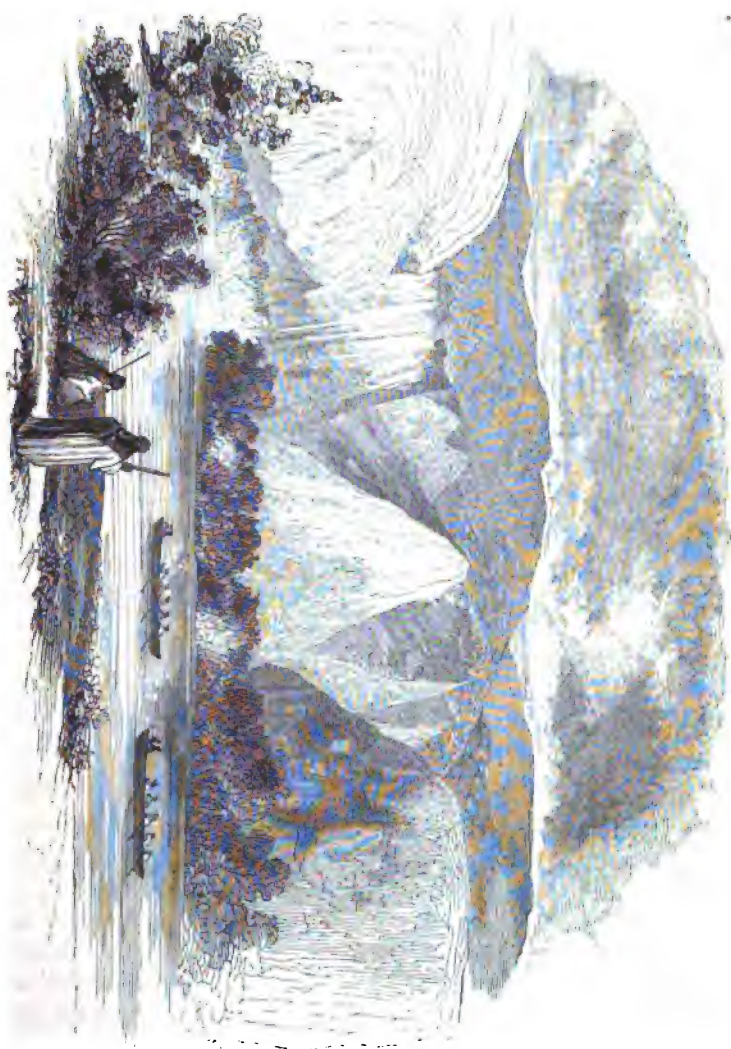
so like some trait of gentleness in a corrupt and wicked heart.

Soon after camping, Sherîf brought to me a fruit or nut which was described by the land party as growing upon a small thorny tree. The fruit is somewhat like a small date, but of an olive-green colour, the bark of the tree smooth, the leaves thin, long, and oval, and of a brighter green than the bark or fruit. It is bitter and acrid to the taste, and is called by our Arabs the “zukkûm,” which is declared by the Koran to be the food of infidels in hell. Dr. Robinson, quoting Maundrell and Pococke, describes it as the “balsam tree,” from the nut of which the oil of Jericho is extracted—called by the pilgrims Zaccheus’ oil, from the belief that the tree which bears it was the one climbed by Zaccheus. Scripture, as Dr. Robinson states, renders it, with more probability, the sycamore or plane tree. The “zukkûm”\* is little more than a shrub in height, and its branches are covered with thorns.

One of the land party brought in a leaf of the osher plant, which bears the Dead Sea fruit. It is oval, thick,

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\* Zukkûm, or zaccoun of the Arabs, has various English names, as Jericho plum, Jerusalem willow, oleaster, wild olive, &c. It is the *elæagnus angustifolius* of botanists. This tree much resembles the olive, and has been mistaken by many writers for the wild variety of that useful tree. The resemblance is close, not only in the leaves, but also in the fruit; the last, however, is larger and more oblong. The oil extracted from the nut or kernel has been long celebrated in Syria as very efficacious in the treatment of wounds and bruises, and is said to be preferred to the balsam of Mecca for that purpose. It is also supposed by some to be the *Myrobalanus* of Pliny; and Belen says that near the Jordan he found “les



SCENE ON THE JORDAN.



and of a deep green colour, very much resembling that of the caoutchouc or India-rubber plant; the flower a delicate purple, growing in pyramidal clusters. The fruit was not yet formed. The centre of the stalk is pithy, like the alder, and discharges a viscous milky fluid when cut or broken.

The land party also saw the nūbk or sidr tree, bearing a fruit about the size of a cherry, but its colour more yellow than red. It looks very much like a withered crab-apple, has a large kernel or stone, and is slightly acid, but not juicy. The Arabs are fond of the fruit in its present state, and frequently pulverize the meat for flour. The nūbk is the "spina Christi" of Hasselquist, from the pliant, thorny branches of which, it is supposed, was made the mock crown of the Redeemer.

At sunset, bathed in the refreshing waters of the Jordan. Sherîf says that the Muhammedans are divided into two sects, the Shiahs, believing in the Koran only, and the Sunnites, in both the Koran and tradition. In the strict sense of the term they are all Unitarians, and hold Christians as idolaters, for their belief in and worship of the divinity of the Saviour and the Paraclete. They believe in the interposition of angels in human

arbres qui portent les Myrobalans citrins du noyau desquels les habitans font d' l'huile." Dr. Boyle seems inclined to believe that this oil is the tzeie (translated balm in our version) mentioned in Genesis, as it is there noticed as a product of Gilead, and which could not have been what is now called balm or balsam of Gilead, as the tree producing it is a native of Arabia or Abyssinia and not of Palestine; being only cultivated in one or two places in the latter country, and not until a period long after that of Jacob. From this and the evidence afforded in many other parts of the Bible, it appears certain that the balsam alluded to was a production of Gilead, and also that it was used as a medicine; and there is a strong probability that it was the oil from the zukkûm. The oil is extracted first by pressing the crushed nuts, and a further portion is obtained by boiling them.—*Griffith.*

affairs, and in the resurrection and final judgment. They are divided in opinion with regard to purgatory, or an intermediate state after death, and hold Moses, the Saviour, and Muhammed, to have been prophets of God, the last the greatest. And yet in his absurd night journey to heaven, Muhammed makes Moses and the other prophets desire his prayers, but asks himself for those of the Saviour. They believe that another, in the semblance of the Redeemer, was crucified in his stead. When I asked Sherîf if he did not think that a good Christian might get to heaven, he answered,

“How can you hope it, when you insult the God you believe in, by supposing that He died the ignominious death of a criminal?”

This people, sensually imaginative, are incapable of a refined, spiritual idea; and the arch-impostor, Muhammed, well understood the nature of his countrymen.

Heretofore, we have been lulled to sleep by the hoarse sound of a rapid; all, except those who, having to encounter it, felt naturally solicitous for the result. The noise of a rapid is much louder by night; and one a mile off, sounds as if it were madly rushing through the camp. We were now, however, comparatively quiet.

As the attack upon the neighbouring village, last night, showed that bad Arabs were about, and there had been many strangers in the camp during the evening; after all but the sentries had retired to rest, I went round to see that each one had his ammunition-belt on and his weapons beside him; and repeated the injunction to rally round the blunderbuss in the event of an alarm. But the night passed away quietly.

Late in the first watch, an interesting conversation was overheard between 'Akîl and the Nassir.

Last year, while in rebellion against the government, 'Akîl, at the head of his Bedawin followers, had swept

these plains, and carried off a great many horses, cattle, and sheep; among them the droves and herds of the Nassir. There had, in consequence, been little cordiality between them since they met at Tiberias; but, to-night, Nassir asked 'Akīl if he did not think that he had acted very badly in carrying off his property. The latter answered no; that Nassir was then his enemy, and that he, 'Akīl, had acted according to the usages of war among the tribes. The Nassir then asked about the disposition made of various animals, and especially of a favourite mare. 'Akīl said that he had killed so many of the sheep, given so many away, and sold the rest; the same with the cattle and horses. As to the mare, he said he had taken a fancy to her, and that it was the one he now rode. This the Emir knew full well.

After some further conversation, Nassir proposed that they should bury all wrongs and become brothers. To this 'Akīl assented. The former, thereupon, plucked some grass and earth, and lifting up the corner of 'Akīl's āba, placed them beneath it; and then the two Arabs embracing, with clasped hands, swore eternal brotherhood.

When questioned, immediately after, upon the subject, 'Akīl stated that so obligatory was the oath of fraternity, that should he hereafter carry off any thing from a hostile tribe, which had once, no matter how far back, been taken from the Emir, he would be bound to restore it.

As an instance, he mentioned that when he was in the service of Ibrahim Pasha, there were nine other tribes besides his own; and that in one of their expeditions they carried off a number of sheep, forty of which were assigned as his portion: that shortly after, an Arab came forward and claimed some of them on the ground of fraternization. 'Akīl told him that he did not know and had never seen him before; but the man asserted and



proved that their fathers had exchanged vows, and the sheep claimed were consequently restored.

These Bedawin are pretty much in the same state as the barons of England and the robber knights of Germany were, some centuries back.

We have, to-day, descended ten moderate and six ugly rapids, and passed three tributaries to the Jordan, two quite small, and one of respectable size. Also four large and seventeen small islands. We have now reached a part of the river not visited by Franks, at least since the time of the crusades, except by three English sailors, who were robbed, and fled from it, a short distance below. The streams have all names given them by the Arabs, but the islands are nameless and unknown.

The course of the river, to-day, has varied from north-west to south, and from thence to east; but the prevailing direction has been to the southward and westward. The velocity of the current has ranged from two to eight knots per hour; the average about three and a half knots. The depth has been in proportion to the width and velocity of the stream. At one place the river was eighty yards wide and only two feet deep. The average width has been fifty-six yards, and the average depth a little more than four feet.

Where the river was narrow, the bottom was usually rock or hard sand, and in the wider parts soft mud. In the narrowest parts, also, the river flowed between high banks; either bald-faced alluvial hills, or conglomerate,—in one place, fossil rock. Where the stream was wide the banks were low alluvion; towards the latter part of the day, resting upon sand or gravel. Where the stream was wide and sluggish, running between alluvial banks, the water was discoloured; in some places of a milky hue. Where narrow, and flowing between and over rocks, it was comparatively clear. At starting, in the

morning, the temperature of the air was 78°, and of the water, twelve inches below the surface, 71°. In the course of the day, the former rose eight and the latter three degrees. Excepting once, early in the afternoon, when a light air from the eastward swept through an opening, it was a perfect calm, and the heat felt oppressive; yet less so, than the dazzling glare of light. We have twice, to-day, struck on rocks, but suffered no material damage.

Our encampment was close to the river's edge, where the banks were thickly wooded and the soil sandy. In front, the stream was divided by a small island, below which was the ford of Sckâ.

The scene of camping for the night is ever a busy one. The uprearing tents, the driving of the tent-pins, the wearied camels standing by, waiting to be disburdened, all remind one forcibly of the graphic descriptions of the Bible. There are other features, too, illustrative of our brotherhood with the children of the desert—Sherîf, seated beneath a tree, or under the shadow of a rock, issuing commands to his immediate followers, and 'Akil reconnoitering from the summit of a hill, or scouring about the plain, stationing the outposts.

With us, too, everything bore the aspect of a military expedition through a hostile territory. The boats, when practicable, were securely moored in front, and covered by the blunderbuss; the baggage was piled between the tents, and the sentries paced to and fro in front and rear.

Among the trees which bordered the river-bank, the horses of our Arab friends were this evening tethered, while our own luxuriously enjoyed a clandestine supper in the wheat-field near at hand.

At this time, our benign and ever-smiling Mũstafa, with his bilious turban and marvellous pants, wide and draperied, but not hiding his parenthetical legs, seemed

almost ubiquitous. At one time, he was tearing something madly from his laden donkey; and the next, he was filling pipes, and, hand on breast, presenting them with low salaams; or, like a fiend, darting off after the Doctor's horse, which, having evaded the watchful Hassan, was charging upon the others, and frightening "the souls of his fearful adversaries" with the thunder of his nostrils.

The day had been one of intense heat, and the physical relaxation, caused by fatigue and exposure, made us extremely sensitive to the chilly atmosphere of evening.

The pale light of the rising moon, and the red flush of sunset, made the twilight linger, and gave to the east and the west the appearance of an auroral ice-light. The dew fell early and heavily, and the firm white sand of the river-bank was cold to the feet.

As night advanced, the blaze of our watch-fires dispelled, to a great extent, the chill of the air around us. Our Arab scouts were posted on the hills which overlooked the camp, and our own guards, with glittering carbines and long, keen bayonets, were pacing in front and rear of the baggage and the tents. The scene was wild and picturesque.

Around the blazing fires, which shot long, flickering tongues of flame into the night, and seemed to devour darkness, were gathered in circles, groups of Franks and wild Bedawin, solemnly smoking the chibouque, drinking coffee, or listening eagerly, as, with wild gesticulations, one related an adventure of the day, or personal incident of times gone by. Who, in the desert or the wilderness, would not listen to the veriest idle legend that ever bel-dame croaked over the blaze of "Yule," on Christmas eve?

The camels were lying here and there about the camp, silent and motionless, utterly unconscious of their merit as objects in the picturesque.

The tents were pitched upon a sandy bank, in a small opening, flanked by groves of willow and tamarisk, with an inner edging of acacia. The ford ran diagonally from bank to bank, across the most impetuous, but shallow part of the stream. The bright watch-fires threw bars of red and trembling light over the shadowed waters, and illuminated the sombre willow groves beyond, among which, as if entangled in their boughs, hung motionless, as clouds hang in the chasms of mountains, a long and silvery film of unfallen dew; while the purple shadows of the distant hills mingled with the cold grey of the evening, rendering all beyond dim and mysterious; and the peaked and jagged outlines of the lofty range, cut sharp and black against the sky, now faint and pale, yet relieved by the beautiful swell and regular waving curvature of the lower hills.

Before the blue tent of Sherif were gathered our Arab friends, a large circle of swart faces, illuminated by the light of a crackling fire, listening to 'Akil's bard, who sang Arabic love-songs, to the accompaniment of his rebabeh, or viol of one string.

As we drew near to enjoy this wild romantic concert, the Sherif and 'Akil, stepping forth from the circle, invited us among them, with an urbanity and kindness of manner, unsurpassed by the courtesy of highest civilization. Mats were spread for us at the opening of the tent, and the Tourgiman having interpreted their many expressions of welcome, the bard was requested to continue the music, which had been interrupted by our approach.

Without affecting a slight cough, or making vain excuses, he immediately complied. With his semicircular bow he began a prelude, "fashioning the way in which his voice should go," and then burst forth in song. The melody was as rude as the instrument which produced it, a music, not such as Keats describes—

“Yearning like a God in pain;”

but a low, long-drawn, mournful wail, like the cry of the jackal set to music. He sang of love, but had it been a dirge, the wail of the living over the dead, it could not have been more heart-rending and lugubrious. There was no passion, no mirthfulness, no expression of hope or fear; but a species of despairing, chromatic anguish; and we could not refrain from regarding the instrument as an enchanted sexton's spade, singing of the graves it had dug, and the bodies it had covered with mould.

And yet, these children of the desert enjoyed the performance, and from under the dark brows, made darker by the low, slouching *koofeeyeh*, their eyes glistened, and the red light gleamed on glittering teeth displayed in smiles of approbation.

These demonstrations of enjoyment appeared strange to us; for the song, to our ears, told only of mattocks and shrouds and the grave-digger's song in *Hamlet*;—

“A pickaxe and a spade, a spade,  
For —, and a winding-sheet.”

The bard was not a true *Bedawin*, but of Egyptian parentage, and resembled more our ideas of a ghoul than a human being. Low of stature and lightly built, he was thin, even to attenuation; and his complexion of a pale, waxy, cadaverous hue. His eyes were small, black, and piercing, shadowed by thick pent-house brows, which, like his straggling beard, was nearly red; his lips livid, his teeth white and pointed, and the nails of his skinny hands as long as talons. His whole appearance assisted materially in sustaining the ideas of coffins and palls, mildew and worms, and other grave-yard garniture.

The costume of the minstrel was not materially different from that of his *Bedawin* companions. His head, like theirs, was closely shaven above the temples, and

covered with a small red skull-cap or *tarbouch*, over which was thrown the *koofeeyeh*, a coarse cotton shawl or kerchief, triangularly folded, with broad stripes of white and yellow, the ends ornamented with a plaited fringe, hung on each side of the face down to the shoulders, and was confined over the *tarbouch* by two bands of the *akal*, a roughly twisted, black cord of camel's hair. An *āba*, or narrow cloak made of camel's hair, of extremely coarse texture, broadly striped white and brown, and fashioned like the Syrian burnoose, or horseman's cloak, hung negligently about his person.

Beneath the *āba* he wore a long, loose cotton shirt, of very equivocal white, confined at the waist by a narrow leathern belt; a pair of faded red buskins,

“A world too wide for his shrunk shanks,”

and fearfully acute at the toes, where they curved like a sleigh-runner, completed his costume.

While the bard and his *rebabeh* discoursed most melancholy music for our entertainment, the black and aromatic *kahweh*\* (coffee) was handed round by an attendant of 'Akīl Aga, — a tall, wiry-framed Nubian, with keen white teeth, and a complexion as black as Orcus, — black even to the surface of the heavy lips, and with a skin drawn with extreme tension over the angular facial bones, giving it the dry and embalmed appearance of a Memphian mummy.

Each of us having drunk his little cup of coffee and smoked a pipe, the stem of which had run the gauntlet of every pair of lips in that patriarchal group, we were about to retire, when the Emir Nassir, the wild old black-guard, seizing (he never took anything) the “sexton's

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\* *Kahweh* is an old Arabic term for *wine*; Turkish, *kahveh*; Italian, *caffè*; English, coffee. Can it be that the Muslims, in their affection, preserved the name of the beverage interdicted by their prophet?

spade" (the rebabeh), to our unfeigned astonishment commenced a song as if he too were a ghou! and could give us in character some church-yard stave in honour of his ghostly trade.

Translated by the Tourgiman, and versified by Mr. Bedlow, his song ran thus :

" At her window, from afar,  
I saw my love, my Bedawiyeh,  
Her eyes shone through her white kināa,  
It made me feel quite faint to see her."

While singing, the Ogre Prince looked with grotesque devotedness and an inimitable languishing air upon Sherif Musaid, sitting near him, who for the nonce he had idealized into his "love," his "Bedawiyeh." The song was evidently a foreign one, perhaps derived from Persia. An Arab poet would have placed his love at the opening of the tent, or beside the fountain. A Bedawiyeh, the fawn of the desert, and a window, the loop-hole of what they consider a prison, accord but ill together.

The amateur musician surpassed the professional one, and the prince transcended the bard, as well in execution as in the quality of his voice. The music, although more varied in character and modulation, was essentially the same in its prevailing sadness. Truly "all the merry-hearted do sigh" in this strange land; a land from which "gladness is taken away," and mirth, where it doth exist, hath a dash of grief and a tone of desperate sorrow. The sound of tabret and harp, of sackbut and psaltery, the lute, the viol, and the instrument of two strings, are heard no more in the land; and the "rebabeh," with its sighing one string, befits the wilderness and the wandering people who dwell therein.

Not even the Emir, although he threw all the mirth he could command into his voice, and touched the string with quick, elastic fingers, striking out notes and half-



SHERÎF MASA'AD-EMIR NASSIR-BENI SUK'R SHEIKH.





notes with musical precision ;—although his dark eyes flashed and his white teeth glistened, as he smiled seductively upon Musaid, and swayed his body to and fro, and nodded his head to the measure of his minstrelsy, and triumphed over the bard, and won applause with every verse, he *could not* change the tone,—there was the same sad minor running through the song.

Those low, complaining tones lingered in our ears long after the sound had ceased, and the Arabs were gathered in sleep around the smouldering watch-fires.

Towards morning, the wind swept down upon us from the mountain gorges, and caused some of us to dream of snow-drifts and icicles, and unseasonable baths in cold streams.



## CHAPTER XI.

### FROM FORD OF SEK'Â TO PILGRIM'S FORD.

SUNDAY, April 16. A pleasant day—wind light from north-east. We were on the move early this morning. Sherîf was very uneasy about the boats; and yet thought it advisable for him to be with the caravan. He was urgent that the Emir should accompany us on the river. The latter excused himself on the plea of headache.

After a cup of coffee, taken standing, started off with the boats, leaving the caravan to cross over again, and proceed down the right bank.

I found that our Arabs were utterly ignorant of the course of the river, or the nature of its current and its shores. Heretofore, we had been enabled to see the cara-

van at least once in a day's journey ; but yesterday, from the impossibility of penetrating along the left bank and the high precipitous character of the hills on the right, we saw nothing of them, and our meeting even at night, was, for a long time, very doubtful.

The country presented the same appearance as yesterday, except that conglomerate or any kind of rock was rarely seen ; but in their stead, banks of semi-indurated clay. The lower plain was evidently narrower and the river often swept alternately against the hills, mostly conical in their shape, and with bold faces, which flank the lower and mark the elevation of the upper plain.

These various ramifications of mountain ranges and intervening platforms and valleys afford, according to Humboldt, evidences of ancient volcanic eruptions undergone by the crust of the globe, these having been elevated by matter thrust up in the line of enormous cracks and fissures.

The vegetation was nearly the same in character, save that it was more luxuriant and of brighter tint on the borders of the stream ; more parched and dull on either side beyond it. The oleander increased ; there was less of the asphodel, and the acacia was rarely seen, as heretofore, a short distance inland. The tamarisk was more dense and lofty, and the canes were frequently thick and impenetrable. There were many drift-trees in the stream, and bushes and branches were lodged high up in the trees which lined the banks ; and much above the latter, conclusive marks of a recent freshet. There were many trees on each side, charred and blackened by fire—caused, doubtless, by the Arabs having burned the dried-up grass to renew their pastures. The ghurrah was also becoming abundant ; and we noticed that whenever the soil was dry, the leaves of this tree were most silvery.

About an hour after starting, we came to the place

where Molyneux's boat was attacked while he was journeying down by land. Stopped to examine. It is just above a very rapid part of the river, where the boat could not have been stopped if the crew had kept her in the stream, unless most of them had been killed by gunshots from the shore. As they all escaped, I concluded that they were surprised when asleep, or loitering on their way. We here saw tracks of a tiger, and of other wild beasts which we could not identify.

In many places the trees were drooping to the water's edge, and the channel sometimes swept us under the branches, thereby preventing us from carrying our awnings; in consequence of which, we suffered more than heretofore from exposure to the sun.

At 8.30, there were Arabs in sight on a high hill, and we heard others in the swamp; apprehending a stratagem, we laid on the oars and stood by our arms; but we were not molested.

At 9.30, saw again tracks of wild animals on shore. At 10.38, we struck upon a snag, the current very strong. At 11.20, saw some of our scouts on a hill. 11.40, stopped to take meridian observations. Temperature of the air, 92°; of the water, 72°.

At 12.05, started again. At 12.28, Arabs hailed from a high hill on the right, asking whether the horsemen who had passed were friends or enemies. We supposed that they referred to our scouts. At 1 P. M., again saw tracks of wild animals upon the shore; also a great many wild pigeons, some of them very large. The banks, hereabouts, were of red clay, resting on white; the last, semi-indurated, and appearing like stone. There were many fissures in the hills and much debris fallen into the stream. At a sudden turn, started up a flock of partridges.

At 1.54, we saw a castor-bean plant growing upon the shore; and, shortly after, passed under an overhanging

tree, with a bush fifteen feet up in its branches, lodged there by a recent freshet; for it was deciduous, and the green leaves of the early season were upon it. The river must this year have overflowed to the foundations of the second terrace. We saw some drooping lily-plants, long past their flowering.

At 2.04, the river running between high triangular hills, we struck in descending a rapid; clothes, note-book, and papers, thoroughly wet, but the boats uninjured.

At 2.27, came in sight of the encampment, the tents, as heretofore, already pitched;—the camping-place, Mukutta Damieh (Ford of Damieh), where the road from Nabulus to Salt crosses the river.

We made but a short day's journey, in consequence of there not being another place where the boats and caravan could meet between this and the bathing-place of the Christian pilgrims.

Soon after our arrival, both Sherîf and Akîl, calling me aside, expressed their belief that the Emir feigned a headache in the morning from fear of going in the boats. The same idea had occurred to me before, but was dismissed as an ungenerous one. They, however, cited circumstantial but conclusive proof that their suspicion was not unfounded.

In the early part of their march to-day, the caravan anticipated a skirmish. A strange Arab, supposed to belong to a marauding party, was seen in the distance. The line was closed and the scouts came in, all but a few that were sent to reconnoitre a deep ravine in front. Although but one man was seen, it was suspected that many were concealed in the ravine; for directly opposite was a large encampment of black tents.

Our Bedawin felt or feigned a conviction that an engagement would take place, and all due preparations were immediately made. The camels were halted, and the

horsemen, collecting in front, waited for the reconnoitering scouts to return. In the mean time, our Arabs went through their feats of horsemanship, singing their war-song, and seemed to be endeavouring to work themselves into a state of phrensy. At their solicitation, Mr. Dale laid aside his hat and put on a tarbouch and koofeeyeh. Guns were unslung and freshly capped, and swords were loosened in their scabbards.

At a signal from one of the returning scouts, the word was given to advance. With the rest, Mr. Bedlow spurred his horse to urge him forward; but, less valorous or more discreet than his rider, the more he was spurred the farther he backed from the scene of anticipated conflict.

The other party kept aloof, proving neither hostile nor friendly, and 'Akil, as he passed, contemptuously blew his nose at them. They were believed to belong to the tribe El Bely or El Mikhâil Meshakâh, whose territories were hereabouts. Doubtless, they were the same who hailed us, to know whether the horsemen who had passed were friends or enemies.

After dinner, some of the party crossed the river to examine the ruins of a bridge, seen by the land party from the upper terrace, just before descending to the river. They had to force their way through a tangled thicket, and found a Roman bridge spanning a dry bed, once, perhaps, the main channel of the Jordan, now diverted in its course.

The bridge was of Roman construction, with one arch entire, except a longitudinal fissure on the top, and the ruins of two others, one of them at right angles with the main arch, probably for a mill-sluice. The span of the main arch was fifteen feet; the height, from the bed of the stream to the keystone, twenty feet. From an elevation, the party could see, towards the east, three or four

miles distant from them, a line of verdure indicating a water-course. The Arabs say that it is the Zerka (Jabok), which, on the maps, flows into the Jordan very near this place. It approaches quite close, and then pursues a parallel course with the Jordan. To-morrow, we shall probably determine the exact point of junction. To the best of our knowledge, this bridge has never before been described by travellers.

We were amused this evening at witnessing an Arab kitchen in full operation. The burning embers of a watch-fire were scraped aside, and the heated ground scooped in a hollow to the depth of six or eight inches, and about two feet in diameter. Within this hole was laid, with scrupulous exactness of fit and accommodation to its concave surface, a mass of half-kneaded dough, made of flour and water. The coals were again raked over it, and the fire replenished. A huge pot of rice was then placed upon the fire, into which, from time to time, a quantity of liquid butter was poured, and the compound stirred with a stout branch of a tree, not entirely denuded of its leaves. When the mess was sufficiently cooked, the pot was removed from the fire, the coals again withdrawn, and the bread taken from its primitive oven. Besmeared with dirt and ashes, and dotted with cinders, it bore few evidences of being an article of food. In consistency, as well as in outward appearance, it resembled a long-used blacksmith's apron, rounded off at the corners. The dirtiest ash-pony of the southern negro would have been a delicacy, compared to it.

The whole party gathered round the pot in the open air, and each one tearing off a portion of the leather-bread, worked it into a scoop or spoon, and, dipping pell-mell into the pilau, made a voracious meal, treating the spoons as the Argonauts served their tables, eating them for dessert. With a wash in the Jordan, they were imme-

diately after ready for sleep, and in half an hour were as motionless as the heaps of baggage around them.

Monday, April 17. At an early hour, Mūstafa, shivering and yawning, was moving about in preparation of the morning meal. Long before the sun had risen over the mountains of Gilead, the whole encampment was astir, and all was haste, for there was a long day's work before us.

Although the air was damp and chilly, we knew, from past experience, that before noon the sun would blaze upon us with a power sufficient to carbonize those who should be unprotected from its fierceness. Moreover, from the plateau behind our camp, we could see nothing towards the south but rough and barren cliffs, sweeping into the purple haze of the lower Ghor. And the rolling sand-hills, which form the surface of the upper plain, stretched far along the bases of the mountains without a mark of cultivation, or the shelter of a tree. Heretofore, we had seen patches of grain, but there were none now visible, and all before us was the bleakness of desolation.

The banks of the river, too, were less verdant, except immediately upon the margin, and the vegetation was mostly confined to the ghurrah, the tamarisk, and the cane; the oleander and the asphodel no longer fringed the margin, and the acacia was nowhere seen upon the bordering fields.

As soon as we were up, I sent for the Emir, the Sherîf, and 'Akîl, and, in presence of the two last, told the first that, as we were not now in his territory, we no longer required his presence. I then paid him for the services of the guides he had furnished, and for the extra assistance they had rendered in getting the boats down the rapids. As he had declined going in the boats yesterday, when his presence might have been important, I refused to give him anything more than the āba and koofeeyeh he had before received. 'Akîl accompanied him to the



top of the hill, where they both alighted, and, in the sight of the camp, embraced each other.

With a bite and a sop from Mũstafa's frying-pan, we were off at 6.25 A. M. The river, forty yards wide and seven feet deep, was flowing at the rate of six knots down a rapid descent, with much drift-wood in the stream.

We soon passed two large islands, and at 6.57, saw tracks of wild beasts on the shore.

Many large trees were floating down, and a number were lodged against the banks, some of them recently uprooted, for they had their green leaves upon them, and, as on yesterday, there were some small ones lodged high up in the branches of the overhanging trees. The banks were all alluvion, and we began to see the cane in blossom. Altogether, the vegetation was more tropical than heretofore.

At 9 A. M., quite warm. Many birds were singing about the banks and under cover of the foliage, but we saw few of them; now and then some pigeons, doves, and cranes, and occasionally a bulbul. At 10.04, stopped to examine a hill, and collected specimens of semi-indurated clay, coated with efflorescence of lime. The bases of the ridges on each side, presented little evidences of vegetation or fertility of soil, notwithstanding their proximity to the river. A few scrubby bushes were scattered here and there, exhibiting the utter sterility of the country through which we were journeying.

Fields of thistles and briars occasionally varied the scene; and their sharp projecting thorns bore the motto of the Gael, "Nemo me impune lacessit."

The hills which bounded the valley were immense masses of silicious conglomerate, which, with occasional limestone, extended as far as the eye could reach, showing the geological formation of the Ghor from Lake Tiberias to the Dead Sea, where the limestone is said to preponderate.

High up in the faces of these hills were immense caverns and excavations, whether natural or artificial we could not tell. The mouths of these caves were blackened, as if by smoke. They may be the haunts of predatory robbers. At 11.40, stopped for meridian observation, near a huge conglomerate rock.

At 1.20, came to the River Jabok (Zerka), flowing in from E. N. E., a small stream trickling down a deep and wide torrent bed. Stopped to examine it. The water was sweet, but the stones upon the bare exposed bank were coated with salt. There was another bed, then dry, showing that in times of freshet there were two outlets to this tributary, which is incorrectly placed upon the maps.

There was much of the ghurrah, which seems to delight in a dry soil and a saline atmosphere. The efflorescence on the stones, and on the leaves of the ghurrah, must be a deposition of the atmosphere, when the wind blows from the Dead Sea, about twenty miles distant, in a direct line.

It was here that Jacob wrestled with the angel, at whose touch the sinew of his thigh shrunk up. In commemoration of that event, the Jews, to this day, carefully exclude that sinew from animals they kill for food.

This river, too, marks the northern boundary of the land of the Ammonites.

At 1.30, started again, and soon after saw a wild boar swimming across the river. Gave chase, but he escaped us.

At 4.32, passed a dry torrent-bed on the right, probably the Wady el Hammâm, which separated the lands of the tribe of Manasses from those of the tribe of Ephraim. Still opposite to us was the land of the tribe of Gad. On that side, about twenty miles distant, was Amman, Rab-bath Ammon, the capital of the Ammonites. The

country of Ammon derived its name from Ben-ammi, the son of Lot.

At 4.52, we passed down wild and dangerous rapids, sweeping along the base of a lofty, perpendicular hill.

At 5.14, a small stream on the left: stopped to examine it; found the water clear and sweet; temperature, 76°.

At 5.40, heard and caught glimpses of an Arab in the bushes on the left; at the same time a number of Arabs were calling loudly to us from a hill on the right. Stopped for the other boat to close in, and prepared for a skirmish; at this moment there was a shot from above, and concluding that the other boat had been fired upon, I directed the men to shoot the first objects they saw in the bushes. Fortunately the man we had first seen had now become alarmed and concealed himself; and immediately after, the Fanny Skinner hove in sight, having stopped a moment to fire at a bird. The man in the bushes proved to be a messenger sent by the Arabs on the hill to show us the place of rendezvous for the night. They had been spoken by the caravan as it passed; and their messenger, instead of selecting a conspicuous place on the right bank, had crossed over, and was floundering through the thicket when we came upon him.

This Arab was sent by the sheikh of Huteim, a tribe near Jericho, and brought from him a present of oranges, and a thin, paste-like cake made in Damascus, of debs (a syrup from grapes), starch, and an aromatic seed, I think the sesame. The oranges were peculiarly grateful after the heat and fatigue of the day. The cake was very good if you were very hungry, and, like the marchioness's lemonade, excellent, if you made-believe very hard.

The sun went down and night gradually closed in upon us, and the rush of the river seemed more impetuous as the light decreased. We twice passed down rapids,

taking care each time to hug the boldest shore. Besides the transition from light to darkness, we had exchanged a heated and stifling for a chilly atmosphere; and while the men, more fortunate, kept their blood in circulation by pulling gently with the oars, the sitters in the stern-sheets fairly shivered with the cold.

There had been such a break-down in the bed of the stream since we passed the Jabok, and such evident indications of volcanic formation, that we became exceedingly anxious. In the obscure gloom we seemed to be stationary and the shores to be flitting by us. With its tumultuous rush the river hurried us onward, and we knew not what the next moment would bring forth—whether it would dash us upon a rock or plunge us down a cataract. The friendly Arab, although he knew the fords and best camping-places on the river, in his own district, was, like all the rest we had met, wholly unacquainted with the stream at all other points.

Under other circumstances it doubtless would have been prudent to lay by until morning; but we were all wet, had neither food nor change of clothing, and apart from danger of attack in a neighbourhood represented as peculiarly bad, sickness would have been the inevitable consequence of a night spent in hunger, cold and watchfulness.

At 9.30 P. M. we arrived at “El Meshra,” the bathing-place of the Christian pilgrims, after having been fifteen hours in the boats. This ford is consecrated by tradition as the place where the Israelites passed over with the ark of the covenant; and where our blessed Saviour was baptized by John. Feeling that it would be desecration to moor the boats at a place so sacred, we passed it, and with some difficulty found a landing below.

My first act was to bathe in the consecrated stream, thanking God, first, for the precious favour of being per-

mitted to visit such a spot; and secondly for his protecting care throughout our perilous passage. For a long time after, I sat upon the bank, my mind oppressed with awe, as I mused upon the great and wondrous events which had here occurred. Perhaps directly before me, for this is near Jericho, "the waters stood and rose up upon an heap," and the multitudinous host of the Israelites passed over,—and in the bed of the stream, a few yards distant, may be the twelve stones, marking "the place where the feet of the priests which bare the ark of the covenant stood."

Tradition, sustained by the geographical features of the country, makes this also the scene of the baptism of the Redeemer. The mind of man, trammelled by sin, cannot soar in contemplation of so sublime an event. On that wondrous day, when the Deity veiled in flesh descended the bank, all nature, hushed in awe, looked on,—and the impetuous river, in grateful homage, must have stayed its course, and gently laved the body of its Lord.

In such a place, it seemed almost desecration to permit the mind to be diverted by the cares which pressed upon it—but it was wrong—for next to faith, surely the highest Christian obligation is the performance of duty.

Over against this was no doubt the Bethabara of the New Testament, whither the Saviour retired when the Jews sought to take him at the feast of the dedication. The interpretation of Bethabara, is "a place of passage over." Our Lord repaired to Bethabara, where John was baptizing; and as the ford probably derived its name from the passage of the Israelites with the ark of the covenant, the inference is not unreasonable that this spot has been doubly hallowed.

In ten minutes after leaving the camping-ground this morning, the caravan struck upon the plain and crossed the wady Fariâ, pursuing a S. by W. course. Across the

ravine, they saw a young camel browsing among the brown fringe and stunted bushes, which, in these plains, serve to protect the scanty vegetation from the intense heat of the sun. This creature had evidently strayed from some fellahin encampment, or had been abandoned by its owners when pursued by the Bedawin, many of whom they had seen the day previous on the eastern side of the Jordan. The camel being quite wild, racked off at full speed on their approach, and the scouts immediately started in pursuit. Its motion in running, although awkward, was exceedingly rapid; dashing ahead at a long and stretching pace, and outstripping most of the horses in pursuit. Its whole body swayed regularly with its peculiar racking motion, as before remarked, exactly like the yawing of a ship before the wind. Whether it walks or runs, the camel ever throws forward its hind and fore leg on the same side and at the same time, as a horse does in pacing. The fugitive was soon caught, and, true to its early teaching, knelt down the moment a hand was placed upon its neck. 'Akil, abandoning his mare, mounted the prize, and, without bridle or halter, dashed off at full speed over the plain to increase the number of our beasts of burden. The high peak of "Kurn Sûrtabeh," "horn of the rhinoceros," bore W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. from this point of their progress.

Thence, keeping along the chalky plain at the base of the western hills, they crossed a low ridge of sand, running E. by S., upon which they discovered two upright stones, marking a burial-place, called by the Arabs "Gubboor."

At 9.30, they crossed Wady el Aujeh, and pursued a southerly course; the faces of the mountains broken here and there with dark precipices, which gradually assumed a dark brown and reddish hue, with occasional strata resembling red sandstone.

Beyond Wady el Aujeh, the soil bore a scanty crop of grass, now much parched; and to the right, where the mountains receded from the plain, there were extensive fields of low, scrubby bushes, powdered with the clay-dust of the soil; on the left, was a blank desert, with one or two oases, and a waving line of green, where the Jordan betrayed itself, at times, by a glitter like the sheen from bright metal.

It was now mid-day, and the heat and blinding light of the sun were almost insupportable: they were obliged to stop to rest the wearied caravan, the Arabs making a tent of their ābas, supported on spears.

At 1 P. M., they were again in motion, and, passing through a field of wild mustard, came to an open space, nothing but sand and rocks—a perfect desert—where were traces of a broad-paved road, which they believed to be Roman. At 3 P. M., for the first time, they saw some gazelles, and gave chase to them. At a low, whistling noise made by one of the Arabs, the affrighted creatures stopped, and looked earnestly towards them; but, owing to an incautious movement, they took to flight, and went bounding over the hills beyond the possibility of pursuit.

Crossing Wady el Abyad, they passed through a grove of nûbk and wild olive, and came upon a ruined village. Shortly after, they stopped to water in the Wady Na-wa'imeh, with a shallow stream of clear, sweet water. Thence leaving the Quarantania (reported to be the mountain of our Saviour's fasting and temptation) on the right, and passing east of the fountain healed by Elisha, and of Jericho, they came to Ain el Hadj (Pilgrim's fountain), in the plain of Gilgal. Here they were joined by a few Riha (Jericho) Arabs, all having long-barrelled guns, with extraordinary crooked ram's-horn powder-flasks, perhaps modelled after the horns employed by the Israelites in toppling down the walls of Jericho. Of this city, the first

conquest of the Israelites west of the Jordan, and where Herod the Great died, but a solitary tower remains (if, indeed, it be the true site). How truly has the curse of Joshua respecting it been fulfilled! Here the wilderness blossomed as the rose. A broad tract was covered with the olive, the nûbk, and many shrubs and flowers. From it they had the first view of the Dead Sea, and the grim mountains of Moab to the south-east. There were few evidences of volcanic agency visible, but the calcined and desolate aspect indicated the theatre of a fierce conflagration;—the cliffs, of the hue of ashes, looking as if they had been riven by thunderbolts, and scathed by lightning.

Pursuing a south-easterly course, they passed a broad tract of argillaceous soil, rising in fantastic hills, among which they started a cone from its form. At 5 P. M., they came upon the banks of the river, excessively wearied, having been eleven hours in the saddle.

The tents had been pitched by the land-party before we arrived, directly on the bank down which the pilgrims would, early in the morning, descend to the river. Mr. Dale had objected to pitching them on this spot, but our Arabs assured him that the pilgrims would not arrive until late to-morrow. The night was already far advanced, and the men were so weary, that I thought it best to postpone moving the tents until the morning.

After a slight and hurried supper, we stationed sentries, and threw ourselves, exhausted, upon the lap of mother earth, with the tent our covering, and whatever we could find for pillows.

During the night there was an alarm.—We sprang from the tents at the report of a gun, and found our Arab scouts on the right hailing some one on the opposite bank; upon whom, contrary to all military usage, they



had previously fired. It proved to be a fellah, attempting to cross the ford, which was too deep.

The alarm, although a false one, had the good effect of showing that all were upon the alert. At this time, it is said, there are always a great many Arabs prowling about, to cut off pilgrims straying from the strong military escort which accompanies them from Jerusalem, under the command of the Pasha, or an officer of high rank.

We have, to-day, according to 'Akīl, passed through the territory of the Beni Adwans and Beni Sūkr's, and into those of the wandering tribes of the lower Ghor. On the opposite side is "the valley over against Beth-peor," where the Israelites dwelt before they crossed the Jordan.

In the descent of the Jordan, we have, at every encampment, determined its astronomical position, and its relative level with the Mediterranean; and have, throughout, sketched the topography of the river and the valley. The many windings of the river, and its numerous rapids, will account for the difference of level between lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea.

Tuesday, April 18. At 3 A. M., we were aroused by the intelligence that the pilgrims were coming. Rising in haste, we beheld thousands of torchlights, with a dark mass beneath, moving rapidly over the hills. Striking our tents with precipitation, we hurriedly removed them and all our effects a short distance to the left. We had scarce finished, when they were upon us:—men, women, and children, mounted on camels, horses, mules, and donkeys, rushed impetuously by toward the bank. They presented the appearance of fugitives from a routed army.

Our Bedawin friends here stood us in good stead;—sticking their tufted spears before our tents, they mounted their steeds and formed a military cordon round us. But for them we should have been run down, and most of our

effects trampled upon, scattered and lost. Strange that we should have been shielded from a Christian throng by wild children of the desert—Muslims in name, but pagans in reality. Nothing but the spears and swarthy faces of the Arabs saved us.

I had, in the mean time, sent the boats to the opposite shore, a little below the bathing-place, as well to be out of the way as to be in readiness to render assistance, should any of the crowd be swept down by the current, and in danger of drowning.

While the boats were taking their position, one of the earlier bathers cried out that it was a sacred place; but when the purpose was explained to him, he warmly thanked us. Moored to the opposite shore, with their crews in them, they presented an unusual spectacle.

The party which had disturbed us was the advanced guard of the great body of the pilgrims. At 5, just at the dawn of day, the last made its appearance, coming over the crest of a high ridge, in one tumultuous and eager throng.

In all the wild haste of a disorderly rout, Copts and Russians, Poles, Armenians, Greeks and Syrians, from all parts of Asia, from Europe, from Africa and from far-distant America, on they came; men, women and children, of every age and hue, and in every variety of costume; talking, screaming, shouting, in almost every known language under the sun. Mounted as variously as those who had preceded them, many of the women and children were suspended in baskets or confined in cages; and, with their eyes strained towards the river, heedless of all intervening obstacles, they hurried eagerly forward, and dismounting in haste, and disrobing with precipitation, rushed down the bank and threw themselves into the stream.

They seemed to be absorbed by one impulsive feeling, X

and perfectly regardless of the observations of others. Each one plunged himself, or was dipped by another, three times, below the surface, in honour of the Trinity; and then filled a bottle, or some other utensil, from the river. The bathing-dress of many of the pilgrims was a white gown with a black cross upon it. Most of them, as soon as they dressed, cut branches either of the agnus castus, or willow; and, dipping them in the consecrated stream, bore them away as memorials of their visit.

In an hour, they began to disappear; and in less than three hours the trodden surface of the lately crowded bank reflected no human shadow. The pageant disappeared as rapidly as it had approached, and left to us once more the silence and the solitude of the wilderness. It was like a dream. An immense crowd of human beings, said to be 8000, but I thought not so many, had passed and repassed before our tents and left not a vestige behind them.

Every one bathed, a few Franks excepted; the greater number, in a quiet and reverential manner; but some, I am sorry to say, displayed an ill-timed levity.

Besides a party of English, a lady among them, and three French naval officers, we were gladdened by meeting two of our countrymen, who were gratified in their turn at seeing the stars and stripes floating above the consecrated river, and the boats which bore them ready to rescue, if necessary, a drowning pilgrim.

We were in the land of Benjamin; opposite was that of Reuben, which was in the country of the Ammonites, and on the plain of Moab.

A short distance from us was Jericho, the walls of which fell at the sound of trumpets; and fourteen miles on the other side was "Heshbon, where Sihon the king of the Amorites dwelt."

Upon this bank are a few plane trees and many willow



PILGRIMS BATHING IN THE JORDAN.



and tamarisk, with some of the *agnus castus*. Within the bank and about the plain are scattered the acacia, the *nūbk* (*spina Christi*), and the *mala insana*, or mad apple. On the opposite side are acacia, tamarisk, willow, and a thicket of canes lower down.

The pilgrims descended to the river where the bank gradually slopes. Above and below it is precipitous. The banks must have been always high in places, and the water deep; or the axe-head would not have fallen into the water, and Elisha's miracle been unnecessary to recover it.

Shortly after the departure of the pilgrims, a heavy cloud settled above the western hills, and we had sharp lightning and loud thunder, followed by a refreshing shower of rain.

We were all much wearied, and in consequence of living upon salt food since we left Tiberias, were much in need of refreshment. Disappointed in procuring fresh provisions from Jericho, we determined to proceed at once to the Dead Sea, only a few hours distant.

Dr. Anderson volunteered to go to Jerusalem to superintend the transportation of the bread I had sent there; and I gladly accepted his services, instructing him to make a geological reconnoissance of his route. Before starting, I made the following report to the Secretary of the Navy:

*"Meskra'a, on the Jordan, near Jericho, }*  
April 18, 1848. }

"SIR:—I have the honour to report our safe arrival at this place, within a few miles of the Dead Sea. While at Tiberias, I purchased for 500 piastres (\$21.25), a frame boat to assist in conveying our things and save expense of transportation. With a large and beautiful lake before them, filled with fish and abounding with wild fowl, the misgoverned and listless inhabitants had but the solitary

boat I purchased, used only to bring wood across from the opposite side. On the 10th, at 2 P. M., we started, and, proceeding to the foot of the lake, commenced our descent of the Jordan. Notwithstanding the most diligent inquiry, I could procure no information to be relied on, respecting the river, in Tiberias.

“To my consternation, I soon found that the Jordan was interrupted in its course by frequent and most fearful rapids. Determined, however, to persevere, I was cordially supported by every one under my command. We had to clear out old channels, to make new ones, and sometimes, placing our sole trust in Providence, plunged with headlong velocity down appalling descents. So great were the difficulties, that on the second evening we were in a direct line but twelve miles distant from Tiberias. On the third morning I was obliged to abandon the frame boat from her shattered condition. No other kind of boats in the world than such as we have, combining great strength with buoyancy, could have sustained the shocks they encountered. As the passage by the river was considered the most perilous, alike from the dangers of its channel and the liability to an attack, I felt it my duty, as I have before advised you, to undertake it in person. With the ‘Fanny Mason’ I took the lead, and Passed Midshipman Aulick followed in the ‘Fanny Skinner.’ This young officer has throughout evinced so much coolness and discretion, in the most trying situations, as to win my warmest approbation, and I soon felt sure that I had one behind me who would follow whithersoever I might lead. I am happy to say that the boats, although severely bruised, are not materially injured, and in a few hours hope to repair all damages.

“We reached here last night after dark, having made about fifty miles since sunrise; and I have stopped here, in part, for the purpose mentioned above, and partly to

rescue any of the pilgrims who might be in danger of drowning—accidents, it is said, occurring every year. This morning, before daylight, they began to arrive, and by five o'clock, there were several thousands on the bank. The boats were moored on the opposite side, where they were out of the way, and yet convenient to render assistance, should it unfortunately be required. I am happy to say that nothing occurred, and the pilgrims have all departed.

“The great secret of the depression between Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea, is solved by the tortuous course of the Jordan. In a space of sixty miles of latitude and four or five miles of longitude, the Jordan traverses at least 200 miles. The river is in the latter stage of a freshet—a few weeks earlier or later, and passage would have been impracticable. As it is, we have plunged down twenty-seven threatening rapids, besides a great many of lesser magnitude. X

“As soon as leisure permits, I will send you a topographical sketch of the river, when you will perceive that its course is more sinuous even than that of the Mississippi.

“Although the party has been very much exposed, those in the boats especially, from being constantly wet, we are perfectly well. Until I hear from you on the subject, however, I deem it my duty to retain Dr. Anderson, whose medical or surgical assistance may at any moment be required.

“We have met with no interruption from the Arabs, although we were twice called upon to stand to our arms. Our Bedawin allies have proved efficient and faithful.

“I am, very respectfully, &c.,

“W. F. LYNCH, LT. U. S. N.

“HON. J. Y. MASON,

*Secretary of the Navy.*



## CHAPTER XII.

### FROM PILGRIM'S FORD TO AIN EL FESHKAH.

At 1.45, started with the boats, the caravan making a direct line for Ain el Feshkah, on the north-west shore of the Dead Sea, the appointed place of rendezvous.

The course of the river was at first S. W. In about half an hour, we were hailed from the right bank, when we stopped and took in sheikh Helu, of the tribe Huteim, his name the same as that of the ford.

From 1.50 to 1.57, course varying from N. W. to S. S. W. Stopped to fill the India-rubber water-bags, having passed a small island thickly wooded. Weather close and sultry. At 2.22, started again, course from N. N. E. to S. by W.; the right bank red clay, twenty-five feet high; left bank low, with high canes and willows. 2.25, a quantity of drift-wood; and 2.36, a camel in the river, washed down by the current in attempting to cross the ford last night. Weather cloudy at intervals, river forty yards wide, twelve feet deep, bottom blue mud. The banks alternating high and low—highest at the bends and lowest at the opposite points.

At 2.41, passed another camel in the river, the poor beast leaning exhausted against the bank, and his owner seated despondingly above him. We could not help him!

From 2.42 to 2.54, course from S. to S. E. and back; many pigeons flying about. At this time, there was a nauseous smell on the left or eastern shore—traced it to a small stream running down the Wady Hesbôn; the banks

very low, and covered with cane and tamarisk. The river here fifty yards wide, eleven feet deep, muddy bottom, current four knots. 2.59, sand and clay banks, with some pebbles on the right; everything indicating the vicinity of the Dead Sea.

At 3, course S. E. by S., water very smooth, discoloured but sweet. Saw a heron, a bulbul, and a snipe. 3.04, a foetid smell, proceeding from a small stream on the right or western shore. At 3.07, low and sedgy banks, high mountains of the Dead Sea in sight to the southward and westward; saw many wild ducks. 3.09, both banks, about twelve feet high, bore marks of recent overflow. 3.10, a small round red clay hill on the right, bearing S. W. by S. 3.11, passed a bare channel, left by the freshet. 3.12, course south a long stretch, river seventy yards wide, left bank very low, covered with tamarisk, willow, and cane; right bank fifteen to eighteen feet high, red clay, with weeds and shrubs—the mala insana, spina Christi, and some of the agnus castus—a few tamarisk at the water's edge.

At 3.13, the mountains to the S. E. over the Dead Sea presented a very rugged, iron-like appearance. Water of the river sweet. 3.15, the left bank low, running out to a flat cape. Right bank low with thick canes, some of them resembling the sugar-cane; twenty feet back the bank twelve feet high, red clay. 3.16, water brackish, but no unpleasant smell; banks red clay and mud, gradually becoming lower and lower; river eighty yards wide, and fast increasing in breadth, seven feet deep, muddy bottom, current three knots. Saw the Dead Sea over the flat, bearing south — mountains beyond. The surface of the water became ruffled. 3.22, a snipe flew by — fresh wind from north-west — one large and two small islands at the mouth of the river; the islands of mud six to eight feet high, evidently subject to overflow; started a heron and a white gull.

At 3.25, passed by the extreme western point, where the river is 180 yards wide and three feet deep, and entered upon the Dead Sea; the water, a nauseous compound of bitters and salts.

The river, where it enters the sea, is inclined towards the eastern shore, very much as is represented on the map of Messrs. Robinson and Smith, which is the most exact of any we have seen. There is a considerable bay between the river and the mountains of Belka, in Ammon, on the eastern shore of the sea.

A fresh north-west wind was blowing as we rounded the point. We endeavoured to steer a little to the north of west, to make a true west course, and threw the patent log overboard to measure the distance; but the wind rose so rapidly that the boats could not keep head to wind, and we were obliged to haul the log in. The sea continued to rise with the increasing wind, which gradually freshened to a gale, and presented an agitated surface of foaming brine; the spray, evaporating as it fell, left incrustations of salt upon our clothes, our hands and faces; and while it conveyed a prickly sensation wherever it touched the skin, was, above all, exceedingly painful to the eyes. The boats, heavily laden, struggled sluggishly at first; but when the wind freshened in its fierceness, from the density of the water, it seemed as if their bows were encountering the sledge-hammers of the Titans, instead of the opposing waves of an angry sea.

At 3.50, passed a piece of drift-wood, and soon after saw three swallows and a gull. At 4.55, the wind blew so fiercely that the boats could make no headway; not even the Fanny Skinner, which was nearer to the weather shore, and we drifted rapidly to leeward: threw over some of the fresh water, to lighten the Fanny Mason, which laboured very much, and I began to fear that both boats would founder.





At 5.40, finding that we were losing every moment, and that, with the lapse of each succeeding one, the danger increased, kept away for the northern shore, in the hope of being yet able to reach it; our arms, our clothes and skins coated with a greasy salt; and our eyes, lips, and nostrils, smarting excessively. How different was the scene before the submerging of the plain, which was "even as the garden of the Lord!"

At times it seemed as if the Dread Almighty frowned upon our efforts to navigate a sea, the creation of his wrath. There is a tradition among the Arabs that no one can venture upon this sea and live. Repeatedly the fates of Costigan and Molyneux had been cited to deter us. The first one spent a few days, the last about twenty hours, and returned to the place from whence he had embarked, without landing upon its shores. One was found dying upon the shore; the other expired in November last, immediately after his return, of fever contracted upon its waters.

But, although the sea had assumed a threatening aspect, and the fretted mountains, sharp and incinerated, loomed terrific on either side, and salt and ashes mingled with its sands, and foetid sulphurous springs trickled down its ravines, we did not despair: awe-struck, but not terrified; fearing the worst, yet hoping for the best, we prepared to spend a dreary night upon the dreariest waste we had ever seen.

At 5.58, the wind instantaneously abated, and with it the sea as rapidly fell; the water, from its ponderous quality, settling as soon as the agitating cause had ceased to act. Within twenty minutes from the time we bore away from a sea which threatened to engulf us, we were pulling away, at a rapid rate, over a placid sheet of water, that scarcely rippled beneath us; and a rain-cloud, which

had enveloped the sterile mountains of the Arabian shore, lifted up, and left their rugged outlines basking in the light of the setting sun. At 6.10, a flock of gulls flew over, while we were passing a small island of mud, a pistol-shot distant from the northern shore, and half a mile west of the river's mouth. At 6.20, a light wind sprung up from S. E., and huge clouds drifted over, their western edges gorgeous with light, while the great masses were dark and threatening. The sun went down, leaving beautiful islands of rose-coloured clouds over the coast of Judea; but above the yet more sterile mountains of Moab, all was gloomy and obscure.

The northern shore is an extensive mud-flat, with a sandy plain beyond, and is the very type of desolation; branches and trunks of trees lay scattered in every direction; some charred and blackened as by fire; others white with an incrustation of salt. These were collected at high-water mark, designating the line which the water had reached prior to our arrival. On the deep sands of this shore was laid the scene of the combat between the knight of the leopard and Ilderim, the Saracen. The north-western shore is an unmixed bed of gravel, coming in a gradual slope from the mountains to the sea. The eastern coast is a rugged line of mountains, bare of all vegetation,—a continuation of the Hauran range, coming from the north, and extending south beyond the scope of vision, throwing out three marked and seemingly equidistant promontories from its south-eastern extremity.

At 6.25, passed a gravelly point, with many large stones upon it. It is a peninsula, connected with the main by a low, narrow isthmus. When the latter is overflowed, the peninsula must present the appearance of an island, and is doubtless the one to which Stephens, Warburton, and Dr. Wilson, allude.

We were, for some time, apprehensive of missing the

place of rendezvous; for the Sheikh of Huteim, never having been afloat before, and scarce recovered from his fright during the gale, was bewildered in his mind, and perfectly useless as a guide. The moon had not risen; and in the starlight, obscured by the shadow of the mountains, we pulled along the shore in some anxiety. At one moment we saw the gleam of a fire upon the beach, to the southward; and, firing a gun, made for it with all expedition. In a short time it disappeared; and while resting on the oars, waiting for some signal to direct us, there were the flashes and reports of guns and sounds of voices upon the cliffs, followed by other flashes and reports far back upon the shore which we had passed. Divided between apprehensions of an attack upon our friends and a stratagem for ourselves, we were uncertain where to land. Determined, however, to ascertain, we closed in with the shore, and pulled along the beach, sounding as we proceeded.

A little before 8 P. M., we came up with our friends, who had stopped at Ain el Feshka, fountain of the stride.

The shouts and signals we had heard had been from the scouts and caravan, which had been separated from each other, making mutual signals of recognition; they had likewise responded to ours, which, coming from two points some distance apart, for a time disconcerted us. It was a wild scene upon an unknown and desolate coast: the mysterious sea, the shadowy mountains, the human voices among the cliffs, the vivid flashes and the loud reports reverberating along the shore

Unable to land near the fountain, we were compelled to haul the boats upon the beach, about a mile below; and, placing some Arabs to guard them, took the men to the camp, pitched in a cane-brake, beside a brackish spring, where, from necessity, we made a frugal supper; and then, wet and weary, threw ourselves upon a bed of



dust, beside a foetid marsh ;—the dark, fretted mountains behind—the sea, like a huge cauldron, before us—its surface shrouded in a lead-coloured mist.

Towards midnight, while the moon was rising above the eastern mountains, and the shadows of the clouds were reflected wild and fantastically upon the surface of the sombre sea ; and everything, the mountains, the sea, the clouds, seemed spectre-like and unnatural, the sound of the convent-bell of Mar Saba struck gratefully upon the ear ; for it was the Christian call to prayer, and told of human wants and human sympathies to the wayfarers on the borders of the Sea of Death.

The shore party stated that, after leaving the green banks of the Jordan, they passed over a sandy tract of damp ravines, where it was difficult for the camels to march without slipping. Ascending a slight elevation, they traversed a plain encrusted with salt, and sparsely covered with sour and saline bushes, some dead and withered, and snapping at the slightest touch given them in passing. They noticed many cavernous excavations in the hill-sides,—the dwelling-places of the Israelites, of early Christians, and of hermits during the time of the Crusades.\* They at length reached a sloping, dark-brown sand, forming the beach of the Dead Sea, and followed it to El Feshkha. Our Arabs feared wild beasts, but there is nothing for one to live on, in these untenanted solitudes. The frogs alone bore vocal testimony of their existence.

In descending the Ghor, Mr. Dale sketched the topography of the country, and took compass bearings as he proceeded. The route of the caravan was on the bank of the upper terrace, on the west side, every day, except

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\* “ And because of the Midianites, the children of Israel made them the dens which are in the mountains, and caves, and strongholds.”—Judges, xi. 2.

one, when it travelled on the eastern side. That elevated plain was at first covered with fields of grain, but became more barren as they journeyed south. The terrace was strongly marked, particularly in the southern portion, where there was a continuous range of perpendicular cliffs of limestone and conglomerate. This terrace averaged about 500 feet above the flat of the Jordan, the latter mostly covered with trees and grass. They were each day compelled to descend to the lower plain, to meet the boats.

Wednesday, April 19. I was first recalled to consciousness this morning by rays of light, the pencilled messengers of the early dawn, shooting above the dark and fretted mountains which form the eastern boundary of the sea. This day I had assigned to rest and preparation for future work, and intended to let all hands sleep late, after the great fatigue of yesterday; but, soon after day-break, we were startled with the intelligence that the boats were nearly filled with water. The wind had risen towards morning, and a heavy sea was tumbling in. We hastened to the beach to secure the boats, and dry our effects. With all our discomfort, we had slept better than usual, having been undisturbed by fleas. The wind was fresh from the south, and the brawling sound of the breakers was reverberated from the perpendicular face of the mountains. We were encamped just above the spring, in a clearing made in the cane-break, under a cliff upwards of a thousand feet high—old crumbling limestone and conglomerate of a dull ochre colour.

The fountain is a shallow and clear stream of water, at the temperature of 84°, which flows from a cane-break, near the base of the mountain. It is soft yet brackish, and there is no deposit of silicious or cretaceous matter, but it has a strong smell of sulphur. We had no means of analyzing it. A short distance from its source, it

spreads over a considerable space, and its diagonal course to the sea is marked by a more vivid line of vegetation than that which surrounds it. Between the cane-break and the sea is the beach, covered with minute fragments of flint. In the water of the sea, near the shore, are standing many dead trees, about two inches in diameter. We could neither find nor hear of the ruins mentioned by Dr. Robinson, and looked in vain for sulphur. The pebbles of bituminous limestone of which he speaks, are in great abundance.

Our Arabs finding it impossible to sustain their horses on the salt and acrid vegetation of this place, and Ain Jidy being represented as no better, I discharged them and the camel-drivers, and applied to the Pasha at Jerusalem for a few soldiers, to guard the dépôt I intended forming at Ain Jidy, while we should be exploring the sea and its shores.

'Akil and his followers were to leave us here, but Sherîf, with his servant, would remain. Sent Sherîf to Jerusalem, to assist in superintending the transportation of stores, and to make arrangements for supplies of provisions from Hebron. Sent with him everything we could dispense with—saddles, bridles, holsters, and all but a few articles of clothing.

At 1 P. M., made an excursion along the base of the mountain, towards Râs es Feshkhah (cape of the stride), and gathered some specimens of conglomerate and some fresh-water shells in the bed of the stream. We were struck with the almost total absence of round stones and pebbles upon the beach—the shore is covered with small angular fragments of flint. Started two partridges of a beautiful stone-colour, so much like the rocks, that they could only be distinguished when in motion. Heard the notes of a solitary bird in the cane-brake, which we could not identify. The statement that nothing can live upon the

shores of the sea, is, therefore, disproved. The home and the usual haunt of the partridge may be among the cliffs above, but the smaller bird we heard must have its nest in the thicket.

But the scene was one of unmingled desolation. The air, tainted with the sulphuretted hydrogen of the stream, gave a tawny hue even to the foliage of the cane, which is elsewhere of so light a green. Except the canebrakes, clustering along the marshy stream which disfigured, while it sustained them, there was no vegetation whatever; barren mountains, fragments of rocks, blackened by sulphureous deposit, and an unnatural sea, with low, dead trees upon its margin, all within the scope of vision, bore a sad and sombre aspect. We had never before beheld such desolate hills, such calcined barrenness. The most arid desert has its touch of genial nature:

“But here, above, around, below,  
In mountain or in glen,  
Nor tree, nor plant, nor shrub, nor flower,  
Nor aught of vegetative power,  
The wearied eye may ken;  
But all its rocks at random thrown,  
Black waves, bare crags, and banks of stone.”

There was an unpleasant sulphureous smell in the air, which we attributed to the impregnated waters of the fountain and marsh.

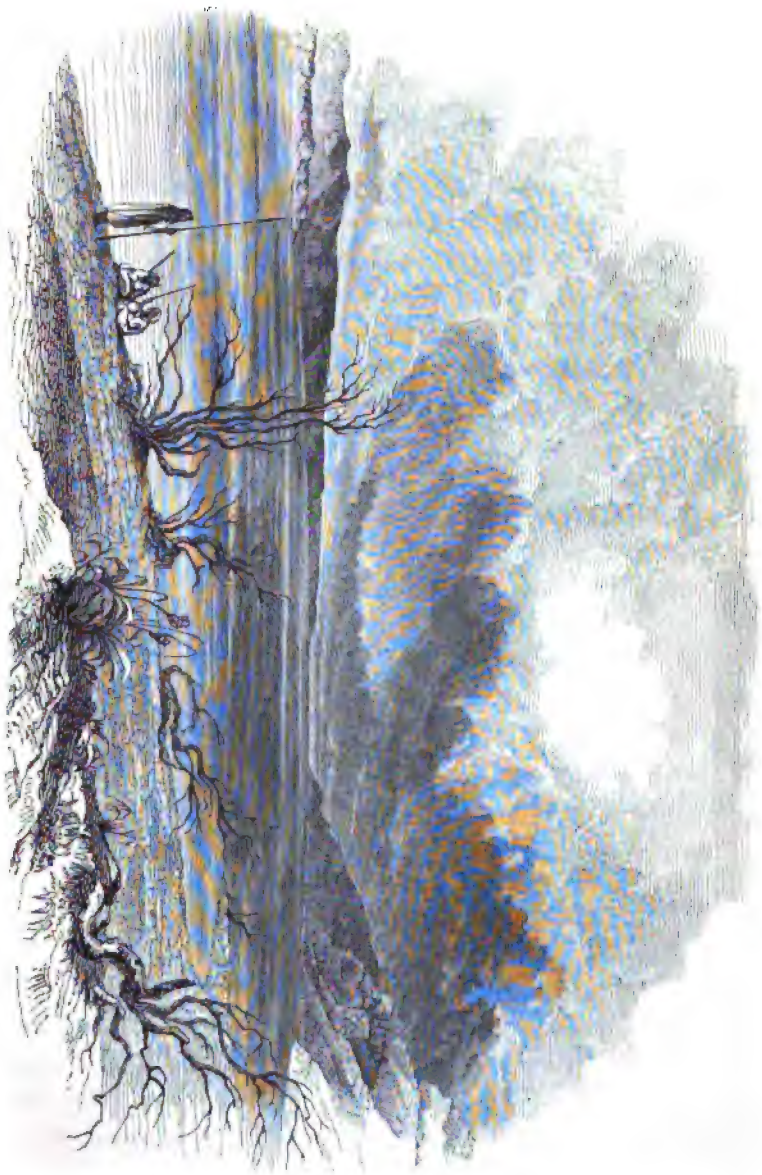
'Akil, to whom we were all much attached, came to see us prior to his departure. To our surprise and great delight, we learned, in the course of conversation, that he was well acquainted and on friendly terms with some of the tribes on the eastern shore. I therefore prevailed upon him to proceed there by land; apprise the tribes of our coming, and make arrangements to supply us with provisions. In ten days he was to be in Kerak, and have a look-out for us stationed upon the eastern shore near the peninsula. It was a most gratifying arrangement, for

we might now hope to avoid difficulty where it had been most anticipated, and to visit the country of Moab, so little known to the world.

Sometime after the agreement was made, 'Akīl returned and expressed a wish to be released. I ascertained that some of his timid followers had been dissuading him, and held him to his obligation. He is a high-toned savage. At our former meeting I advanced him money for his expenses and the purchase of provisions, for which he refused to give a receipt or append his seal (an Arab never subscribes his name, even when he can write) to the contract. I had, therefore, nothing but his word to rely upon, which I well knew he would never break. "The bar of iron may be broken, but the word of an honest man never," and there is as much honour beneath the yellow skin of this untutored Arab, as ever swelled the breast of the chivalrous Cœur de Lion. He never dreamed of falsehood.

During the early part of the day the weather was pleasant, with passing clouds; but when unobscured the sun was warm. Towards the afternoon the wind subsided, and the calm sea, when the sun shone upon it, verified the resemblance which it has been said to bear to molten lead. In the forenoon it had looked as yesterday, like a sheet of foam.

The night was clear, a thin mist hung over the southern shore, and the moon was nearly at the full. Near us, when all was still, the sea had the exact hue of absinthe, or that peculiar blue of the grotto of "Azzura," described in the "Improvisatore." Until 2 A. M. the night was serene and lovely. Although the earth was fine and penetrating as ashes, and the miasma from the marsh anything but agreeable, there *were no fleas*, and the bites which had so smarted from the spray yesterday, are now healing up.



SHORE OF THE DEAD SEA.



To-night our Bedawin had a farewell feast, characteristic alike of their habitual waste and want of cleanliness. A huge kettle, partly filled with water, was laid on a fire made of wood gathered on the beach and strongly impregnated with salt; when the water boiled, a quantity of flour was thrown in and stirred with a branch of driftwood, seven feet long, and nine inches in circumference. When the mixture was about the consistence of paste, the vessel was taken from the fire and a skin of rancid butter, about six pounds, in a fluid state, was poured in; the mixture was again stirred, and the Bedawin seated round it scooped out the dirty, greasy compound, with the hollow of their hands—'Akil not the least voracious among them. He is a genuine barbarian, and never sleeps even beneath the frail covering of a tent. In his green āba, which he has constantly worn since he joined us, he is ever to be found at night, slumbering, not sleeping, near the watch-fire—his yataghan by his side—his heavy mounted, wide-mouthed pistols beneath his head. Before retiring, the Arabs took an impressive leave of us; for it was evident that they anticipated encountering some peril in their route along the eastern shore.

The Arab bard sang nearly the whole night. Stopping a little after midnight, he commenced again in less than an hour, and at 2 A. M. was giving forth his nasal notes and his twanging sounds in most provoking monotony; the discordant croaking of the frog is music in comparison. An occasional scream or yell would be absolute relief.

At midnight, again heard the bell of the convent of Mar Saba. It was a solace to know that, in a place wild and solitary in itself, yet not remote from us, there were fellow Christians raising their voices in supplication to the Great and Good Being, before whom, in different forms, but with undivided faith, we bow ourselves in worship.



Thursday, April 20. Awakened very early by one of the Arabs, more pious or more hypocritical than the rest, constituting himself a Mueddin,\* and calling the rest to prayer. But the summons was obeyed by very few. An Arab, when he prays, throws his mat anywhere, generally, in obedience to the injunctions of the Koran, in the most conspicuous place. He puts off his shoes; stands upright; leans forward until his hands rest upon his knees; bends yet farther in prostration, and touches the earth with his forehead: he then rises erect, recites a sentence from the Koran, and goes through with similar genuflections and prostrations. In the intervals of the prostrations, he sits back, his knees to the ground, and his feet under him, and recites long passages from the Koran. Sometimes they are abstracted, but not always; we have seen them, in the intervals between the prostrations, comb their beards and address others in conversation, and afterwards, with great gravity, renew their orisons.

The most extraordinary thing is, that some of the Turkish soldiers we have seen, who were seemingly pious and really fanatical, did not understand one word of the Arabic passages of the Koran they recited with so much apparent devotion.

Except those who accompanied us from Acre, we have not seen a single Muslim with beads:—there, as well as at Beirût, Smyrna and Constantinople, every one we met, from the Pasha down, had them in his hands, apparently as playthings only.

The morning was pleasant; a light breeze from the southward; temperature of the air, 82°. After taking double altitudes, sent Mr. Dale and Mr. Aulick in the boats to sound diagonally and directly across to the

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\* In Turkish, Muezzin.

eastern shore. They started at 10.30; the wind had died away; the sea was as smooth as a mirror towards either shore, but slightly ruffled in the middle, where there seemed to be a current setting to the southward. Thermometer,  $89^{\circ}$  in the tent, our only shelter, for the sun shone fiercely into every crevice of the mountain behind us. Employed in making arrangements for the removal of the camp farther south to-morrow.

P. M. A short distance from the camp, saw a large brown or stone-coloured hare, and started a partridge; heard another in the cliffs above, and a small bird twittering in the cane-brake beneath me. We discovered that these shores can furnish food for beasts of prey. Found some of the sea-side brache, supposed to be alluded to in Job, and translated mallows in the English version. Also the sida Asiatica.

At 5 P. M., temperature  $80^{\circ}$ ; as the day declined, the wind sprang up and blew freshly from the north, and I began to feel apprehensive for the boats. Towards sunset, walked along the base of the mountains to the southward to look for, but could see nothing of them. Started a snipe, and saw, but could not catch, a beautiful butterfly, chequered white and brown. To-day a duck was seen upon the water, about a mile from the shore;—his home, doubtless, among the sedges of the brackish stream.

Soon after sunset, some Arabs of the tribe Rashâyideh came into camp, and proffered their services as guides along the western coast, and guards to our effects while absent in the boats. They were the most meagre, forlorn, and ragged creatures I had ever seen. The habiliments of Falstaff's recruits would have been a court costume compared to the attire of these attenuated wretches, whose swarthy skins, in all directions, peered forth through the filthy rags, which hung in shreds and patches, rather betraying than concealing their nudity.

Some of them would have answered as guides; but it would not do to employ them in any other capacity. Their abject poverty would tempt them to steal, and their physical weakness prevent them, even if they were courageous, from defending our property. Since the battle of Cressy, history does not tell of lean and hungry men having ever proved valiant.

As night closed in, we lighted fires along the beach and around the camp as guiding signals to the boats.

At 8 P. M., went down to the beach and looked long and anxiously but could see nothing of them, although a dark object could have been discerned at a great distance, for the surface of the sea was one wide sheet of phosphorescent foam, and the waves, as they broke upon the shore, threw a sepulchral light upon the dead bushes and scattered fragments of rock. Returned to the camp and placed every one on guard, for all our men but one being absent in the boats, our weakness, if coupled with want of vigilance, might invite an attack from the strange Arabs, who, we knew, were upon the cliffs above.

At 9.30, the Fanny Mason, and at 10.45, the Fanny Skinner, returned. They had been retarded by the fresh wind and corresponding heavy swell of the sea. The distance in a straight line from this to the Arabian shore measured seven nautical, or nearly eight statute miles. The soundings directly across from this place gave 116 fathoms, or 696 feet, as the greatest depth—ninety fathoms, 540 feet, within a fourth of a mile from the Arabian shore. Mr. Aulick reports a volcanic formation on the east shore, and brought specimens of lava. Another line of soundings running diagonally across to the S. E. Mr. Dale reports a level plain at the bottom of the sea, extending nearly to each shore, with an average depth of 170 fathoms, 1020 feet, all across. The bottom, blue mud and sand, and a number of rectangular crystals of

salt, some of them perfect cubes. One cast brought up crystals only. Laid them by for careful preservation.

The diagonal line of soundings was run from this place to a black chasm in the opposite mountains. The soundings deepened gradually to twenty-eight fathoms a short distance from the shore; the next cast was 137, and the third 170 fathoms, and the lead brought up, as mentioned, clear cubical crystals of salt. The casts were taken about every half mile, and the deep soundings were carried close to the Arabian shore. It was a tedious operation; the sun shone with midsummer fierceness, and the water, greasy to the touch, made the men's hands smart and burn severely.

In the chasm they found a sweet and thermal stream, coming from above and emptying into the sea. It is, doubtless, the "Zerka Maïn," the outlet of the hot springs of Callirohoe. We trust to give it a thorough examination.

By dark the sea had rolled up dangerously, and the boats took in much water, the crests of the waves curling over their sides. It was a dreadful pull for the men, and when they arrived their clothes were stiffened with incrustation.

The Rashâyideh were grouped in a circle a short distance from our tents. In their ragged brown ābas, lying motionless, and apparently in profound slumber, they looked by moonlight like so many fragments of rock, and reminded one of the grey geese around the hut of Cannie Elshie, the recluse of Mucklestane Muir. They were not all asleep, however, for when I approached, one instantly arose and greeted me. Retired to rest at 1 A. M., the sea brawling and breaking upon the shore.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### FROM AIN EL FESHKHAH TO AIN JIDY (ENGADDI).

FRIDAY, April 21. Allowed all hands to sleep late this morning, in consequence of the great fatigue of yesterday. The sun rose at 5.29, a light wind from the westward.

A. M., busied in preparation for moving to the southward. The sea was smooth and weather clear, and after sunrise it became quite warm. Lofty arid mountains on both sides; a low flat shore to the northward and to the southward; the south-eastern and the south-western shores converging, with only water visible between them. In that direction, a light veil of mist was drawn above the sea.

At 11, broke up camp, and commenced moving every thing to the boats, excepting a load for the only remaining camel, to be conveyed along the shore. The Rashâyideh were very active in the labour of transportation from the camp to the boats. Their astonishing brevity of shirt, and lack of all other covering, save a dirty and faded koofeeyeh, rendered them peculiarly interesting to the anatomist. Several of them wore sandals, a rude invention to protect the feet. It was a thick piece of hide, confined by a thong passing under the sole, at the hollow of the foot, around the heel, and between the great toe and the one which adjoins it.

Our baggage seemed too heavy for the boats, but it was necessary to make the attempt to get away. Our Jordan water was nearly expended, and that of the fountain was not only exceedingly unpalatable, but I feared unwhole-

some also. If it came on to blow, we would have to beach the boats to save them.

At 11.42, started; a light breeze from the southward, and westward; the sea slightly ruffled. Steered S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., along the shore by Ras el Feshkhah. The ras (cape) about 200 yards distant from the shore; between it and our late camping-place is a low, narrow plain, skirted with cane. The precipitous limestone mountain towering a thousand feet above it.

At 1.15 P. M., passed Wady Mahras, or Ravine of the Guard. It was dry, with a solitary ghurrah-tree at its mouth, larger than any we had seen upon these shores. It was about the size of a half-grown apple-tree.

Half a mile beyond is the Wady en Nar (Ravine of Fire), which is the bed of the brook Kidron. The head of that ravine is the valley of Jehoshaphat, under the eastern wall of Jerusalem. Midway down the ravine, the convent of Mar Saba is situated. Between the outlets of the two ravines of Mahras and En Nâr, the debris of the mountains has formed a plain, or delta, sloping to the south-east, and rounding again to the southward.

At 1.36, stopped to examine where the Kidron empties into the sea, in the rainy season. The bed, much worn and filled with confused fragments of rock, was perfectly dry. It is a deep gorge, narrow at the base, and yawning wide at the summit, which was 1200 feet above us.

The peak of Mukûlla, immediately north of this ravine, was the loftiest of the range we had thus far seen on the Judean shore; and presented, even more than the rest, the appearance of having been scathed by fire. Its summit is less sharp and more rounded, and the rapid disintegration of its face towards the sea has formed a sloping hill of half its height, resembling fine dust and ashes.

The formation of this mountain, like the rest of the range to the north, consists of horizontal strata of lime-

stone; the exterior, of an incinerated brown, is so regular in its stratification as to present a scarped and fortified aspect.

The mountain-sides and summits, and the shores of this sea, thus far, were almost entirely devoid of vegetation; and the solitary tree, of which I have spoken, alone refreshed the eye, while all else within the scope of vision was dreary and utter desolation. The curse of God is surely upon this unhallowed sea!

Picked up fresh-water shells in the torrent-bed, and fragments of flesh-coloured flint upon the sea shore, and gathered some specimens of rock.

At 2.12, started again; scarce any wind; weather warm but not oppressive; the sky somewhat clouded with cumuli; the course, S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. The curve of the shore forms a bay between the delta we have just left, and a point bearing S. S. E.

At 3 P. M., abreast of the high cliff Hathûrah, and the Wady Südeir, immediately north of it. 3.15, under the mouth of a large cave, which was two-thirds up the cliff. The delta, which had narrowed since leaving the bed of the Kidron, began to spread out again from the mountains towards the sea.

3.25, abreast of Wady Ghuweir, which presented a singular appearance on its summits; the northern one resembling a watch-tower, and the southern one a castle.

3.30, low land visible to the southward; a fire on the eastern shore. The face and sides of this ravine are cut into terraces by the action of the winter rains.

Narrow strips of canes and tamarisks immediately at the foot of the cliff,—a luxuriant line of green; save the solitary ghurrah-tree, the only thing we have seen to cheer the eye since leaving the tawny cane-brake of Ain el Feshkhah. A beach of coarse, dark gravel below, and barren, brown mountains above, throughout the whole intervening space.

At 4.15, half a mile from the shore, threw over the drag in ten fathoms water. It brought up nothing but mud.

4.30, a perfect calm. The clouds hung motionless in the still air, and their shadows chequered the rugged surface of the mountains of Arabia. It was the grandeur of desolation; no being seen—all sound unheard—we were in the midst of a profound and awful solitude.

4.41, approaching Ain Turâbeh. On a point stretching out into the sea are a few ghurrah-trees and some tamarisk-bushes, and tufts of cane and grass, which alone relieved the dreary scene; all besides are brown, incinerated hills, masses of conglomerate, banks of sand and dust, impalpable as ashes, and innumerable boulders, bleached by long exposure to the sun.

4.43, rounded the point, which was low and gravelly, with some drift-wood upon it; rowed by a small but luxuriant cane-brake, and camped a short distance from the fountain.

The clear, shelving beach, the numerous tamarisk and ghurrah-trees, and the deep green of the luxuriant cane, rendered this, by contrast, a delightful spot.

The indentation of the coast formed here a perfect little bay; and the water of the fountain, although warm, is pure and sweet. Its temperature, 75°. It rather trickles than gushes from the north side of the bay, within ten paces of the sea.

We found here a pistachia\* in full bloom, but its pretty white and pink flowers yielded no fragrance. In the stream of the little fountain were several lily-stalks, and the sand was discoloured with a sulphureous deposit,

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\* Pistachia Terebinthus; the terebinth of Scripture. It is here a dwarf, but is said to grow larger on the plains. It was under the shade of a terebinth-tree that Abraham pitched his tent at Mamre. The Arabs call it "bûtm."



as at Ain el Feshkhah. The Arabs formed a number of pools around by scooping out the sand and gravel with their hands. They brought us a species of large pea, growing each in a separate pod, a number of them clustering on a low, shrub-like plant. It is a product of cultivation, and must have come from beyond the desert of Judea, which stretches westward, from the cliffs above, nearly to the meridian of Hebron and Bethlehem, and much farther south than the first. The shell of the pea is coated with a furze, which resembles the down of the ice-plant when the dew is upon it, and is salt and bitter to the taste,—hence its name, “hamoos” (sour); when dipped in fresh water, the unpleasant taste is removed. The pea itself is like our large marrow-fat pea, but not so luscious.

An Arab brought us some dhom apples, the fruit of the nûbk, or spina Christi. They were then withered, and presented the appearance of a small, dried crab-apple. It had a stone like the cherry; but the stone was larger, and there was less fruit on it in proportion to its size. It was sub-acid, and to us quite palatable; and, reclined upon the shelving beach of pebbles, we took off the edge of appetite while our cook was preparing the second and last meal of the day.

The plants we found here, besides the lily, were the yellow henbane, with narcotic properties; the nightshade (anit et dil), or wolf-grape, supposed, by Hasselquist, to be the wild grape alluded to in Isaiah; the lamb's quarter, used in the manufacture of barilla; and a species of kale (*salicornia* Europea). This plant is found wherever salt water or saline formations occur. It was here upon the shore of the Dead Sea, and Frémont saw it on the borders of the Great Salt Lake, west of the Mississippi. Besides the single pistachia tree, there were a great many tamarisks, now also in blossom; the flowers small and of

a dull white colour : the wood of the tree makes excellent charcoal, and, in the season, the branches bear galls almost as acrid as the oak.

The pebbles on the beach, to-day, were agglutinated with salt, and the stones in the torrent-beds were coated with saline incrustations.

At 6.10, one of the party shot at a duck, a short distance from the shore ;—dark-grey body, and black head and wings. This was fully twelve miles from the Jordan. The bird, when fired at, flew but a short distance out to sea, where it alighted and again directed its course towards the shore. We therefore inferred that its haunt was among the sedges of the little fountain. At sunset, the temperature was 70° ; light and variable airs.

Soon after us the camel arrived ; and an Arab brought a huge fish, of the cat-fish species, from the Jordan.

It was a strange scene, to-night. The tents among the tamarisks, the Arab watch-fires, the dark mountains in the rear, the planets and the stars above them, and the boats drawn up on the shore. The night was serene and beautiful ; the moon, now beginning to wane, shone on a placid sea, upon which there was not the slightest ripple. The profound stillness was undisturbed by the faintest sound, except the tread of our sentinels.

Saturday, April 22d. Awakened early, with the intelligence that Dr. Anderson had arrived at Ain el Feshkhah, with the provisions, Sherif having neglected to apprise him of our contemplated movement. Sent his tent and some of our Arabs to escort him to Ain Jidy, yet farther south upon this shore.

Early in the morning it was quite cool. At 6 A. M., temperature of the air 70° and very pleasant. Took our breakfast beneath some tamarisk trees in bloom, the grateful shade enhanced by their delicious fragrance. An Arab brought some specimens of sulphur picked up on

the banks of the Jordan near the sea, most probably washed down from the mountains by the river torrents. Some flowers were gathered and placed in our herbarium for preservation. Our arms, instruments, and everything metallic, were bronzed by the saline atmosphere.

At 7.51 A. M., started for Ain Jidy (fountain of the kid); wind light from S. E., with a short troubled swell—the heavily laden boats rolled unmercifully. A few clouds in the north-east; cumulus stratus; steered S. by E. to clear the point to the southward.

The point is a projection of a low, flat delta of sand and pebbles, like the deposit of a large water-course. Two deep wadys in the rear, Wady Ta'âmirah and Wady Derajeh (ravine of the step); the mountains withdrawn at their point of junction.

At 8.20, abreast of the first named ravine, at the head of which is Bethlehem. Thus on one side is the sea, the record of God's wrath; on the other the birth-place of the Redeemer of the world.

From Ain et Turâbeh to this place is a range of conglomerate in thin horizontal strata, terminating in a range of sand-hills half the height of the burnt-looking mountains of limestone. The hills run south-east to a point with scattering tufts of grass and shrubs to their very summits.

8.30, Wady Hüsâsah; 8.45, abreast of Wady Shukîf; a low flat plain here extends half a mile south-easterly to a point. The ravine had water in it.

A thin, haze-like, heated vapour over the southern sea—appearance of an island between the two shores. Wind gone down; sun intensely hot. 9.35, Wady Muddebbéh Sa'id 'Obeideh, a singular oval chasm; lofty cliffs, light and dark brown. 9.40, a light refreshing breeze from S. W. 9.45, Râs Mersed, high and rugged. 9.50, passed through a line of foam, curved to the north, and coloured

brown by floating patches of what seemed to be the dust of rotten wood.

At 10.25, hailed by an Arab from the shore, but could not understand him. 10.40, passed through a line of white foam. Through the mist the peninsula looked like an island. 10.42, abreast of wady Mukaddam (ravine of the Advanced); sand cropping out near the summits on each side. At 11, under a high peak of a mountain, the escarpment furrowed with innumerable dry water-courses. The marks upon the shore indicated that the sea had fallen seven feet this season.

At 11.20, stopped to examine a ruin a short distance up the mountain side. It is an old wall of unhewn stones without cement. The wall is on the front and two sides; the rear is the mountain side, in the face of which are several caves, with apertures cut through the rock to the air above, most probably for the escape of smoke. The walls were evidently built to defend the entrance of the caves long subsequent to their excavation. The caves were filled with detritus, lime, and a deposit of salt in cubes. They were perfectly dry, without stalactites or petrifications of any kind except the cubes of salt. The largest cave could contain twenty or thirty men, and has a long, low, narrow gallery running from one side, which would be invisible when the sun does not shine through the entrance. This is in the wilderness of Engaddi, and the fountain is just beyond the next ravine.

At 11.45, started again, and, at 12.10, stopped at Wady Sudeir, below Ain Jidy (Engaddi). Walked up the dry torrent bed, and finding no suitable place for encampment, directed the boats to be taken half a mile farther south, where they were hauled up, and our tents pitched near them, immediately in a line with, but some distance from where the fountain stream of Ain Jidy descends the mountain side and is lost in the plain;

its course marked by a narrow strip of luxuriant green. The Wady Sudeir has water in it some distance up, but too remote for our purposes.

Instead of the fine grassy plain, which, from Dr. Robinson's description, we had anticipated, we found here a broad sloping delta at the mouth of dry gorges in the mountains. The surface of this plain is dust covered with coarse pebbles and minute fragments of stone, mostly flint, with here and there a nūbk and some osher trees. The last were in blossom, but had some of the fruit of last year, dry and fragile, hanging upon them, and we collected some for preservation. The blossom is a delicate purple, small, bell-shaped, and growing in large clusters. The leaf is oblong, about four inches long by three wide, thick, smooth, and of a dark green, and except that it is smaller, much resembling the caoutchouc. The branches are tortuous like the locust, and the light brown bark has longitudinal ash-coloured ridges upon it, like the sassafras at home. The nūbk or lotus tree, the spina Christi of Hasselquist, called by the Arabs the dhom tree, has small dark-green, oval-shaped, ivy-like leaves. Clustering thick and irregularly upon the crooked branches, are sharp thorns, half an inch in length. The smaller branches are very pliant, which, in connexion with the ivy-like appearance of the leaves, sustain the legend that of them was made the mock crown of the Redeemer. Its fruit, as I have before mentioned, is subacid, and of a pleasant flavour.

There were tamarisk trees and much cane in the bed of the ravine, besides many pink oleanders. About the plain we found the rock-rose, from one of the species of which the gum ladanum is procured; also the common pink; the Aleppo senna, which is used in medicine; the common mallow, and the scentless yellow mignonette.

On the upper part of the plain were terraces, which



AIN JIDY (ENGADDI).



bore marks of former cultivation, perhaps cucumber-beds, such as seen by Dr. Robinson and Mr. Smith. They were owned by the Ta'âmirah, and were destroyed a short time before by a tribe of hostile Arabs. We found a few small prickly cucumbers, or gerkins, in detached places. There were two patches of barley standing, which were scarce above the ground, perhaps, at the time of the hostile incursion. Yet, although it could have been but a few weeks since, the grain was nearly ready for the harvest. The whole aspect of the country, these few trees and patches of vegetation excepted, was one incinerated brown. The mountain, with caverns in its face, towered fifteen hundred feet above us; and one-third up was the fountain, in a grove of spina Christi. It was a spot familiar to the imaginations of all,—the “Diamond of the Desert,” in the tales of the crusaders.

Examined the boats for repairs. Found them very much battered, and their keels, stems, and stern-posts, fractured. Commenced a series of barometrical and thermometrical observations, and surveyed the ground for a base-line. Observed some branches of trees floating, about a mile from the shore, towards the north, confirming our impression of an eddy-current. At 6 P. M., an Arab brought in a catbird he had killed; like all the other birds, and most of the insects and animals, we had seen, it was of a stone colour.

In the evening, some of the tribe Ta'âmirah came in,—a little more robust, but scarcely better clad, than the Rashâyideh. They were warm and hungry, from walking a long distance to meet us. They had no food, and I directed some cooked rice to be given to them. They had seated themselves round the pot, and were greedily about to devour it, when one of them suggested that, perhaps, pork had been cooked in the same vessel. They rose, therefore, in a body, and came to the cook to satisfy



their scruple. I never saw disappointment more strongly pictured in the human countenance than when told that the vessel had often been used for that purpose. Although nearly famished, they would not touch the rice, and we could give them nothing else. Fearing that our provisions would fall short, I advised them to return; not to their houses, for they have nothing so stable as to deserve the name, but to their migratory tents.

As in all southern nations of this continent, the principal food of the Arab is rice. Almost all other nations extract an intoxicating beverage from the plant, containing saccharine matter, which constitutes their principal article of nourishment. But the Arab scarcely knows what strong drink is, and has no name for wine, the original Arabic word for which is now applied to coffee.

Our Arabs were such pilferers that we were obliged to keep a most vigilant watch over everything, except the pork, which, being an abomination to the Muslim, was left about the camp, in full confidence that it would be untouched.

At 8.30, there was a light breeze from the south-west—no clouds visible—a pale-blue misty appearance over the sea. At 9, the wind shifted to the north and blew strong; forced to strengthen the tent-stakes and pile stones upon the canvass eaves. The moon rose clear. Sea, rough. Weather, cool and pleasant; thermometer, 71°. A strong smell of sulphuretted hydrogen, which surprised us, as we knew of no thermal spring in this vicinity. At midnight, sky almost cloudless; thin strata of cirri, extending north-east and south-west. Thermometer, 70°. Wind ranging from north to north-east, and abating. Sherif said that he had often heard of the tyranny of the Franks towards each other, but never thought they would have sent their countrymen to so desolate a place as this. Most of the Arabs, however, suspected that we came for

gold; and Dr. Anderson's hammering at the rocks was, to them, conclusive proof of this hypothesis.

We had this afternoon measured a base line of 3350 feet across the plain, and angled upon all possible points. An Arab, with two camels loaded with salt, came from the south end of the sea, and was going up this pass to Gaza. Commerce extends even here, although her bur-nished keels have never ploughed this dreary sea.

Our water was brought the distance of a mile by the Arabs. There were about fifty of them around the camp, and we could not persuade them to go away. They were of the Raschâyideh and Ta'âmirah tribes—mere bundles of rags, very poor, and, so far, perfectly inoffensive. Some of them kissed our hands, and, pointing to their miserable garments, by comprehensible gestures solicited charity.

Our bread and rice falling short, and being uncertain about the arrival of provisions from Jerusalem, I this day sent some Arabs to Hebron for flour. Would that we could have gone there, too, and visited the cave of Mac-pelah, near Mamre!

One of my greatest anxieties was the difficulty of pro-curing provisions. Should our train, coming from Jeru-salem under charge of Dr. Anderson and the Sherif, be plundered on its way, and the emissary to Hebron procure but a small supply, we should have been in a starving condi-tion. I would have also sent either Mr. Dale or Mr. Aulick to Jerusalem, but that their presence was absolutely ne-cessary. To sound the sea, take topographical sketches of its shores, and make astronomical and barometrical observations, gave full occupation to every one. This was to be our depôt; here we were to leave our tents, and everything we could dispense with. It would be our home while upon this sea, and, in honour of the greatest man the world has yet produced, I named it "Camp Washington."

April 23, Easter Sunday. Deferred all work that we could possibly set aside, until to-morrow. At 6 A. M., weather pleasant—thermometer standing at 70° in the tent. At 7, 84°; 7.30, 85°; the two extremities of the sea misty, with constant evaporation; sky cloudless, a light breeze from the north; the heat so oppressive in the tent, that we breakfasted “*al fresco*.” A. M. Walking along the beach, saw a hawk, and shortly after some doves, near the tent, all of the same colour as the mountains and the shore. Each day, in the forenoon, the wind had prevailed from the southward, and in the afternoon, until about midnight, from the northward; the last wind quite fresh, and accompanied with a smell of sulphur. After midnight, it generally fell calm. Although the nights were mostly cloudless, there was scarcely any deposit of dew, the ground remaining heated through the night from the intensity of the solar rays during the day.

Four young wild boars were brought in by an Arab; they escaped from him and ran to the sea, but were caught, and, because we would not buy them, they were killed.

Nearly out of provisions, and, anxiously looking for Dr. Anderson and the Sherif, we gladly hailed their appearance shortly after noon, creeping like mites along the lofty crags descending to this deep chasm. Some of our party had discovered in the face of the precipice, near the fountain, several apertures, one of them arched and faced with stone. There was no perceptible access to the caverns, which were once, perhaps, the abodes of the Essenes. Our sailors could not get to them; and where they fail, none but monkeys can succeed. There must have been terraced pathways formerly cut in the face of the rock, which have been worn away by winter torrents.

Although we saw the Doctor and Sherif shortly after noon, they did not reach the camp until 3.30, P. M. The provisions they brought were very acceptable. With

them, came four Turkish soldiers, to guard our camp while we should be absent.

P. M. We again noticed a current, setting to the northward along the shore, and one farther out, setting to the southward. The last was no doubt the impetus given by the Jordan, and the former its eddy, deflected by Usdum and the southern shore of the sea.

Arranged with Sherîf that he should remain here, in charge of our camp.

The scene at sunset was magnificent;—the wild, mighty cliffs above us, the dull, dead sea, and the shadows climbing up the eastern mountains. And there was Kerak, castled upon the loftiest summit of the range. We never looked upon it but we deplored the folly and rapacity of the "Lord of Kerak," which lost to Christendom the guardianship of the Holy Sepulchre.

We all felt a great oppression about the head, and much drowsiness, particularly during the heat of the day. In the evening, it was calm and sultry.

At night we visited Sherîf. A number of Arabs were gathered in front of the tent, and they gave us a dance. Ten or twelve of them were drawn up in a line, curved a little inwards, and one of them stood in front, with a naked sword. A mass of filthy rags, with black heads above and spindle legs below! Clapping their hands, and chanting a low, monotonous song, bowing and bending, and swinging their bodies from side to side, they followed the motions of the one in front. In a short time, one of them commenced chanting extempore, and the others repeated the words with monotonous cadence; he with the sword waving it to and fro in every direction, and keeping time and movement with the rest. Their song referred to us. "Mr. Dale was strong and rode a horse well." "Kobtan, (the captain) made much work for Arabs, with his head." The dance was interrupted by an old man sud-

denly darting into the circle, and, bare-footed, with his āba gathered in his hands behind him, went jumping, hopping, crouching, and keeping time to the strange sounds of the others. The grotesque movements, the low monotonous tones, and the seeming ill-timed levity of the old Arab, gave to the whole affair the appearance of a wild coronach, disturbed by the antics of a mountebank. In the swaying of the body and clapping of the hands, some of us detected a resemblance to the war-dance of the South Sea Islanders.

A calm, sultry night. At this hour, last night (11 o'clock), it blew a fresh breeze from the north. In the mid-watch there was a bright meteor from the zenith, towards the north-east. The same sulphureous smell, but less unpleasant than when the wind blew fresh. Molyneaux detected the same odour the night he spent upon the sea, whence he thought it proceeded. We have been twice upon the sea when the spray was driven in our faces; but although the water was greasy, acrid, and disagreeable, it was perfectly inodorous. I am therefore inclined to attribute the noxious smell to the foetid springs and marshes along the shores of the sea, increased, perhaps, by exhalations from stagnant pools in the flat plain which bounds it to the north.

Monday, April 24. Called all hands at 4.45 A. M.; light wind from the north; clouds, cirro-stratus, in the south and east; temperature, 78°. Wrote a note to Mr. Finn, H. B. M. consul at Jerusalem, respecting provisions. This gentleman had been exceedingly kind and attentive. He had received our money on deposit, and paid my drafts upon him. By this means we kept but little money on hand, and avoided presenting a great temptation to the Arabs.

At 6, breakfasted luxuriously on fresh bread, brought, by the Doctor, from Jerusalem. The latter reported

Hugh Reid (seaman), one of the crew of the *Fanny Skinner*, as unable to work at the oar. Determined to leave him in the camp, his affection being a chronic one, uninfluenced by the climate.

At 6.38, started with Dr. Anderson, in the *Fanny Mason*, for the peninsula, which had so long loomed, like Cape Flyaway, in the distance. Directed Mr. Aulick to pull directly across to Wady Mojeb (the River Arnon of the Old Testament), and sound as he proceeded.

I left Mr. Dale and the rest of the party to make observations for determining the position of the camp, and measure angles for each end of the base-line. We steered, in the *Fanny Mason*, a south-east course, directly for the north end of the peninsula, sounding at short intervals. The first cast, near the shore, brought up slimy mud, but further out, a light-coloured mud, and many perfectly well formed cubic crystals of salt. These, as well as the mud, were carefully put up in air-tight vessels; greatest depth, 137 fathoms. One of the deepest casts, the cup to Stelwagon's lead brought up a blade of grass, faded in colour, but of as firm a texture as any plucked on the margin of a brook. It must have been washed down by one of the fresh-water streams, in connection with a heavier substance.

About midway across picked up a dead bird, which was floating upon the water; we recognised it as a small quail. At 11, reached the peninsula; the sun intensely hot. It is a bold, broad promontory, from forty to sixty feet high, with a sharp angular central ridge some twenty feet above it, and a broad margin of sand at its foot, incrustated with salt and bitumen; the perpendicular face extending all round and presenting the coarse and chalky appearance of recent carbonate of lime. There were myriads of dead locusts strewed upon the beach near the margin of the sea. The summit of the peninsula is

irregular and rugged; in some places showing the tent-shape formation, in others, a series of disjointed crags. On the western side, the high peninsula with its broad margin extends to the southward until it is lost in the misty sea.

Dr. Anderson describes the peninsula as a loose, calcareous marl, with incrustations of salt and indications of sulphur, nitre, gypsum, marly clays, &c.; and the northern extremity, which he estimates one-third higher than I do, as chalky, with flints; the texture soft and crumbling.

There were a few bushes, their stems partly buried in the water, and their leafless branches incrustated with salt, which sparkled as trees do at home when the sun shines upon them after a heavy sleet. Such an image, presented to the mind, while the frame was weltering with the heat, was indeed like "holding a fire in the hand and thinking of the frosty Caucasus." Near the immediate base of the cliffs was a line of drift-wood deposited by the sea at its full. Save the standing and prostrate dead trees, there was not a vestige of vegetation. The mind cannot conceive a more dreary scene, or an atmosphere more stifling and oppressive. The reverberation of heat and light from the chalk-like hills and the salt beach was almost insupportable.

Walking up the beach we saw the tracks of a hyena, and another animal which we did not recognise, and soon after the naked footprints of a man. To the eastward of the point is a deep bay indenting the peninsula from the north. We followed up an arched passage worn in the bank, and cutting steps in the salt on each side of the upper part, crawled through a large hole worn by the rains, and clambered up the steep side of the ridge to gain a view from the top. It presented a surface of sharp and angular points, light coloured, bare of vegetation, and blinding to the eye. We here collected many crystals of

carbonate of lime. During our absence, the sailors had endeavoured to make a fire of the drift-wood as a signal to the camp, but it was so impregnated with salt that it would not burn.

At 1 P. M., started on our return, steering directly across to measure the width of the strait between the peninsula and the western shore. There was little wind, the same faint sulphureous smell, and every one struggling against a sensation of drowsiness. Arrived at the camp a little before 6 P. M., in a dead calm, very much wearied, temperature 92°. As we landed an Arab ran up, and gathering an armful of barley in the straw, threw it on the fire, and then husking the grain by rubbing it in his hands, brought it to me, and by gesture invited me to eat; it was excellent. The Fanny Skinner arrived shortly after. Mr. Aulick had sounded directly across, and found the width of the sea by patent log to be a little more than eight geographical, or about nine statute miles; the greatest depth 188 fathoms, 1128 feet. He landed at the mouth of the "Arnon;"—a considerable stream of water, clear, fresh, and moderately cool, flowing between banks of red sandstone. In it some small fish were seen.

On our first arrival here, I had despatched a messenger to the tribes along the southern coast to procure guides. This afternoon he returned with the information that they had been driven away, and that the country was inhabited only by robbers. Sherif was earnest in the advice to proceed no farther south; but we could not leave our work unaccomplished. A sheikh of the Ta'âmirah agreed to walk along the coast in sight of the boats. We wished to visit the ruins of Sebbeh on our route southward, and prepared for several days' absence. At night a fresh breeze sprang up from the northward and eastward. There were several large fires on the peninsula. Secured a partridge and several insects for our collection; and



there was also gathered a specimen of every variety of flower for our herbarium. In the evening our Arabs had another entertainment. An improvisatore in Arabic poetry was engaged until a late hour reciting warlike narratives in verse for the amusement of Sherif—some from Antar, the celebrated poet of Arabia; others, unpremeditated, in praise of Ibrahim Pasha. At the end of each couplet, some one of the audience pronounced the final rhyming word after him. This was more endurable than the one-stringed rebabeh, and less stupid than the dance of last evening. In the night, killed a tarantula and a scorpion.

Oppressively sultry. A foetid, sulphureous odour in the night; felt quite sick. At daybreak, a fine invigorating breeze from the north; air over the sea very misty. Did not rouse the camp until 6.30, for the night had been oppressive. The Arabs becoming too numerous in the camp, I sent all away, except a few to bring water to Sherif, and some to accompany us to show where water could be found along the shore.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### EXPEDITION AROUND THE SOUTHERN SEA.

Tuesday, April 25. Completed a set of observations, bundled up the mess things, and started, at 9.40, for a reconnoissance of the southern part of the sea; leaving Sherif in charge of the camp, with Read and the four Turkish soldiers. Steered about south, from point to point, keeping near the Arabs along the shore, *for their protection*; for they dreaded an attack from marauding parties. Threw the patent log overboard; the weather fair but exceedingly hot; thermometer, 89°; little air stirring; no clouds visible; the mountains, as we passed, seemed terraced, but the culture was that of desolation.

At 11.05, the patent log had marked  $2\frac{1}{2}$  knots; depth, six feet; bottom, soft brown mud; made for a current ripple, a little farther out, coloured with decomposed wood, membranes of leaves, chaff, &c.; depth, thirteen fathoms; hard bottom; resumed the course along the shore. At 12.30, abreast of a ravine, or wady, not down on the maps, with a broad, flat delta before it. These ravines all have names, among the Arabs; but the deltas, or projecting plains, are undesignated. The limestone strata of the mountain above it were horizontal. There was a line of verdure up the ravine, indicating the presence of water. The log had measured  $6\frac{1}{2}$  nautical miles from Ain Jidy: soundings, a musket-shot distance from the shore, one fathom; bottom, white sand and very fine gravel. At 12.40, soundings one fathom; north end of the penin-

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sula bearing east; steered towards it, to try for ford; water deepening to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms (fifteen feet), pulled into the shore-line again. A small, beautiful bird, with yellow breast, flew along the shore. Occasionally sounded out to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms, one mile from shore, to look for ford. At 1.58, abreast of Wady Sêyâl Sebbeh (ravine of Aca-cias), supposed to have water in it, very high up, the log having marked  $8\frac{1}{2}$  nautical miles. The cliff above the ravine was that of Sebbeh, or Masada. It was a perpendicular cliff, 1200 to 1500 feet high, with a deep ravine breaking down on each side, so as to leave it isolated. On the level summit was a line of broken walls, pierced in one place with an arch. This fortalice, constructed by Herod, and successfully beleaguered by Silva, had a commanding but dreary prospect, overlooking the deep chasm of this mysterious sea. Our Arabs could give no other account of it than that there were ruins of large buildings on the cliff.

The cliff of Sebbeh is removed some distance from the margin of the sea by an intervening delta of sand and detritus, of more than two miles in width. A mass of scorched and calcined rock, regularly laminated at its summit, and isolated from the rugged strip, which skirts the western shore, by deep and darkly-shadowed defiles and lateral ravines, its aspect from the sea is one of stern and solemn grandeur, and seems in harmony with the fearful records of the past.

There was that peculiar purple hue of its weather-worn rock, a tint so like that of coagulated blood that it forced the mind back upon its early history, and summoned images of the fearful immolation of Eleazar and the nine hundred and sixty-seven Sicarii, the blood of whose self-slaughter seemed to have tinged the indestructible cliff for ever.

At 3.05 P. M. a fine northerly wind blowing; stopped

to take in our Arabs. They brought a piece of bitumen, found on the shore, near Sebbeh, where we had intended to camp; but the wind was fair, and there was an uncertainty about water. We ascertained that there is no ford as laid down in the map of Messrs. Robinson and Smith. One of the Arabs said that there was once a ford there, but all the others denied it. Passed two ravines and the bluff of Rûbtât el Jâmûs (Tying of the Buffalo), and at 4.45, stopped for the night in a little cove, immediately north of Wady Mubûghghik, five or six miles north of the salt-mountain of Usdum, which looms up, isolated, to the south. From Ain Jidy to this place, the patent log has measured  $13\frac{1}{2}$  nautical miles, which is less than the actual distance, the log sometimes not working, from the shoalness of the water.

We this day paid particular attention to the geological construction of the western shore, with a special regard to the disposition of the ancient terraces and abutments of the tertiary limestone and marls. There may be rich ores in these barren rocks. Nature is ever provident in her liberality, and when she denies fertility of surface, often repays man with her embowelled treasures. There is scarce a variety of rock that has not been found to contain metals; and it is said that the richness of the veins is for the most part independent of the nature of the beds they intersect.

There has been no great variety in the scenery, to-day; the same bold and savage cliffs; the same broad peninsulas, or deltas, at the mouths of the ravines,—some of them sprinkled here and there with vegetation,—all evincing the recent or immediate presence of water. This part of the coast is claimed by no particular tribe, but is common to roaming bands of marauders.

The beach was bordered with innumerable dead locusts. There was also bitumen in occasional lumps, and incrus-

tations of lime and salt. The bitumen presented a bright, smooth surface when fractured, and looked like a consolidated fluid. The Arabs called it *hajar Mousa* (Moses' stone).

Our Arabs insisted upon it that the only ford was at the southern extremity of the sea. There were seven of them with us, and they were of three tribes, the *Rashâyideh*, *Ta'âmirah* and *Kâbeneh*. Being beyond the limits of their own territories, they were very apprehensive of an attack from hostile tribes. When, this afternoon, under the impression, which proved to be correct, that there was water in the ravine, we called to them, they came down in all haste, unslinging their guns as they ran, in the supposition that we were attacked,—evincing, thereby, more spirit than we had anticipated. They were very uneasy; and, immediately after our arrival, one of them was perched, like a goat, upon a high cliff; and the others had bivouacked where they commanded a full view into the mouth of the ravine.

Our camp was in a little cove, on the north side of the delta, which had been formed by the deposition of the winter torrents, and extends half a mile out, with a rounding point to the eastward. The ravine comes down between two high, round-topped mountains, of a dark, burnt-brown colour, and a horizontal, terrace-like stratum, half-way up. In the plain were several *nûbk* and *tamarisk* trees, and three kinds of shrubs, and some flowers which we gathered for preservation. Near the ravine, on a slight eminence, we discovered the ruins of a building, with square-cut stones,—the foundation-walls alone remaining, and a line of low wall running down to the ravine; near it was a rude canal. There were many remains of terraces. The low wall was, perhaps, an aqueduct for the irrigation of the plain. Here Costigan thought that he had found the ruins of Gomorrah. About

half a mile up, the faces of the ravine cut down perpendicularly through limestone rock, and turned, at right angles, a short distance above, with here and there a few bushes in the bottom. We found a little brook purling down the ravine, and soon losing itself in the dry plain. We were now almost at the southern extremity of the sea. The boats having been drawn up on the beach, their awnings were made to supply the places of tents, the open side facing the ravine; the blunderbuss at our head, and the sentries walking beside it. At 8 P. M., there were a few light cumuli in the sky, but no wind. At 8.30, a hot fresh wind from north-west; thermometer, 82°; at 9, 86°. Finding it too oppressive under the awning, we crawled out upon the open beach, and, with our feet nearly at the water's edge, slept "*à la belle étoile*." After the manner of the poor highwayman, we slept in our clothes, under arms, and upon the ground. It continued very hot during the night, and we could not endure even a kerchief over our faces, to screen them from the hot and blistering wind.

This was doubtless a sirocco, but it came from an unusual quarter. At midnight, the thermometer stood at 88°; and at 4, the temperature of the air, 86°; of the water, 80°. Towards daylight, the wind went down, and the thermometer fell to 79°. There were several light meteors, from the zenith towards the north, seen during the night. While the wind lasted, the atmosphere was hazy. Notwithstanding the oppressive heat, there was a pleasure in our strange sensations, lying in the open air, upon the pebbly beach of this desolate and unknown sea, perhaps near the sites of Sodom and Gomorrah; the salt mountains of Usdum in close proximity, and nothing but bright, familiar stars above us.

Wednesday, April 26. When I awoke this morning there was a young quail at my side, where, in the night,

it had most probably crept for shelter from the strong, hot wind.

We were up before sunrise; light variable airs and warm weather. At 5.30, started and steered S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. in a direct line for Râs Hish (cape Thicket), the north point of Usdum. At 6.42, fifty yards from the shore, sounded, the depth one fathom. Wady Mubûghghik bearing west. 6.51, soundings one and three-quarter fathoms, grey mud. At 7, two fathoms, black, slimy mud. A light wind sprang up from S. S. E., a few light cirrus clouds in the N. E. The cliffs gradually slope away and terminate in Usdum. Sounding every few minutes for the ford; stretching out occasionally from the shore line, and returning to it again, when the water deepened to two fathoms. The Fanny Skinner coasted along the shore to sketch the topography, and we kept further out to sound for the ford. At 8, abreast of a short, steep, shrubby ravine, Muhariwat (the Surrounded); a very extensive excavation at its mouth. In front of the ravine was a beautiful patch of vegetation, extending towards Usdum, with intervals of gravel and sand. Many of these ravines derive their names from incidents in Arab history.

At 8.07, stopped to take bearings. Wady Ez Zuweirah, S. W. by W.; the west end of Usdum, S. by W.; marshy spit, north end of do., S. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. Usdum is perfectly isolated, but has no appearance of being a mass of salt. Perhaps, like the peninsula, it is incrustated with carbonate of lime, which gives it the tinge of the eastern and western mountains.

At 8.08, water shoaling to two and a half feet, hauled off; 8.12, stood in and landed on the extreme point of Usdum. Many dead bushes along the shore, which are incrustated with salt as at the peninsula. Found it a broad, flat, marshy delta, the soil coated with salt and bitumen, and yielding to the foot.

At 8.30, started again and steered E. S. E., sounding every five minutes, the depth from one to one and three-quarter fathoms; white and black slime and mud. A swallow flew by us. At 8.52, stopped to take compass bearings. Seetzen saw this salt mountain in 1806, and says that he never before beheld one so torn and riven; but neither Costigan nor Molyneaux, who were in boats, came farther south on the sea than the peninsula. With regard to this part, therefore, which most probably covers the guilty cities,—

“We are the first  
That ever burst  
Into this silent sea.”

At 9, the water shoaling, hauled more off shore. Soon after, to our astonishment, we saw on the eastern side of Usdum, one third the distance from its north extreme, a lofty, round pillar, standing apparently detached from the general mass, at the head of a deep, narrow, and abrupt chasm. We immediately pulled in for the shore, and Dr. Anderson and I went up and examined it. The beach was a soft, slimy mud encrusted with salt, and a short distance from the water, covered with saline fragments and flakes of bitumen. We found the pillar to be of solid salt, capped with carbonate of lime, cylindrical in front and pyramidal behind. The upper or rounded part is about forty feet high, resting on a kind of oval pedestal, from forty to sixty feet above the level of the sea. It slightly decreases in size upwards, crumbles at the top, and is one entire mass of crystallization. A prop, or buttress, connects it with the mountain behind, and the whole is covered with debris of a light stone colour. Its peculiar shape is doubtless attributable to the action of the winter rains. The Arabs had told us in vague terms that there was to be found a pillar somewhere upon the shores of the sea; but their statements in all other



respects had proved so unsatisfactory, that we could place no reliance upon them.\*

At 10.10, returned to the boat with large specimens. The shore was soft and very yielding for a great distance; the boats could not get within 200 yards of the beach, and our foot-prints made on landing, were, when we returned, incrustated with salt.

Some of the Arabs, when they came up, brought a species of melon they had gathered near the north spit of Usdum. It was oblong, ribbed, of a dark green colour, much resembling a cantelope. When cut, the meat and seeds bore the same resemblance to that fruit, but were excessively bitter to the taste. A mouthful of quinine could not have been more distasteful, or adhered longer and more tenaciously to the reluctant palate.

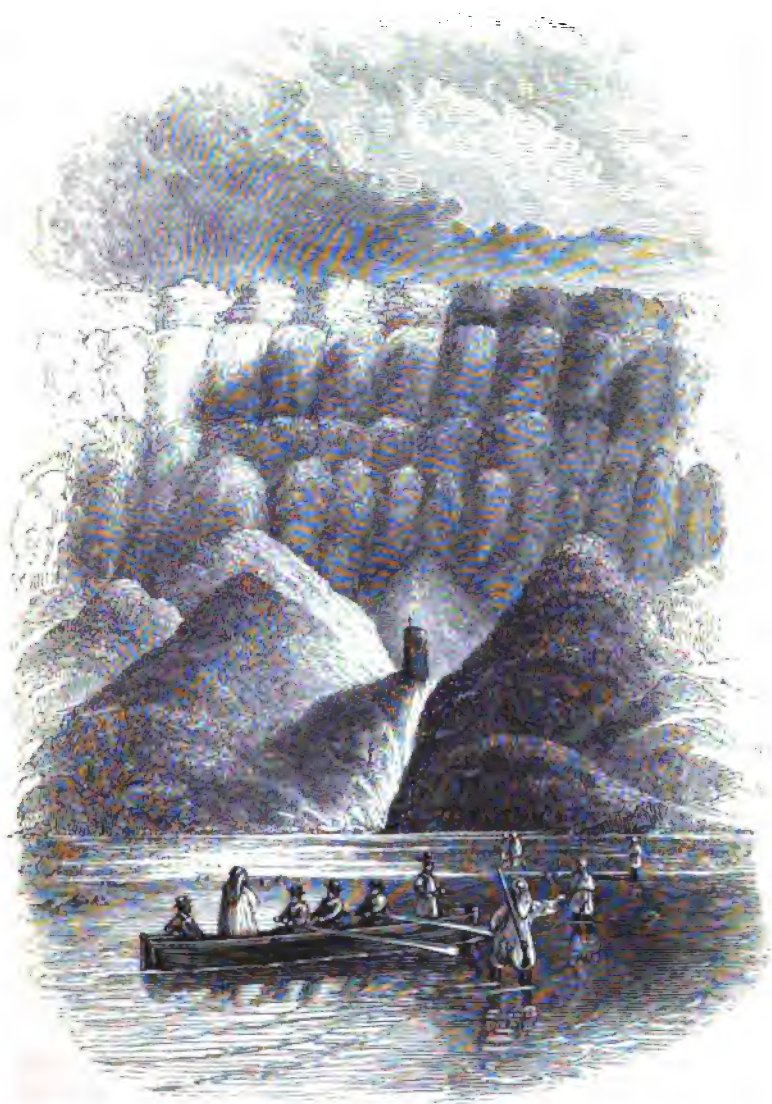
Intending to examine the south end of the sea, and then proceed over to the eastern shore in the hope of finding water, we discharged all our Arabs but one, and sharing our small store of water with them, and giving them provisions, we started again at 10.30, and steered south.

At 10.42, a large black and white bird flew up, and lighted again upon the shore. The salt on the face of

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\* A similar pillar is mentioned by Josephus, who expresses the belief of its being the identical one into which Lot's wife was transformed. His words are, "But Lot's wife continually turning back to view the city as she went from it, and being too nicely inquisitive what would become of it, although God had forbidden her so to do, was changed into a pillar of salt, for I have seen it, and it remains at this day."—1 *Josephus' Antiq.*, book 1, chap. 12.

Clement of Rome, a contemporary of Josephus, also mentions this pillar, and likewise Irenæus, a writer of the second century, who, yet more superstitious than the other two, adds the hypothesis, how it came to last so long with all its members entire. Reland relates an old tradition that as fast as any part of this pillar was washed away, it was supernaturally renewed.



PILLAR OF SALT AT USDUM.



Usdum appeared in the form of *spiculæ*. At 11.07, came to the cave in Usdum described by Dr. Robinson; kept on, to take meridian observation at the extreme south end of the sea. 11.28, unable to proceed any further south from shallowness of the water, having run into six inches, and the boats' keels stirring up the mud. The *Fanny Skinner* having less draught, was able to get a little nearer to the shore, but grounded 300 yards off. Mr. Dale landed to observe for the latitude. His feet sank first through a layer of slimy mud a foot deep, then through a crust of salt, and then another foot of mud, before reaching a firm bottom. The beach was so hot as to blister the feet. From the water's edge, he made his way with difficulty for more than a hundred yards over black mud, coated with salt and bitumen.

Unfortunately, from the great depth of this chasm, and the approach of the sun towards the tropic of Cancer, the sextant (one of Gambey's best) would not measure the altitude with an artificial horizon, and there was not sufficient natural horizon for the measurement. We therefore took magnetic bearings in every direction, which, with observations of *Polaris*, would be equally as correct, but more laborious. We particularly noted the geographical position of the south end of Usdum, which was now a little south of the southern end of the sea. The latter is ever-varying, extending south from the increased flow of the Jordan and the efflux of the torrents in winter, and receding with the rapid evaporation, consequent upon the heat of summer.

In returning to the boat, one of the men attempted to carry Mr. Dale to the water, but sunk down, and they were obliged separately to flounder through. When they could, they ran for it. They describe it as like running over burning ashes,—the perspiration starting from every pore with the heat. It was a delightful sensation when

their feet touched the water, even the salt, slimy water of the sea, then at the temperature of 88°.

The southern shore presented a mud-flat, which is terminated by the high hills bounding the Ghor to the southward. A very extensive plain or delta, low and marshy towards the sea, but rising gently, and, farther back, covered with luxuriant green, is the outlet of Wady es Sâfieh (clear ravine), bearing S. E. by S. Anxious to examine it, we coasted along, just keeping the boat afloat, the in-shore oars stirring up the mud. The shore was full three-fourths of a mile distant, the line of demarcation scarce perceptible, from the stillness of the water, and the smooth, shining surface of the marsh. On the flat beyond, were lines of drift-wood, and here and there, in the shallow water, branches of dead trees, which, like those at the peninsula, were coated with saline incrustation. The bottom was so very soft, that it yielded to everything, and at each cast the sounding-lead sank deep into the mud. Thermometer, 95°. Threw the drag over, but it brought up nothing but soft, marshy, light coloured mud.

It was indeed a scene of unmitigated desolation. On one side, rugged and worn, was the salt mountain of Usdum, with its conspicuous pillar, which reminded us at least of the catastrophe of the plain; on the other were the lofty and barren cliffs of Moab, in one of the caves of which the fugitive Lot found shelter. To the south was an extensive flat intersected by sluggish drains, with the high hills of Edom semi-girdling the salt plain where the Israelites repeatedly overthrew their enemies; and to the north was the calm and motionless sea, curtained with a purple mist, while many fathoms deep in the slimy mud beneath it lay embedded the ruins of the ill-fated cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. The glare of light was blinding to the eye, and the atmosphere difficult of respiration.

No bird fanned with its wing the attenuated air through which the sun poured his scorching rays upon the mysterious element on which we floated, and which, alone, of all the works of its Maker, contains no living thing within it.

While in full view of the peninsula, I named its northern extremity "Point Costigan," and its southern one "Point Molyneaux," as a tribute to the memories of the two gallant Englishmen who lost their lives in attempting to explore this sea.

At 11.42, much frothy scum; picked up a dead bird resembling a quail; sounding every five minutes, depth increasing to four feet, bottom a little firmer; the only ford must be about here.

At 12.21, there was a very loud, reverberating report, as of startling thunder, and a cloud of smoke and dust on the western shore; most probably a huge rock falling from a high cliff.

At 2.35 P. M., close in with the eastern shore, but unable to land from the soft bottom and shoalness of the water. At 2.50, a light breeze from W. N. W.; hauled to the north towards the base of the peninsula. A long, narrow, dry marsh, with a few scrubby bushes, separated the water from a range of stupendous hills, 2000 feet high. The cliff of En Nuweireh (Little Tiger), lofty and grand, towered above us in horizontal strata of brown limestone, and beautiful rose-coloured sandstone beneath. Clouds in the east, nimbus, seemed to be threatening a gust. At 3.30, steered N. N. E. along a low marshy flat, in shallow water. The light wind had subsided, and it was oppressively hot; air 97°; water twelve inches below the surface 90°. A thin purple haze over the mountains, increasing every moment, and presenting a most singular and awful appearance; the haze so thin that it was transparent, and rather a blush than a distinct colour. I

apprehended a thunder-gust or an earthquake, and took in the sail. At 3.50, a hot, blistering hurricane struck us from the south-east, and for some moments we feared being driven out to sea. The thermometer rose immediately to 102°. The men, closing their eyes to shield them from the fiery blast, were obliged to pull with all their might to stem the rising waves, and at 4.30, physically exhausted, but with grateful hearts, we gained the shore. My own eye-lids were blistered by the hot wind, being unable to protect them, from the necessity of steering the boat.

We landed on the south side of the peninsula, near Wady Humeir, the most desolate spot upon which we had yet encamped. Some went up the ravine to escape from the stifling wind; others, driven back by the glare, returned to the boats and crouched under the awnings. One mounted spectacles to protect his eyes, but the metal became so heated that he was obliged to remove them. Our arms and the buttons on our coats became almost burning to the touch; and the inner folds of our garments were cooler than those exposed to the immediate contact of the wind. We bivouacked without tents, on a dry marsh, a few dead bushes around us, and some of the thorny nūbk, and a tree bearing a red berry a short distance inland, with low canes on the margin of the sea. A short distance to the N. E., on the peninsula, we found fragments of an immense and very old mill-stone. The mill had, doubtless, been turned by a canal from the ravine, down which the water must flow copiously in the rainy season.

At 5, finding the heat intolerable, we walked up the dry torrent bed in search of water. Found two successive pools rather than a stream, with some minnows in them; the water, not yet stagnant, flowing from the upper to the lower pool. There were some succulent plants on

their margins, and fern roots, and a few bushes around them. There were huge boulders of sandstone in the bed of the ravine; a dead palm-tree near the largest pool, a living one in a cleft of the rock at the head of the gorge; and high up, to the summits of the beetling cliffs, the sandstone lay in horizontal strata, with perpendicular cleavage, and limestone above, its light brown colour richly contrasting with the deep red below.

The sandstone below limestone here, and limestone without sandstone on the opposite shore, would seem to indicate a geological fault.

Washed and bathed in one of the pools, but the relief was only momentary. In one instant after leaving the water, the moisture on the surface evaporated, and left the skin dry, parched, and stiff. Except the minnows in the pool, there was not a living thing stirring; but the hot wind swept moaning through the branches of the withered palm-tree,\* and every bird and insect, if any there were, had sought shelter under the rocks.

Coming out from the ravine, the sight was a singular one. The wind had increased to a tempest; the two extremities and the western shore of the sea were curtained by a mist, on this side of a purple hue, on the other a yellow tinge; and the red and rayless sun, in the bronzed clouds, had the appearance it presents when looked upon through smoked glass. Thus may the heavens have appeared just before the Almighty in his wrath rained down fire upon the cities of the plain. Behind were the rugged crags of the mountains of Moab, the land of incest, enveloped in a cloud of dust, swept by the simoom from the great desert of Arabia.

There was a smoke on the peninsula, a little to the north of us. We knew not whether those who made it

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\* The date-palm.



might prove friends or foes; and therefore that little smoke was not to be disregarded. We had brought one of the Ta'âmirah with us, for the express purpose of communicating with the natives, but he was so fearful of their hostility that I could not prevail on him to bear a message to them. With his back to the wind, and his eyes fixed on the streaming smoke, he had squatted himself down a short distance from us. He thought that we would be attacked in the night; I felt sure that we would not, if we were vigilant. These people never attack each other but at advantage, and fifteen well-armed Franks can, in that region, bid defiance to anything but surprise.

We have not seen an instance of deformity among the Arab tribes. This man was magnificently formed, and when he walked it was with the port and presence of a king. It has been remarked that races with highly coloured skins are rarely deformed; and the exemption is attributed, perhaps erroneously, not to a mode of life differing from that of a civilized one, but to hereditary organization.

The sky grew more angry as the day declined;—

“The setting orb in crimson seems to mourn,  
Denouncing greater woes at his return,  
And adds new horrors to the present doom  
By certain fear of evils yet to come.”

The heat rather increased than lessened after the sun went down. At 8 P. M., the thermometer was 106° five feet from the ground. At one foot from the latter it was 104°. We threw ourselves upon the parched, cracked earth, among dry stalks and canes, which would before have seemed insupportable from the heat. Some endeavoured to make a screen of one of the boats' awnings, but the fierce wind swept it over in an instant. It was more like the blast of a furnace than living air. At our feet was the sea, and on our right, through the thicket, we



A. TA'ÂMIRAH.



could distinguish the gleaming of the fires and hear the shouts from an Arab encampment.

In the early part of the night, there was scarce a moment that some one was not at the water-breakers; but the parching thirst could not be allayed, for, although there was no perceptible perspiration, the fluid was carried off as fast as it was received into the system. At 9, the breakers were exhausted, and our last waking thought was water. In our disturbed and feverish slumbers, we fancied the cool beverage purling down our parched and burning throats. The mosquitoes, as if their stings were envenomed by the heat, tormented us almost to madness, and we spent a miserable night, throughout which we were compelled to lie encumbered with our arms, while, by turns, we kept vigilant watch.

We had spent the day in the glare of a Syrian sun, by the salt mountain of Usdum, in the hot blast of the sirocco, and were now bivouacked under the calcined cliffs of Moab. When the water was exhausted, all too weary to go for more, even if there were no danger of a surprise, we threw ourselves upon the ground,—eyes smarting, skin burning, lips, and tongue, and throat parched and dry; and wrapped the first garment we could find around our heads to keep off the stifling blast; and, in our brief and broken slumbers, drank from ideal fountains.

Those who have never *felt* thirst, never suffered in a simoom in the wilderness, or been far off at sea, with

“Water, water everywhere,  
Nor any drop to drink,”

can form no idea of our sensations. They are best illustrated by the exclamation of the victim in Dante's *Inferno*.

“The little rills which down the grassy side  
Of Casentino flow to Arno's stream,  
Filling their banks with verdure as they glide,  
Are ever in my view;—no idle dream—

For more that vision parches, makes me weak,  
Than that disease, which wastes my pallid cheek."

Our thoughts could not revert to home save in connexion with the precious element; and many were the imaginary speeches we made to visionary common councils against ideal water-carts, which went about unsubstantial city streets, spouting the glorious liquid in the very wastefulness of abundance, every drop of which seemed priceless pearls, as we lay on the shore of the Dead Sea, in the feverish sleep of thirst.

The poor, affrighted Arab slept not a wink;—for, repeatedly, when I went out, as was my custom, to see that all was quiet and the sentries on the alert, he was ever in the same place, looking in the same direction.

At midnight the thermometer stood at 98°; shortly after which the wind shifted and blew lightly from the north. At 4 A. M., thermometer, 82°; comparatively cool.

Thursday, April 27. The first thing on waking, at day-break, I saw a large, black bird, high overhead, floating between us and the mottled sky. Shortly after, a large flock of birds flew along the shore, and a number of storks were noiselessly winging their way in the gray and indistinct light of the early morning. Calm and warm;—went up and bathed in the ravine. There were voices in the cliffs overhead, and shortly after there was the report of a gun, the reverberating echoes of which were distinctly heard at the camp. As I had come unattended, the officers were alarmed, and some came to look for me. Our Arab was exceedingly nervous. The gun was doubtless a signal from a look-out on the cliff to his friends inland, for these people live in a constant state of civil warfare, and station sentinels on elevated points to give notice of a hostile approach. I thought that we inspired them with more fear than they did us. Heard a partridge up in the cliffs,

and saw a dove and a beautiful humming-bird in the ravine.

There were some fellahas (female fellahin) on a plain to the northward of us. They allowed Mûstafa to approach within speaking distance, but no nearer. They asked who we were, how and why we came, and why we did not go away. About an hour after, some thirty or forty fellahin, the sheikh armed with a sword, the rest with indifferent guns, lances, clubs, and branches of trees, came towards us, singing the song of their tribe. I drew our party up, the blunderbuss in front, and, with the interpreter, advanced to meet them. When they came near, I drew a line upon the ground, and told them that if they passed it they would be fired upon. Thereupon, they squatted down, to hold a palaver. They belonged to the Ghaurârîyeh, and were as ragged, filthy, and physically weak, as the tribe of Rashâyideh, on the western shore. Finding us too strong for a demand, they began to beg for backshish. We gave them some food to eat, for they looked famished; also a little tobacco and a small gratuity, to bear a letter to 'Akîl, (who must soon be in Kerak,) appointing when and where to have a look-out for us.

Before starting, we took observations, and angled in every direction. Not far from us must be the site of Zoar; and on some of these mountains Lot dwelt with his two daughters. This country is called Moab, after the son of the eldest daughter. Moab means one begotten by a father.

At 8.45, started; sky cloudless, a light air from the west; thermometer, 94°. The Arabs gathered on the shore to see us depart, earnestly asking Mûstafa how the boats could move without legs; he bade them wait awhile, and they would see very long legs. The Fanny Mason sounded directly across to the western shore; the

casts, taken at short intervals, varying from one and three-quarters to two and a quarter fathoms; bottom, light and dark mud. Threw the patent log over; temperature of the air,  $95^{\circ}$ ; of the water,  $85^{\circ}$ .

This shallow bay is mentioned in Joshua, xv. 2. Everything said in the Bible about the sea and the Jordan, we believe to be fully verified by our observations.

At 11.20, picked up a dead quail, which had probably perished in attempting to fly over the sea; perhaps caught in last night's sirocco. At 11.28, there were appearances of sand-spits on the surface of the sea, doubtless the optical delusion which has so often led travellers to mistake them for islands. 11.30, sent the Fanny Skinner to Point Molyneaux, the south end of the peninsula, to take meridian observation. 12.30, much frothy scum upon the water. At 12.52, landed at Wady Muhariwat (Surrounded ravine), on the western shore, where a shallow salt stream, formed by a number of springs oozing from a bank covered with shrubs, spread itself over a considerable space, and trickled down over the pebbles into the sea. There were some very small fish in the stream. Thermometer,  $96^{\circ}$ .

At 1.15 P. M., started again, and steered parallel with the western shore. Keeping about one-third the distance between the western shore and the peninsula, the soundings ranged steadily at two and a quarter fathoms; first part light, the second part dark mud. At 3.05, a very singular swell from north-west,—an undulation, rather; for the waves were glassy, with an unbroken surface, and there was not air enough stirring to move the gossamer curls of a sleeping infant. We knew well of what it was the precursor, and immediately steered for the land. We had scarcely rowed a quarter of an hour, the men pulling vigorously to reach the shelter of the cliffs, when we were struck by a violent gust of hot wind,—another sirocco.



MUSTAFA THE COOK.





The surface of the water became instantly ruffled; changing in five minutes from a slow, sluggish, unbroken swell, to an angry and foaming sea.

With eyes smarting from the spray, we buffeted against it for upwards of an hour, when the wind abruptly subsided, and the sea as rapidly became smooth and rippling. The gust was from the north-west. The wind afterwards became light and baffling,—at one moment fair, the next directly ahead; the smooth surface of the water unbroken, except a light ruffle here and there, as swept by the flickering airs.

At 4.15 P. M., stopped for the night in a spacious bay, on a fine pebbly beach, at the foot of Rūbtāt el Jāmūs (Tying of the Buffalo). It was a desolate-looking, verdureless range above us. There was no water to be found, and our provisions were becoming scarce; we made a scanty supper, but had the luxury of a bed of pebbles, which, although hard and coarse, was far preferable to the mud and dust of our last sleeping-place. We hoped, too, to have but a reasonable number of insect-bedfellows.

Mr. Dale described the extreme point of the peninsula upon which he landed as a low flat, covered with incrustations of salt and carbonate of lime. It was the point of the margin: there was a corresponding point to the high land, which is thinly laminated with salt. They picked up some small pieces of pure sulphur. In a cave, he saw tracks of a panther. After leaving the point, he saw a small flock of ducks and a heron, which were too shy to permit a near approach.

Before retiring, our Arabs, who had gone for hours in a fruitless search for water, returned with some dhom apples (fruit of the nūbk), which amazingly helped out the supper.

I do not know what we should have done without these Arabs; they brought us food when we were nearly fam-

ished, and water when parched with thirst. They acted as guides and messengers, and in our absence faithfully guarded the camp. A decided course tempered with courtesy, wins at once their respect and good will. Although they are an impetuous race, not an angry word had thus far passed between us. With the blessing of God, I hoped to preserve the existing harmony to the last.

Took observations of Polaris. The north-west wind, hot and unrefreshing, sprang up at 8 P. M., and blew through the night. At 10, thermometer  $84^{\circ}$ ; at midnight,  $82^{\circ}$ .

Friday, April 28. Called all hands at 5.30 A. M.; light airs from N. E., sky clouded, cirro-cumulus. Breakfasted à la hâte on a small cup of coffee each, and started at 5.58. If the wind should spring up fair, we purposed sailing over to the Arnon; in the mean time we coasted along the shore towards Ain Jidy, for the water was exhausted, and we must make for the camp if a calm or a head wind should prevail. At 7.30, the wind freshened up from N. E. A little north of Sebbeh we passed a long, low, gravelly island, left uncovered by the retrocession of the water. A great refraction of the atmosphere. The Fanny Skinner, round the point, seemed elevated above it. Her whole frame, from the surface of the water, was distinctly visible, although the land intervened. At 12, wind fresh, air  $87^{\circ}$ , water  $82^{\circ}$ . Our compass glass was incrustated with salt.

Notwithstanding the high wind, the tendency to drowsiness was almost irresistible. The men pulled mechanically, with half-closed lids, and, except them and myself, every one in the copper boat was fast asleep. The necessity of steering and observing all that transpired, alone kept me awake. The drowsy sensation, amounting almost to stupor, was greatest in the heat of the day, but did not disappear at night. In the experience of all, two hours'

watch here seemed longer than double the period elsewhere. At 1.30 P. M., nearly up with Ain Jidy; the white tents of the camp, the line of green, and the far-off fountain, speaking of shade, refreshment, and repose. A camel was lying on the shore, and two Arabs a little beyond. Discerning us, the latter rose quickly and came towards the landing, shouting, singing, and making wild gesticulations, and one of them stooped and picked up a handful of earth and put it upon his head. Here the Sherif met us with a delight too simple-hearted in its expression to be insincere. The old man had been exceedingly anxious for our safety, and seemed truly overjoyed at our return. We were also much gratified to find that he had been unmolested.

One of the Arabs whom we sent back from Usdum fell fainting on his return, and nearly famished for want of water. His companions, suffering from the same cause, were compelled to leave him on the parched and arid shore and hasten forward to save themselves. Fortunately there was a messenger in the camp, who had come on horseback from Jerusalem, and Sherif was enabled to send water forthwith, and have the poor man brought to the tents.

Found letters awaiting us from Beîrût, forwarded express from Jerusalem. Our consul at the former place announced the death of John Quincy Adams, Ex-President of the U. States, and sent an extract from a Malta paper containing the annunciation. These were the first tidings we had received from the outer world, and their burthen was a sad one. But on that sea the thought of death harmonized with the atmosphere and the scenery, and when echo spoke of it, where all else was desolation and decay, it was hard to divest ourselves of the idea that there was nothing but death in the world, and we the only living:—

"Death is here, and death is there,  
Death is busy everywhere."

We lowered the flag half-mast, and there was a gloom throughout the camp.

Among the letters, I received one from the Mushir of Saida. After many compliments, he promised to reprimand Sa'id Bey for the grasping spirit he had evinced, and authorized our ally, 'Akil, to remain with us as long as we might desire.

The very friendly letter of Mr. Chasseaud contained startling news from Europe. The great Being who wisely rules over all, is doubtless punishing the nations for their sins; but, as His justice is ever tempered with mercy, I have not the smallest doubt that when the ordeal is passed, the result will be beneficial to the human race. The time is coming — the beginning is even now — when the whole worthless tribe of kings, with all their myrmidons, will be swept from their places and made to bear a part in the toils and sufferings of the great human family; — when, not in theory only, but in fact, every man will be free and all men politically equal; — then, this world will be a happy one, for liberty, rightly enjoyed, brings every blessing with it.

In the evening we walked up the ravine to bathe. It was a toilsome walk over the rough debris brought down by the winter rains. A short distance up, we were surprised to see evidences of former habitations in the rocks. Roughly hewn caverns and natural excavations we had frequently observed, but none before evincing so much art. Some of the apertures were arched and cased with sills of limestone resembling an inferior kind of marble. We were at a loss how to obtain an entrance, for they were cut in the perpendicular face of the rock, and the lowest more than fifty feet from the bed of the ravine. We stopped to plan some mode of gaining an entrance to one

of them ; but the sound of the running stream, and the cool shadow of the gorge were too inviting, and advancing through tamarisk, oleander, and cane, we came upon the very Egeria of fountains. Far in among the cane, embowered, imbedded, hidden deep in the shadow of the purple rocks and the soft green gloom of luxuriant vegetation, lapsing with a gentle murmur from basin to basin, over the rocks, under the rocks, by the rocks, and clasping the rocks with its crystal arms, was this little fountain-wonder. The thorny nūbk and the pliant osher were on the bank above ; yet lower, the oleander and the tamarisk ; while upon its brink the lofty cane, bent by the weight of its fringe-like tassels, formed bowers over the stream fit for the haunts of Naiads. Diana herself could not have desired a more secluded bath than each of us took in a separate basin.

This, more probably than the fountain of Ain Jiddy (Engaddi), high up the mountain, may be regarded as the realization of the poet's dream—the genuine “diamond of the desert”—and in one of the vaulted caves above, the imagination can dwell upon the night procession, Edith Plantagenet, and the flower dropped in hesitation and picked up with avidity ; the pure, disinterested aspirations of the Crusader, the licentious thoughts of the Saracen, and the wild, impracticable visions of the saintly enthusiast. One of those caverns too, since fashioned by the hand of man, may have been the veritable cave of “Adullam,” for this is the wilderness of Engaddi.\* Here too may have been the dwellings of the Essenes, in the early days of Christianity, and subsequently of hermits, when Palestine was under Christian sway. Our Arabs say that these caves have been here from time immemo-

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\* “And David went up from thence, and dwelt in strong holds at Engaddi.”—1 Samuel, xxiii. 29.

rial, and that many years ago some of the tribe succeeded in entering one of them, and found vast chambers excavated in the rock. They may have been the cells where "gibbered and moaned" the hermit of Engaddi.

Having bathed, we returned much refreshed to the camp. The messenger had brought sugar and lemons, and, with abundance of water, we had lemonade and coffee; and, sheltered from the sun, with the wind blowing through the tent, we revelled in enjoyment. This place, which at first seemed so dreary, had now become almost a paradise by contrast. The breeze blew freshly, but it was so welcome a guest, after the torrid atmosphere of noon, that we even let it tear up the tent stakes, and knock the whole apparatus about our ears, with a kind of indulgent fondness, rather disposed to see something amusing in the flutter among the half-dried linen on the thorn-bushes. This reckless disregard of our personal property bore ample testimony to our welcome greeting of the wind.

At one time, to-day, the sea assumed an aspect peculiarly sombre. Unstirred by the wind, it lay smooth and unruffled as an inland lake. The great evaporation enveloped it in a thin, transparent vapour, its purple tinge contrasting strangely with the extraordinary colour of the sea beneath, and, where they blended in the distance, gave it the appearance of smoke from burning sulphur. It seemed a vast cauldron of metal, fused but motionless.

About sunset, we tried whether a horse and a donkey could swim in the sea without turning over. The result was that, although the animals turned a little on one side, they did not lose their balance. As Mr. Stephens tried his experiment earlier in the season, and nearer the north end of the sea, his horse could not have turned over from the greater density of the water there than here. His animal may have been weaker, or, at the time, more

exhausted than ours. A muscular man floated nearly breast-high, without the least exertion.

Pliny says that some foolish, rich men of Rome had water from this sea conveyed to them to bathe in, under the impression that it possessed medicinal qualities. Galen remarked on this that they might have saved themselves the trouble, by dissolving, in fresh water, as much salt as it could hold in solution; to which Reyland adds, that Galen was not aware that the water of the Dead Sea held other things besides salt in solution.

We picked up a large piece of bitumen on the sea-shore to-day. It was excessively hot to the touch. This combustible mineral is so great a recipient of the solar rays, that it must soften in the intense heat of summer. We gathered also some of the blossoms and the green and dried fruits of the osher\* for preservation with the flowers

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\* This fruit is doubtless the genuine apple of Sodom, for it is fair to the eye and bitter to the taste, and when ripe is filled with fibre and dust. Four jars, containing specimens, together with a drawing of the leaf and blossom, are placed in the patent-office, at Washington.

We have succeeded in bringing safely home some of the green and the dried fruit, and also the leaves and blossoms of the osher, put up in spirits of wine.

“The first notice taken of the apple of Sodom is by Josephus:—‘Which fruits have a colour as if they were fit to be eaten; but if you pluck them with your hands, they dissolve into smoke and ashes.’ They are also spoken of by Tacitus:—‘The herbage may spring up, and the trees may put forth their blossoms, they may even attain the usual appearance of maturity, but with this florid outside, all within turns black and moulders into dust.’

De Chartres, who visited Palestine in 1100, speaks of this fruit, and compares its deceitful appearance to the pleasures of the world; and they are also noticed by Baumgarten, De la Valle, Maundrell, and others, as having a real existence; but Pococke and Shaw deride these accounts as fabulous. In the last century, Amman describes them as resembling a small apple, of a beautiful colour, and growing on a shrub resembling the hawthorn. Hasselquist, on the contrary, is of opinion that it is the fruit of the *solanum melongena*, or egg-plant. He says that ‘it is found in great abun-



collected in the descent of the Jordan, and the various places we have visited on this sea.

The dried fruit, the product of last year, was extremely brittle, and crushed with the slightest pressure. The green, half-formed fruit of this year was soft and elastic as a puff-ball, and, like the leaves and stem, yields a viscous, white, milky fluid when cut. Dr. Robinson very aptly compared it to the milk-weed. This viscous fluid the Arabs call leben-usher (osher-milk), and they consider it a cure for barrenness. Dr. Anderson was enthusiastic in his searches, and although he kept his regular

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dance round Jericho, in the valleys near the Jordan, and in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. It is true that these apples are sometimes full of dust, but this appears only when the fruit is attacked by an insect, which converts the whole of the inside into dust, leaving nothing but the rind entire, without causing it to lose any of its colour.' Linnæus thought, also, that they were the fruit of a solanum, and named a species having large yellow berries, with black seeds, surrounded by a greenish pulp, which dries into a bitter, nauseous powder, solanum Sodomeum; but it has been found that this plant is a native of Southern Africa, and not of Palestine.

Some writers, again, have supposed this fruit to be the gall of the terebinth, or turpentine-tree. Chateaubriand speaks of it as about the size and colour of a small lemon, which, before it is ripe, is filled with a corrosive and saline juice, and when dried, contains only numerous blackish seeds, which may be compared to ashes, and in taste resemble bitter pepper. He states that they are the product of a thorny shrub, having taper leaves. In the travels of the Duke of Ragusa (Marmont), it is spoken of much in the same terms. These descriptions apply to a species of solanum, and especially to the *s. sanctum*, a prickly, shrub-like plant, very common in Palestine.

Seetzen, who does not appear to have seen the plant, says, 'I saw, during my stay at Kerak, in the house of the Greek clergyman of that town, a species of cotton, resembling silk. This cotton, as he told me, grows in the plain of El Ghor, near the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, on a tree like the fig-tree, called Abesche-iz; it is found in a fruit resembling the pomegranate. It struck me that this fruit, which has no pulp or flesh in the inside, and is unknown in the rest of Palestine, might be the celebrated apple of Sodom.'

watch, was ever, when not on post, hammering at the rocks. He had already collected many valuable specimens.

Through the night, a pleasant breeze from the west. Blowing over the wilderness of Judea, it was unaccompanied with a nauseous smell. Towards morning, the wind hauled to the north and freshened—strange that the weather should become warmer as the wind veered to the northern quarter: but so it was. Sweeping along the western shore, it brought the foetid odour of the sulphureous marshes with it. The Arabs call this sea Bahr Lût (Sea of Lot), or Birket Lût (Pool of Lot).

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This description of Seetzen's agrees very well with the fruit described as the apple of Sodom, which occurred in the same place, and has the same silky or cotton-like interior: but the plant which produces it is not like the fig-tree, nor is it called Abesche-iz. Those we saw, in various places along the shores of the Dead Sea, resembled very closely the milk-weed, which is so common in the United States; it is, in fact, a closely allied plant, being the *asclepias procera* of the earlier writers, now, however, forming part of the genus *calotropis*. This plant occurs in many parts of the east, and was known as early as the time of Theophrastus. It is figured and described by Prosper Alpinus under the name, *birdet el ossar*; but it is now called, by the Arabs, *oscher*, or *osher*.

It is a tall, perennial plant, with thick, dark-green, shining, opposite leaves, on very short foot-stalks; the flowers are interterminal, and have axillary umbels of a purple colour, succeeded by somewhat globose pods, about the size of a large apple, containing numerous flattened, brown seeds, each furnished with a silky plume or pappus. The bark, especially at the lower part of the stem, is cork-like and much fissured. If it be cut, or a leaf torn off, a viscous, milky juice exudes, which is exceedingly acrid, and even caustic, and is said to be used in Egypt as a depillatory. In Persia, this plant is said to exude a bitter and acrid manna, owing to the puncture of insects. Chardin says that it is poisonous. Both the plant and its juice have been used in medicine, and probably are identical with the *mudar*, or *madar*, of India, which has attracted so much notice as a remedy for diseases of the skin."—*Griffith*.

## CHAPTER XV.

### EXCURSION TO MASADA.

SATURDAY, April 29. Awakened at daylight by one of the Arabs calling the rest to prayer. The summons but slightly heeded. Despatched Mr. Dale, Dr. Anderson, and Mr. Bedlow, with the interpreter, a Turkish soldier, and some Arab guides, to Sebbeh (Masada); they took the camel with them to carry water. Soon after breakfast, sent the Fanny Skinner to sound in a north and south line, between the peninsula and the western shore. A clear, pleasant morning; wind fresh from the N. W. Experienced some difficulty in getting the boat through the surf.

Remained in camp to write a report of proceedings to the Hon. Secretary of the Navy, and to answer the kind letters of H. B. M. Consul at Jerusalem, and Mr. Chasseaud, U. S. Consul at Beirût. Every thing quiet; and, towards noon, as the wind subsided, the sea assumed its sombre and peculiar hue.

At noon, fired out at sea, in honour of the illustrious dead, twenty-one minute-guns from the heavy blunderbuss mounted on the bow of the Fanny Mason. The reports reverberated loudly and strangely amid the cavernous recesses of those lofty and barren mountains. This sea is wondrous, in every sense of the word; so sudden are its changes, and so different the aspects it presents, as to make it seem as if we were in a world of enchantment. We were alternately upon the brink and the surface of a

huge, and sometimes seething cauldron. Picked up a piece of scoriated lava.

At 1 P. M., Mr. Aulick returned. He reported a gradual decrease of soundings to thirteen fathoms, nearly up the slope to the shallow basin of the southern sea. Everything favours the supposition that the guilty cities stood on the southern plain, between Usdum and the mountains of Moab. The northern part must have been always water, or the plain have sunk at the time of the catastrophe.

Protected by our presence from the fear of robbers, some of the Ta'âmirah came in to harvest their few scanty patches of barley. They cut the grain, with their swords for reaping-hooks, and threw it upon the threshing-floor,—a circular piece of hard, trampled ground, around which were driven three donkeys, abreast. It was a slow and wasteful process. The little unmuzzled brutes were, in their rounds, permitted to nip the up-turned ears. We had often noticed the humanity of this people towards the brute creation. In a moment of excitement, Sherîf wounded a stork, but seemed sincerely sorry for it afterwards. The Arab who brought the wild boar pigs to sell, cut their throats rather than turn them adrift, when they would have perished for want of food, which they were too young to procure. These Arabs always express great horror at anything like wanton cruelty towards animals. And yet 'Akîl looked upon the woman whose husband he had slain, without the drooping of an eyelid, or the visible relaxation of a muscle. It is for philosophers to account for this trait of humanity towards animals, in a race proverbially reckless of the lives of their fellow-creatures.

The small quantity of grain these people could spare, we purchased for distribution at home. In the afternoon, mounted on Sherîf's spirited mare, I went up to the foun-

tain of Ain Jidy. It is a clear, beautiful stream, issuing from the rock, skirted by the cane and shadowed by the nūbk, four hundred feet up the mountain. The view from it was magnificent, particularly towards Usdum and the southern basin of the sea.

At sunset, the party to Sebbeh returned. The following account I glean from the reports of Mr. Dale, Dr. Anderson, and Mr. Bedlow:—principally the last.

Their route, at first, led along the shore of the sea to the south, over the debris brought down by the winter torrents,—a road, over which no other but an Arab horse could have travelled a mile without breaking his limbs, or dashing his rider upon the sharp rocks, or disappearing, rider and all, down one of the gulleys which furrowed the delta from the bases of the cliffs to the margin of the sea. After passing a projecting headland, which bounded the shore-line view from the encampment, they beheld, in the distance, most singular formations, resembling a plain covered with towns and villages, marble cities, with columns, temples, domes, and palaces, which, as they advanced, faded away, and finally resolved themselves into curiously-configured hills, so marked and channelled by the weather, that, although aware of the formation, it was difficult to destroy the first illusion. A little after eight o'clock, they came to Wady Sebbeh, and discovered a distinct road, fifteen feet wide and marked by two parallel rows of stones, which continued, with interruptions, for the space of a quarter of a mile. At nine o'clock, when the heat of the sun began to be oppressive, they reached a low cave in the southern face of the mountain, over Wady Sêyâl,—a deep ravine, which separates the cliff from the main ridge on the north. Here they dismounted, as it was impossible to proceed farther on horseback. Hence, sometimes upon their hands and knees, they clambered up the steep and rugged cliff, its

perpendicular side pierced with apertures, like the Rock of Gibraltar. They were inclined to believe, that the path by which they ascended is the one which Josephus calls the "serpent, as resembling that animal in its narrowness and perpetual windings; for it is broken off at the prominent precipices of the rock, and returns frequently into itself, and, lengthening again by little and little, hath much to do to proceed forward, and he that would walk along it, must first go on one leg and then on the other; there is also nothing but destruction, in case your feet slip, for on each side there is a vastly deep chasm and precipice."

They crossed the ravine upon a chalky ridge, which, although considerably below the highest point of the cliff, yet connects the southern steep of Sêyâl to the northern escarpment of Masada, and reached the top a little before 10 A. M. The whole summit was surrounded by the ruins of a wall, built on the brink of the precipice. Passing through a gateway with a pointed arch, the keystone and voissures of which were of hewn stone, curiously marked with Greek delta-shaped figures  $\Delta$ , and others resembling the planetary symbol of Venus  $\text{♀}$ , some upright and some reversed, and others again with rude crosses and the unfinished letter T, they came upon an area of about three-fourths of a mile in length from north to south, and one-fourth of a mile from east to west.

There was very little vegetation, except in the bottoms of a few excavations, which seemed to have been used as cisterns or granaries, and which were half filled with a rank weed and a species of lichen. Elsewhere, the earth was as sterile as if sown with salt; yet Herod spoke of it as being "of a fat soil, and better mould than any valley for agriculture." Concerning these excavations, Josephus says,—“He (Herod) also had cut many and great pits, as reservoirs for water, out of the rocks, at every one of the

places that were inhabited, both above and around the palace and before the wall; and by this contrivance, he endeavoured to have water for several uses, as if there had been fountains there."

Towards the northern and western edge of the cliff, and near the point which is probably the "White Promontory," mentioned by Josephus, they observed one of these excavations of considerable extent, much choked with the ruins and rubbish of its own cemented walls, together with the decomposed thistles and rank weeds of many centuries.

In the south-west corner of the rock, they found one still larger, finely stuccoed, with a gallery, a flight of forty stone steps, and lighted by two windows on the southern face of the cliff. This large room was beautifully stuccoed with pebbles, and as smooth and clean as if just finished. This excavated chamber led them to infer that there were numerous others, lighted by the apertures in the cliff they had seen outside on their ascent; but they could find no access to them.

At the distance of about 100 feet below the northern summit, on an inaccessible precipitous ledge, they saw the ruins of a round tower; and forty or fifty feet below that, on another ledge, the foundation walls of a square enclosure, with a triangular wall abutting with the angles of its base upon the walls of the circular tower, and the west side of the square enclosure. They found it impossible to descend to examine these ruins.

Besides the remains of the round tower, or donjon keep, there were, on the summit, the fragments of walls with circular recesses of tessellated brick-work, arched doorways, and mullioned windows, partly surrounding an enclosure which was perhaps the court-yard or quadrangle of the castle, now filled with rubbish, fragments of marble, mosaic and pottery.



MASADA.





The foundations and lower portions of the wall built around the entire top of the hill by Herod, are still remaining on the eastern side. The officers amused themselves by displacing some of the stones and sending them over the cliff, and watching them as they whirled and bounded to the base, upwards of 1200 feet down, with more fearful velocity than the stones from the Roman ballistæ when Silva pressed the siege.

One of the windows, apparently a part of a chapel, looked out upon the sea. It was the one appearing as an arch, which we saw when passing in the boats. From thence, the sea could be seen throughout its whole extent, its northern and southern extremities clearly defined, even through the haze which overhung them. The configuration of the peninsula lay distinctly before them, and bore some resemblance to an *outspread wing*.

Immediately below them, along the base of the cliff, could be traced the wall of circumvallation which "Silva built on the outside, round about the whole place, and had thereby made a most accurate provision to prevent any one of the besieged running away."

Continuing their explorations towards the southern and eastern edge of the cliff, they followed a perilous track along the face of the rock, which could not have been less than 1000 feet in perpendicular height above the chasm, and came upon an extensive shelf or platform encumbered with masses of rubbish and masonry, evidently the ruins of the wall which edged the cliff above. Scrambling over the heaps, they reached an excavation which the Arab guide called a cistern, which is probably correct, for in descending they saw narrow troughs or aqueducts, the inner half scooped in the rock. It was an oblong cell, hewn in the rock, measuring thirty feet in length, fifteen in breadth, and eighteen or twenty in depth, cemented on all sides. At the entrance of the excavation

they saw the carcase of an animal recently killed. It resembled the rabbit, and was called by the Arabs "webr" or webeh, the coney of scripture. To the left of the entrance, and within the cell, was a small flight of steps terminating in a platform. Like the walls, the steps were coated with cement. Above this was an aperture not accessible by the steps. By notching the wall, they contrived to reach it. It was the entrance of a low cave, roughly hewn in the rock, with a window looking out upon the steep face of Wady Senîn. Around the rough and uncemented walls were rude crosses in red paint, and upon the dust of the floor were the fresh footprints of the "whal," or the bteddîn.

They attempted to explore the southern face of the mountain, by following a zigzag path along the ledge projecting a few feet from the rough surface of rock, but found it impracticable from the looseness of the rocks and the fearful dizzy depth below. On their return, they observed a singular ruin about the centre of the quadrangle. The square blocks of stone, cemented together with great regularity, were cellular on both sides, so abraded by the weather as to present the appearance of a honey-comb. They supposed it to have been a store-house or barracks for soldiers. Before descending they sketched the sea, and took many bearings. On their return to the cave, the Arabs asked them if their visit had been "acceptable." These people believe that we come here to search for treasure or to visit places we consider holy. In Wady Sêyâl (Ravine of Acacias) were many seyal or acacia trees.\*

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\* *Acacia Seyal* or *Nilotica* furnishes gum Arabic, and probably afforded the shittah or shittim wood, used in building the tabernacle. In Isaiah, the shittah is joined with the myrtle and other fragrant shrubs. The flowers have an agreeable odour. Almost all travellers speak of the acacia seyal as abounding in Palestine and the desert of Arabia. It is sometimes

On their return, they noticed a foetid sulphureous smell in passing Berket el Khülil (the "tank of Khülil").

Their report seems to confirm the supposition of Messrs. Robinson and Smith that the ruins of Sebbeh are those of Masada. At every step in our route, where these gentlemen have been, we found that accurate and learned observers had preceded us, and in these precursors, with no little satisfaction, we recognised our own countrymen.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

### FROM CAMP TO THE CAPITAL OF MOAB.

SUNDAY, April 30. This morning, like the land we are in, we enjoyed our Sabbath, and slept until the sun and flies compelled us to get up. There were light airs from the west. At 6.30 A. M., thermometer 84°, and quite warm. The wind had been fresh in the night, and the boats were driven by the surf broadside on the beach. The atmosphere of the tent being oppressive, we breakfasted outside in its shade. Some of us spent the forenoon in the quiet recesses of the ravine, endeavouring to observe the day. Thus far, all, with one exception, had enjoyed good health, but there were symptoms which caused me uneasiness. The figure of each one had assumed a dropsical appearance. The lean had become stout, and the stout almost corpulent; the pale faces had become florid, and those which were florid, ruddy; moreover, the slightest scratch festered, and the bodies of

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called by the Arabs the talk, and camels graze on its leaves and tender branches.—*Griffith.*

many of us were covered with small pustules. The men complained bitterly of the irritation of their sores, whenever the acrid water of the sea touched them. Still, all had good appetites, and I hoped for the best.\* There could be nothing pestilential in the atmosphere of the sea. There is little verdure upon its shores, and, by consequence, but little vegetable decomposition to render the air impure; and the foetid smell we had frequently noticed, doubtless proceeded from the sulphur-impregnated thermal springs, which were not considered deleterious. Three times, it is true, we had picked up dead birds, but they, doubtless, had perished from exhaustion, and not from any malaria of the sea, which is perfectly inodorous, and, more than any other, abounds with saline exhalations, which, I believe, are considered wholesome. Our Ta'âmîrah told us that, in pursuance of the plan he had adopted with regard to the settlement of the Ghor, Ibrahim Pasha sent three thousand Egyptians to the shores of this sea, about ten years since, and that every one died within two months. This is, no doubt, very much exaggerated.

There was, most probably, much mortality among the poor wretches, forced from their fertile plains to this rugged and inhospitable shore; but dejection of spirits, and scarcity of food, must have been the great destroyers.

At 12.15, started for the eastern shore, leaving Sherîf again in charge, with directions to move the camp to Ain Turâbeh, on Wednesday. This was the day appointed to meet 'Akîl, and I felt sure that he would not fail us.

A light air from the south induced me to abandon the awning and set the sail, to spare the men from labouring

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\* Wherever there is an evil there is usually its antidote near at hand; and, perhaps, the remedy for these cutaneous diseases is to be found in the acrid juices of the osher, which grows here and upon the southern shores of this sea.

at the oars. A light tapping of the ripples at the bow, and a faint line of foam and bubbles at her side, were the only indications that the boat was in motion. The Fanny Skinner was a mile astern, and all around partook of the stillness of death. The weather was intensely hot, and even the light air that urged us almost insensibly onward had something oppressive in its flaws of heat. The sky was unclouded, save by a few faint cirri in the north, sweeping plume-like, as if the sun had consumed the clouds, and the light wind had drifted their ashes. The glitter from the water, with its multitude of reflectors, for each ripple was a mirror, contributed much to our discomfort; yet the water was not transparent, but of the colour of diluted absinthe, or the prevailing tint of a Persian opal. The sun, we felt, was glaring upon us, but the eye dared not take cognizance, for the fierce blaze would have blighted the powers of vision, as Sēmēle was consumed by the unveiled divinity of Jove.

The black chasms and rough peaks, embossed with grimness, were around and above us, veiled in a transparent mist, like visible air, that made them seem unreal,—and, 1300 feet below, our sounding-lead had struck upon the buried plain of Siddim, shrouded in slime and salt.

While busied with such thoughts, my companions had yielded to the oppressive drowsiness, and now lay before me in every attitude of a sleep that had more of stupor in it than of repose. In the awful aspect which this sea presented, when we first beheld it, I seemed to read the inscription over the gates of Dante's *Inferno*:—"Ye who enter here, leave hope behind." Since then, habituated to mysterious appearances in a journey so replete with them, and accustomed to scenes of deep and thrilling interest at every step of our progress, those feelings of awe had been insensibly lessened or hushed by deep interest in the investigations we had pursued. But *now*, as I

sat alone in my wakefulness, the feeling of awe returned ; and, as I looked upon the sleepers, I felt "the hair of my flesh stand up," as Job's did, when "a spirit passed before his face;" for, to my disturbed imagination, there was something fearful in the expression of their inflamed and swollen visages. The fierce angel of disease seemed hovering over them, and I read the forerunner of his presence in their flushed and feverish sleep. Some, with their bodies bent and arms dangling over the abandoned oars, their hands excoriated with the acrid water, slept profoundly ;—others, with heads thrown back, and lips cracked and sore, with a scarlet flush on either cheek, seemed overpowered by heat and weariness even in sleep ; while some, upon whose faces shone the reflected light from the water, looked ghastly, and dozed with a nervous twitching of the limbs, and now and then starting from their sleep, drank deeply from a breaker and sank back again to lethargy. The solitude, the scene, my own thoughts, were too much ; I felt, as I sat thus, steering the drowsily-moving boat, as if I were a Chæron, ferrying, not the souls, but the bodies, of the departed and the damned, over some infernal lake, and could endure it no longer ; but breaking from my listlessness, ordered the sails to be furled and the oars resumed—action seemed better than such unnatural stupor.

Prudence urged us to proceed no farther, but to stop, before some disaster overtook us ; but the thought of leaving any part of our work undone was too painful, and I resolved to persevere, but to be as expeditious as possible without working the party too hard.

At 4.10 P. M., reached "Point Costigan," north end of the peninsula, and steered S. S. E. across the bay, to search for water and for signals from 'Akil. The heat was still intense, rendered less endurable by the bright glare from the white spiculæ of the peninsula, and the

dazzling reflection from the surface of the sea. At 4.45, sounded in twenty-four fathoms, hard bottom, about gunshot distance from the land. 5.05, saw an Arab on the shore among the low canes and bushes, and shortly after several others. Preparing for hostilities, yet in the hope of a friendly reception, we pulled directly in and hailed them. To our great delight, one of them proved to be Jum'ah (Friday), sent by 'Akil, who yesterday arrived at Kerak. We immediately landed, and bivouacked upon the beach, a short distance from a shallow stream descending the Wady Beni Hamed.

'Akil, on leaving us at 'Ain el Feshkah, endeavoured, according to agreement, to find his way to the eastern shore and thence to Kerak. On his way he stopped with some of his friends, a portion of the tribe of Beni Sûkrs from Salt. In the night they were unexpectedly attacked by a party of Beni 'Adwans. At first, being much inferior in numbers, they retreated, 'Akil losing his camel and all his baggage. Subsequently they were strongly reinforced, and became assailants in their turn. The action lasted several hours; they had twelve wounded, including two of 'Akil's followers, and twenty-two of the Adwans were reported to be killed and wounded, among the former the son of the skeikh. 'Akil's Nubian was twice wounded in the arm, once by a gun-shot, and once by the thrust of a spear. The rifle of the hostile young sheikh was given to Sherif Musaid, nephew of Sherif Hazāa, for his gallantry in the action.

We learned from Jum'ah that there were two sheikhs or governors in Kerak, a Christian one, who could muster 250 riflemen, and a Muslim one, whose followers were mostly mounted, and far more numerous;—the former wholly subservient to the latter.

At 7.30 P. M., Suliemân, the son of Abd 'Allah, Christian sheikh of Kerak, with four followers, arrived with a



welcome and an invitation from his father to visit him in his mountain fortress, seventeen miles distant, saying that he would have come himself if certain of meeting us. They had been despatched at Akil's instance at early daybreak, and from the mountains, on their way down, saw us crossing the sea. An invitation was also received from the Muslim sheikh. I accepted it with a full sense of the risk incurred; but the whole party was so much debilitated by the sirocco we had experienced on the south side of the peninsula, and by the subsequent heat, that it became absolutely necessary to reinvigorate it at all hazards. I felt sure that Jum'ah would carefully guard our boats in our absence, and therefore sent to 'Akil, through whom alone I had resolved to hold transactions with this people, for horses and mules for the party. He had sent an apology for not coming in person on account of his wounded followers, and in consequence of all their horses being foundered. Mr. Dale, like myself, found it difficult to keep awake to-day, while steering the boat across. We are on the eastern side, a little north of the neck of the peninsula. Wady Kerak is at the S. E. extremity of the bay. Between it and us is the village of Mezra'a, and in the near vicinity of the latter are the supposed ruins of Zoar. To-morrow we will continue the exploration of this deep and interesting bay.

On our return here, in consequence of the sun having been pouring on my unsheltered back for some hours while steering the boat, I was heated excessively, and sick even to faintness; but a bath wonderfully refreshed me. On all occasions, when weary, faint, and almost exhausted, a bath has been the great restorative, and I recommended it to all. On the banks of the stream were oleanders eighteen feet high, and in full bloom. Here, too, as on the Jordan, it is quite fragrant. Between the camp and the stream, and scattered on the plain, are

groves of acacia, and many osher trees as large as half-grown apple-trees, and with larger fruit than any we had seen. We gathered some of the size of the largest October peach, but green, soft, and pulpy; emitting, like the branches, a viscous milky fluid when cut, which the Arabs told us would be extremely injurious to the eyes if it touched them. There was some of the dried fruit too, as brittle as glass and flying to pieces on the slightest pressure. Within the last was a very small quantity of a thin, silky fibre, which is used by the Arabs for gun matches. The rind is thinner, but very much in colour like a dried lemon, and the dried fruit has the appearance of having spontaneously bursted.

An Arab from Mezra'a brought us some detestable sour leban and some milk, but of which few could endure the smell, caused by the filthy goat-skins which contained them, and which, it seems, are never washed. He also brought some flour made of the dhom apple, dried and pulverized, which was very palatable.

The sheikh of Mezra'a, with some of his people, also came in. Together with the fellahin tribes at the south end of the sea, they are generally denominated Ghaurârîyeh. They are much darker, and their hair more wiry and disposed to curl than any Arabs we have seen. Their features as well as their complexion are more of the African type, and they are short and spare built, with low receding foreheads, and the expression of countenance is half sinister and half idiotic. Their only garment is a tunic of brief dimensions, open at the breast and confined round the waist by a band or leathern belt. The sheikh has rude sandals, fastened by thongs; the rest are bare-footed. The women are even more abject-looking than the men, and studiously conceal their faces. They all, men and women, seem to bear impressed upon their features the curse of their incestuous origin.

Their village, Mezra'a, is on the plain, about half an hour, or one mile and a half distant. Their houses are mere hovels plastered with mud. They cultivate the dhoura (millet), tobacco, and some indigo, a specimen of which we procured.

The deputation from Kerak expressed great delight at beholding fellow-Christians upon the shores of this sea, and said that if they had known of our first arrival on the western shore, they would have gone round and invited us over. It was a strange sight to see these wild Arab Christians uniting themselves to us with such heartfelt cordiality. It would be interesting to trace whether they are some of the lost tribes subsequently converted to Christianity; or the descendants of Christians, who, in the fastnesses of the mountains, escaped the Muhammedan alternative of the Koran or the sword; or a small Christian remnant of the Crusades. At all events their gratification at meeting us was unfeigned and warmly expressed. They felt that we would sympathize with them in the persecutions to which they are subjected by their lawless Muslim neighbours. They had, indeed, our warmest sympathies, and our blood boiled as we listened to a recital of their wrongs. We felt more than ever anxious to visit Kerak, and judge for ourselves of their condition. Their mode of salutation approaches nearer to our own than that of any other tribe we met; they shake hands, and then each kisses the one he had extended. They had never seen a boat, which, in the language of the country, is called "choctura," and supposing that ours must have feet, examined them with great curiosity. They could not believe that anything larger could be made to float. In the course of the evening one of the fellahin from Mezra'a, when he first beheld them, stood for some time lost in contemplation, and then burst forth in joyful shouts of recognition. He was an Egyptian by



CHRISTIAN ARABS OF KERAK.



birth, and stolen from his home when quite young, had forgotten everything connected with his native country, until the sight of our boats reminded him of having seen things resembling them; and the Nile, and the boats upon its surface, and the familiar scenes of his childhood, rushed upon his memory. It was interesting to see the dull and clouded intellect gradually lighten up as the remembrance of the past broke in upon it; yet it was sad, for the glad smile of the Egyptian died away, and left a sorrowing expression upon his features—for from the Nile his dormant affections had, perhaps, reverted to the hovel upon its banks—and he thought of his mother and young barbarian playmates.

These Christian Arabs are of the tribe Beni Khallas (Sons of the Invincible), a name inappropriate to their present condition. Their features are fuller and more placid in expression, and they seem more vigorous, manly, and intelligent than the Raschâyideh and Ta'âmirah of the Judean shore. After dinner, partaken by the light of the camp-fires, we set the watch and threw ourselves upon the shelving beach, each one wrapping up his head to screen it from the fresh wind. Our Christian Arabs kept watch and ward with us through the night, for they had reason to know that the Mezra'a people were dangerous neighbours.

Although the wind was fresh from the north-west during the night, the thermometer, which was taken hourly, ranged from 82° down to 70°. At 70° the air felt uncomfortably cold, so much had we been relaxed by the sirocco. During the day the weather became warmer, not only from the direct rays of the sun, but the reflected heat from the barren cliffs which hem in this sea. There were several meteors in the night, shooting from the zenith towards the north. One was peculiar; instead of darting along the sky, it seemed to drop directly down, with less

than the usual velocity. It was very bright, and resembled falling fire-flakes from a discharged rocket.

Monday, May 1. A calm and warm but not unpleasant morning; thermometer, 83°. At 7, sent Mr. Dale and Mr. Aulick in the Fanny Skinner to complete the topographical sketch of the shore-lines of the bay, to verify the position of the mouth of Wady Kerak, and to sound down the middle on their return. About mid-day they came back; the weather oppressively warm.

Overhauled the copper boat, which wore away rapidly in this briny sea. Such was the action of the fluid upon the metal, that the latter, as long as it was exposed to its immediate friction, was as bright as burnished gold, but whenever it came in contact with the air, it corroded immediately.

Put up specimens of the flower and fruit of the osher tree in spirits of wine, and procured some indigo, raised in the vicinity of Zoar, the ruins of which, a short distance hence, I purposed visiting in the evening. At 9, a wild boar was brought in. A horse, taken into the bay, could, with difficulty, keep himself upright. Two fresh hens' eggs floated up one-third of their length. They would have sunk, in the water of the Mediterranean or the Atlantic.

When one of our party inquired if there were stores in Kerak, describing a place where articles were sold, the Christian Arab replied,—“What we have we give: do you think that we would sell you any thing? You are our friends.” While waiting for the horses, we made this a feast-day; and, anticipating the usual hour, dined sumptuously, at 2 P. M., on wild boar's meat, onions, and the last of our rice.

The stones on the beach before me, as I wrote, were encrusted with salt, and looked exactly as if whitewashed.

It was well that we despatched 'Akil in advance to the

Arabian tribes, for the Sheikh of Mezra'a told Jum'ah that, when he first saw us coming, he hastened to collect his followers, with the determination of attacking us, and only changed his purpose when he heard him greet us as friends. It would have been a matter of regret had they fired upon us; for, although we would most certainly have defeated them, there must have been blood shed, and it was my most earnest wish to accomplish the objects of the expedition without injury to a human being.

P. M. Rode out upon the plain, with two Arabs on foot, to look for the ruins of Zoar. Pursuing a S. E. direction, up the peninsula, passed, first, some dhoura (millet) fields, the grain but a few inches above the ground — many of the fields yet wet from recent irrigation. Thence rode through many tangled thickets of cane and tamarisk, with occasional nūbk and osher trees, and came, at length, upon an open space, with many large heaps of stones in regular rows, as if they had once formed houses. They were uncut, and had “never known iron;” but there were no other vestiges of a building about them;— so I concluded that they were the larger stones which had encumbered the soil, and were gathered by the fellahin.

Proceeding a little more to the south, we came to many more such mounds or heaps, and, among them, to the foundation of a building of some size. It was in the form of a main building, with a smaller one before or behind it; the first being a quadrangular wall, and the other in detached pieces, like the pedestals of columns. The stones were large, some of them one and a half feet in diameter, uncut, but roughly hewn, and fitted on each other with exactness, but without mortar. There were many minute fragments of pottery scattered about on the soil; and among the rubbish I found an old hand-mortar, very much worn, which I brought away. The ruined



foundation bore the marks of great antiquity; and the site corresponds to the one assigned by Irby and Mangles as that of Zoar. But I could see no columns and no other vestiges of ruins than what I have mentioned.

Returning, saw the horses and mules for which we had sent, coming down the mountains, and waited for them in the plain. They were accompanied by Muhammed, the son of Abd'el Kâdir, the Muslim Sheikh of the Kerakîyeh, and by Abd' Allah, the Christian sheikh of the Beni Khallas; the latter residing in the town of Kerak, the former living mostly in black tents, about half a mile distant from it.

On our way to camp, Muhammed endeavoured to display his horsemanship; but the animal, wearied by the rough mountain road he had travelled, fell to the ground, and his rider was compelled to jump off to save himself. In mounting again, not finding any thing more convenient, he arrogantly ordered one of the fellahin to stoop, and, placing his foot upon the abject creature's back, sprung upon his horse.

This Muhammed is about thirty years of age, very short but compactly built, with a glossy, very dark-mahogany skin, long, coarse black hair, and a thick, black beard and moustache. His eye, fiery, but furtive, was never fixed in its gaze, but, rolling restlessly from one object to another, seemed rather the glare of a wild beast than the expression of a human eye. Altogether, we thought that he had the most insolent and overbearing countenance and manner we had ever seen.

Abd' Allah, the Christian sheikh, about twenty years his senior, was a very different person; robust in frame, he was mild even to meekness. In the bearing of the respective parties towards each other, we could read a long series of oppression on one side and submissive endurance on the other.



SHEIKH OF MEZRA'A.



They brought me a letter from 'Akīl, of which the following is a literal translation :—

## DIRECTION.

“By God's favour. May it reach Haditheh, and be delivered to the hand of the Excellency of our Beloved.

“May God preserve him. Beduah, 1642.”

## INSIDE.

“To the Excellency of the most honourable, our dear friend—may the Almighty God preserve him.

“We beg, first, to offer you our love and great desire to see the light of your happy countenance. We beg, secondly, to say that in the most happy and honourable time, we received your letter containing your beautiful discourse. We thanked, on reading it, the Almighty God that you are well, and ask him now, also (who is the most fit to ask), that we may be permitted to behold the light of your countenance in a fit and agreeable time.

“The animals which you have ordered will be brought down to you by the Excellency of our brother chief, Muhammed Nûjally, and the chief Abd' Allah en Nahas; and the men necessary to guard the boats will be supplied by the said chiefs.

“The reason of our delay in coming to you was the weakness and fatigue of our horses. The time will be, God willing, short before we see you.

“This being all that is necessary, we beg you will offer our compliments (peace) to all those who inquire after us.—From this part, the Excellency of our respected brother, Sherîf, sends you his best compliments. May you be kept in peace.

“☉ Seal of 'Akīl Aga el Hassee.

“KERAK, 28 Jamad Awah.”

The boats excited much attention; and, to gratify both the Christian and the Muslim Arabs, we launched one

During the forenoon, the thermometer ranged from 86° to 90°. At sunset, it stood at 83°, and quite pleasant. Sky filled with cumulus and stratus. A little after 8 P. M., we heard the song sung by the tribes when about to meet friends or enemies; in the first instance, a song of welcome; in the last, a war-cry of defiance. The wild coronach was borne upon the wind, long before the party singing it were in sight; but presently, fourteen mounted Arabs, headed by the brother of Muhammed, came proudly into the camp. The camp consisted of two boats' awnings, stretched over stakes, to screen us from the sun and wind. All carried a long gun and short carbine, the last slung over the shoulders, except one Arab, a kinsman of the sheikh, who bore a spear eighteen feet long, with a large, round tuft of ostrich feathers just below the spear-head. Reining up before us, they finished their song, prior to dismounting or exchanging salutations. The war-cry of the Arabs was the only true musical sound we heard among them, although they frequently beguiled the tedious hours of a march with what they termed a song. The following notes, by Mr. Bedlow, will give some idea of their war-cry.



These few notes are uttered in a high, shrill voice, and with a modulation or peculiarity bearing some affinity to the characteristic Yoddle of Tyrolean music. The distance at which this strange, wild war-cry can be heard, is almost incredible.

After nightfall the wind sprang up fresh from the northward. We made a lee by stretching one of the boat's awnings across, and lying upon the beach with our heads towards it. For myself I could not sleep. The conduct of Muhammed, amounting almost to impudence, filled me with distrust. He had come down with about eight men, his brother with fourteen more, and by two and three at a time they had been dropping in ever since, until, at 9 P. M., there were upwards of forty around us; and, if disposed to treachery, there might be many more concealed within the thicket. It seemed as if Muhammed considered us as already in his power, and it occurred to me at times, that it was my duty, in order to save the lives for which I was responsible, to depart at once; but two considerations determined me not only to remain, but, at all hazards, go to Kerak. The second day after our arrival upon this sea, I had sent 'Akil to the Arabian tribes to announce our coming and to make arrangements with them to supply us with provisions. He had, through great peril, and at considerable loss, made his way along the whole eastern coast, and as directed, announced the coming of a party of Americans, people from another world, of whom they had never heard before. I therefore felt that to retire now would be construed into flight, and the American name be ever after held in contempt by this people, and all who might hereafter sojourn among them. Moreover, to decline an invitation for which we had made overtures through 'Akil, might hazard his safety. In addition to these considerations, I felt satisfied that if not invigorated by bracing air, even for one day,

many of the party would inevitably succumb; and I preferred the risk of an encounter with the Arabs to certain sickness upon the sea, with its result, unaccomplished work.\*

Although the wind was high, too high to take observations of Polaris, the night was sultry; thermometer  $81^{\circ}$ , the dew so heavy as to filter through the awning and drop upon our faces. This is the second time we have experienced dew upon this sea, each time with a hot wind from the north. It probably betokens some atmospheric change. Then it was succeeded by a sirocco. We shall see what to-morrow will bring forth. This is our fifteenth night upon this sea. Towards morning the wind lulled and the sky became clouded and the weather cool.

Tuesday, May 2. Cloudy. Called all hands at 4 A. M., and set off at 5.30, after a hurried and meagre breakfast. The sailors were mounted on most unpromising looking cradles, running lengthwise along the backs of their mules, while our horses were but little better caparisoned. At his earnest solicitation, I left behind Henry Loveland, seaman, who was apparently one of the least affected by

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\* My misgivings were not unfounded. Just before our final departure from this place, the son of the Christian sheikh told us that the Muslims, with a concealed party amounting in all to sixty, had determined to attack us (of which the Christians dared not give us notice at the time), but as there was always an officer and two men on guard, one of them posted beside the blunderbuss, and I so often came out to look around, they fancied that we suspected their design, and therefore kept quiet. Armed as we were, the odds would have been against them. Each sailor had a carbine which loaded at the breech, and could be fired with great rapidity, and there was attached to it a steel bayonet, three feet long, that could be drawn out at will; and each one carried in his belt a pistol with a deadly bowie-knife attached. The officers had severally a carbine, a revolver pistol, and a sword, three of the last having pistol-barrels attached to the blade near the handle. I rejoice that we had no serious occasion to use them.

the previous heat.\* To him and our Bedawin friend Jum'ah, who had several Arabs with him, I gave strict charge of the boats and all our effects.

We were fourteen in number, besides the interpreter and cook. The first I believed courageous; the latter I knew to be an arrant coward. Our escort consisted of twelve mounted Arabs and eight footmen, the rest having gone in advance.

We struck directly across the plain forming the base or root of the peninsula, towards the lofty ragged cliffs which overlook it from the east, and passed many nûbk and osher trees, and fields of dried stalks, some resembling those of the maize and others the sugar-cane. The Arabs said that sugar was not cultivated upon this plain; but these stalks were the product of cultivation, were unlike the dhoura stalks, and very much resembled the sugar-cane. Crossing the stream which flows down the Wady Beni Hamad, and a number of patches of dhoura (millet), artificially irrigated, we passed close under a ruin on an elevated cliff, which overlooks the plain of Zoar. It seemed to be the remains of a fortalice not more ancient than the times of the Crusades. We would have given much to explore the plain and visit the ruin above, but circumstances forbade it. It was essential to inhale the mountain air as soon as possible, and equally important that we should keep together to guard against treachery. We resolved to make an exploration on our return, if satisfied that we could do so with safety.

We thus far passed in succession the loose tertiaries of the peninsula; some ferruginous and friable sandstone, a yellow and shaly limestone, clay-slate, and argillaceous marls.

From Wady Beni Hamad we skirted along the base of

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\* This man eventually suffered more from sickness, and his life was longer in jeopardy, than any of the rest.



the cliffs for about two miles in a south direction, across the neck of the peninsula towards the S. E. inlet of the sea, and crossing the bed, turned up Wady Kerak, the steepest and most difficult path, with the wildest and grandest scenery we had ever beheld. On one side was a deep and yawning chasm, which made the head dizzy to look into; on the other beetling crags, blackened by the tempests of ages, in shape exactly resembling the waves of a mighty ocean, which, at the moment of overleaping some lofty barrier, were suddenly changed to stone, retaining, even in transformation, their dark and angry hue. In most places the naked rock dipped down abruptly into the deep and gloomy chasm, and it only required a torrent to come tumbling headlong over the rude fragments fallen from the cliffs above to complete the sublimity of the scene. Nor was it wanting.

When we first started, it was so cloudy that we congratulated ourselves upon the prospect of a cool and pleasant instead of a sultry ride. While passing under the ruin, it began to rain lightly but steadily. Before we had half ascended the pass, however, there came a shout of thunder from the dense cloud which had gathered at the summit of the gorge, followed by a rain, compared to which, the gentle showers of our more favoured clime are as dew-drops to the overflowing cistern. Except the slight shower at the Pilgrim's Ford, this was the first since we landed in Syria. The black and threatening cloud soon enveloped the mountain-tops, the lightning playing across it in incessant flashes, while the loud thunder reverberated from side to side of the appalling chasm. Between the peals we soon heard a roaring and continuous sound. It was the torrent from the rain cloud, sweeping in a long line of foam down the steep declivity, bearing along huge fragments of rocks, which, striking against each other, sounded like mimic thunder. In one spot, where the

torrent made its maddest leap, a single palm-tree, bent by the blast, waved its branches wildly above the gorge, seeming to the imagination like the genius of the place bewailing the devastation of its favoured haunt. During the whole of this storm, our rugged path led along the face of a steep precipice looking into the dark grandeur of the chasm beneath. It was a wild, a terrific, but a glorious sight!

"It more stirs the blood  
To rouse a lion than to start a hare;"

and I rejoiced to witness this elemental strife amid these lofty mountains. How much more exciting and sublime than anything a monotonous plain presents! I have skirted the base of Etna, clothed in the luxuriant verdure of a favoured clime, and looked upon its summit, wreathed in a mantle of perpetual snow, while the smoke from its crater gracefully curled above it. I have clambered the cone of Vesuvius by nightfall, and looked over its brink into the fiery caldron beneath; and in a thunder-storm, I once launched a boat at the foot of Niagara, and rocking in the foam of its cataract, marked with delight the myriads of gems, of every hue and radiance, reflected in the misty vapour at each successive flash; but I never beheld a scene in sublimity equal to the present one.

A meandering river and a fertile plain, with their accompaniments, luxuriant foliage and fragrant odours, interspersed with scenes of domestic peace, captivate the eye and delight the senses. But the boundless ocean or sky-piercing mountains are necessary to the grandeur of sublimity; to embody, as it were, to the mind, and enable it to realize the presence of a great Being—great in all things,—but seeming to us most potent when either the "live thunder" leaps from cliff to cliff, or "He rides upon the wings of the mighty wind" across the illimitable waste.

The storm gradually subsided; the cloud which had enveloped the mountain-tops and spread itself far down the chasm, gathered its misty folds and was swept by degrees over the crest towards the desert of Arabia; — to refresh, perchance, the arid plains from its yet copious store.

At 9.15, bending a little from the ridge to the south, we passed a small stream, trickling down in a N. E. course towards the wady. Like the torrent, the stream was doubtless the creation of the shower. The general impression that there is a perpetual stream down the Wady Kerak, is an erroneous one. The Kerakīyeh tell us that it has only water in the rainy season, and for a short period, at other times, after storms like the one which had just passed over. When we crossed the foot of the ravine, there was no water in it; but quite a considerable stream in the Wady Beni Hamad, whence the plain around Mezra'a is irrigated. Except the lone palm, we had not seen a tree or shrub since we turned up the side of the ravine; but all along our zigzag path, the wildest rocks, bare, black, and contorted, presented themselves in detached fragments, and in wondrous strata, — mountain-sides tumbled down, perpendicular crags, and deep chasms.

At 9.25, while passing along the edge of a sheer precipice, the weather partly cleared up, and gave us a terrific view down the ravine; it pained the eye to look into its dizzy depths.

At 9.45, stopped to rest at a small spring of pure water, which gushed out of a hill-side. The elements were not yet entirely hushed, the wind sweeping down the ravine in occasional gusts. Here the Kerakīyeh amused themselves by firing at a mark. Approaching to pistol-shot distance, and taking rest with their long guns, they rarely hit the mark. Their powder was so indifferent, that one of our sailors contemptuously remarked that a gazelle

could run a mile between the flash and the report. They were perfectly astonished at the execution of our rifle.

At 10.30, started again, the road leading upon a wide terrace over the valley; the terrace here and there was almost blocked up by huge fragments, severed from the cliffs above, many of them, also, lying in every possible position in the valley beneath. Several of these blocks, and many places in the mountain-side, were hollowed out, sufficient in some places to shelter many persons. These old limestone-rocks are worn into caverns, arches, and the resemblance of houses; an isolated block was exactly like a thatched, moss-grown cottage. One of these may be the cave where Lot and his two daughters dwelt. About two-thirds up, we saw some of the *retem*, or broom plant,\* many purple hollyhocks, and, shortly after, some oleanders. The last, which were in full bloom high up the Jordan, and in the plain below, were in this lofty region just beginning to bloom. We saw some partridges, hawks, and many doves; also much of the scarlet anemone, and a blue flower resembling the *convolvulus*.

At 11.30, the sides and bottom of the ravine betokened some slight cultivation; here and there was a small patch of wheat, and higher up there were a few olive-trees. Gradually, these appearances became more frequent; the patches of wheat were larger, and the olive in occasional groves; sometimes, too, there was a fig-tree, its green more refreshing to the eye than the tawny hue of the olive. When we thought that we were upon the town, we found that we had yet a long, steep hill to clamber up. Here we came to a fork; the main bed of the ravine coming down from the east, and another, broad and steep,

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\* This plant, elsewhere a bush, is here quite large; and it is supposed that it was under a *retem*, instead of a juniper-tree, that Isaiah took shelter in the desert.

from the south-east, with the walled town of Kerak, upon the crown of the hill, overlooking both. We skirted the last ravine, leaving on the left a walled-in fountain and luxuriant olive-groves, and continued ascending, for half an hour; an extensive pile of ruins in sight at the S. W. extremity of the town, and a majestic quadrangular tower at the N. W. angle of its wall. Looking back, our cavalcade presented a singular sight, winding up the steep and sinuous path. After leaving the peninsula, and turning up the precipitous path along the Wady Kerak, we met with fossiliferous limestone, and the rock continued calcareous all the way to Kerak.

At 12.40, came upon the brow of the hill (3000 feet above the Dead Sea) at the north-east angle of the town. Instead of a richly cultivated country, there was before us a high, rolling plain, the grass withered, and the grain blighted by the sirocco and the locust. Turning to the north, we passed along the wall, then under the tower, built of flesh-coloured, consolidated limestone, and along the face of the western wall for about 150 yards, when, turning abruptly, we entered an arch cut through the rock, about thirty feet high and twelve wide. Over the gateway was a partly effaced Arabic inscription, recording the building, or repair, of the walls. The passage had two turns, and was about eighty feet long. From it, we emerged into the town,—a collection of stone huts, built without mortar. They are from seven to eight feet high; the ground-floors about six feet below, and the flat-terrace mud-roofs mostly about two feet above, the streets; but in many places there were short cuts, from street to street, across the roofs of the houses. The people were assembled on the dirt-heaps and mud-roofs to see us pass. We were escorted to the council-house, which is also the Christian school-room, the same in which Irby and Mangles, the only Franks who, as Franks, had preceded us

since the Crusades, were lodged thirty years ago. Below, was a work-room, and ours was a room for all purposes. Opposite, was a Christian church under construction. Its walls, now about twelve feet high, measured seventy-four by forty feet, and there were pedestals laid for six pillars.

Our room had nothing whatever, except the bare stone floor beneath ; the rafters supporting the mud roof above ; two windows without glass or shutters, and a crazy door without a fastening. Assigning one side to the men, and taking the adjoining one for ourselves, we left the other two for the Arabs, who flocked in crowds to look upon us. From some cause they did not furnish a sheep, although there were hundreds in the vicinity.

Through the exertions of the priest and Abd' Allah, the Christian sheikh, we procured some eggs, and, after a scanty breakfast and a hard ride, our dinner consisted of three eggs each.

Determined, at all hazards, to see the place, we went out by turns. We found but one shop, and the only articles for sale were thin cakes of dried and pressed apricots, and English muslin !

The houses, or rather huts, without windows and without chimneys, were blackened inside by smoke ; and the women and children were squalid and filthy. Kerak contains a population of about 300 families, three-fourths Christian. By paying an annual tribute, and submitting to occasional exactions, the latter live amicably with the powerful tribe of Kerakiyeh, whose encampment is a short distance without the walls. The latter are so averse to houses, that some, then on a visit to the town, had pitched their tents in the yards of vacant dwellings.

The Muslim inhabitants are wild-looking savages, but the Christians have a milder expression. The males mostly wear sheepskin coats ; the women, dark-coloured gowns ; the Christian females did not conceal their faces,

which were tattooed like the South-Sea islanders. The priest, in his black turban and subdued countenance, acted as our cicerone. He took us to his little church, a low, dark, vaulted room, containing a picture of St. George fighting the Dragon; two half columns of red granite from the ruins of the castle, and a well of cool water in the centre.

The castle, partly cut out of, and partly built upon, the mountain-top, presents the remains of a magnificent structure; its citadel cut off from the town by a ditch-ravine. It seems to be Saracenic, although in various parts it has both the pointed Gothic and the rounded Roman arch. A steep glacis-wall skirts the whole. The walls, now partly standing, are composed of heavy, well-cut stones; and there were seven arched store-houses, one above the other, with narrow slits for defence. The part used as the chapel was evidently built in the times of the crusades; and the east end, where the altar stood, was least demolished; for these buildings have been devastated by the hand of man. Maundrell has remarked that in all the ruined churches he saw, the part appropriated to the altar was ever in the best state of preservation;—which he is at a loss whether to ascribe to bribery on the part of the Christians, to a lingering reverence in the minds of the Turks, or to miraculous interposition. Against the walls were pilasters and parts of columns with sculptured ornaments, and upon the ceiling were traces of fresco painting, among them one of a female saint. In one place, the pavement had been dug up by the present Christian inhabitants of Kerak for paving-slabs for their new church. The vast extent of this magnificent castle filled us with astonishment. It has five gates and seven wells and cisterns, and the whole summit is perforated by subterranean passages. From the narrow embrasures of the vaulted chambers we looked down into the ravine, green

with fields of grain and grass, and the shrubbery of oleanders, and upon part of the sea in the distance.

We also visited the structure at the N. W. angle, under which we had passed before entering the arched gateway of the town. It seemed, also, to be Saracenic, with the remains of a handsome cornice.

Returning, we passed through the burial-ground, each grave indicated by a double line of rude, unsculptured stones.

We procured here some of the wheat, which, it is said, retains the prolific quality attributed to it in the Bible. We saw and heard nothing of the immense grapes, "like those brought back by the Hebrew spies," spoken of by Laborde. The harvests had been swept, the last seven years, by the locusts and the sirocco; the last occurring two or three times a month.

P. M., held a long conversation with 'Akīl as to the possibility of proceeding, by land, to Wady es Sâfieh, and its luxuriant delta, at the S. E. extremity of the sea. He thought it impracticable. He said that the southern tribes were in a great state of excitement, and were all coming up; while those along the coast were gathering together, and that a general outbreak might be expected. The Beni 'Adwans and Beni Sūkr̄s having already begun hostilities. He could assign no other reason for this than that the grain would soon be gathered by the fellahin, and the Bedawin were preparing to sweep it off, each tribe from a district remote from its own.

In some respects 'Akīl was mysterious; and, at first, I could not comprehend the hints he threw out. His object seemed to be to ascertain whether, under any circumstances, we would aid an association of the tribes in an avowed object. I would not press him for an explanation, but merely told him that, if he had been captured and detained while coming round in our service, we would



have felt it our duty to have left every thing else and hasten to his assistance; that I would endeavour to have him remunerated for what he had lost while acting for us; but we could take no part in their petty wars. I half suspected that this barbarian, the most winning and graceful one we had ever seen, generous, brave, and universally loved or feared, contemplated a union of the tribes for the purpose of throwing off the thralldom, here almost nominal, of the Turkish yoke, and establishing a sovereignty for himself. Exceedingly affable to all, he was more reserved and taciturn than his noisy countrymen, and was often absorbed in thought. Having once reaped profit from rebellion, he might then have been weighing the chances of a bolder speculation. He could not rely much on our party, but might hope that if we were involved our country would sustain us. He little knew how severely, and how justly, too, we should be censured at home if we became voluntarily embroiled either with the tribes or the Turkish government. If he had attempted a rebellion, he would have assuredly failed. The elements were too discordant. The antipathies between the highland Gael and the southron, of the Scottish border, were not more inveterate than the hostile feeling existing between many of the tribes. With some it is the feud of blood, transmitted from generation to generation with increasing rancour. Yet their God is gold, and fifty well-armed, resolute Franks, *with a large sum of money*, could revolutionize the whole country. The presence of 'Akîl was of great service to us; and but for him we should have come in collision with this rude people.

The Christians were as kind and obliging as the Muslims were insolent. In order, as he told me, to secure the good behaviour of the Kerakîyeh, 'Akîl brought with him the young prince of the Beni Sûkrs, a powerful tribe,

of whom even these fierce Arabs stood in awe. The Beni Sükr wore his hair in ringlets, like a girl; but we were told that he behaved gallantly in the fight.

To avoid another encounter with the Beni 'Adwans, on his return, 'Akil purposed providing his small party with sufficient flour and water for five or six days' subsistence, and to strike into the desert, in a direct east course, for a ruined khan, on the Great Hadj, or pilgrim route from Damascus to Mecca. Thence he would proceed north, still keeping east of the Jordan, until he reached the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee.

It being absolutely impossible to ascend the Jordan with the boats, I gave 'Akil a note for Mr. Wiseman, at Tiberias, directing the trucks, &c., we had left in his charge, to be sent to Acre.

Our trip here exhibited the Arab character in a new light. From the first, the manner of Muhammed had been imperious and insolent; and his father, whom he seemed to rule, had neither invited us to his tents nor contributed, in the slightest degree, to our comfort. The reason was because we did not make them a large present. According to the arrangement with 'Akil, he was to pay for all that we might require; and I held to the course we had heretofore pursued, of making no presents, except for kindness or for services rendered. Muhammed, growling, said that he wanted cloaks, a double-barrelled gun, a watch, &c., that other Franks, coming up from Egypt, gave them.—Where did we come from, thus out of the sea? For the whole day the room had been crowded; the doorway, sometimes, blocked up. It seemed to be regarded by them in the light of a menagerie.

When, at length, they left us to ourselves, for the first time, in twenty-three days, we laid down beneath a roof, having first enjoyed the unwonted luxury of a draught of sweet milk. Placing a board against the door, that its

fall might rouse us at an attempted entrance, we laid down with our arms in our hands, with a feeling of uncertainty as to what the morrow might bring forth; for although 'Akil was there, he had but four followers, one of them wounded; whereas the Kerakiyeh could muster 700 fighting men. Our belief was, that although the Christians might not dare to side with us, yet, so far from acting in combination against, they would give us timely warning. At all hazards, we wished to impress upon these people that we would do nothing which could be construed into the appearance, even, of purchasing forbearance. Were we private travellers, the case would be different; but the time has long past when, even through its meanest representative, our government will consent to pay for forbearance from any quarter.

In the course of a long conversation, to-night, Abd' Allah gave us a history of the condition and prospects of the Christians of Kerak. He said that there were from 900 to 1000 Christians here, comprising three-fourths of the population. They could muster a little over 200 fighting men; but are kept in subjection by the Muslim Arabs, living mostly in tents, without the town. He stated that they are, in every manner, imposed upon. If a Muslim comes to the town, instead of going to the house of another Muslim, he quarters himself upon a Christian, and appropriates the best of every thing: that Christian families have been two days at a time without food—all that they had being consumed by their self-invited guests. If a Muslim sheikh buys a horse for so many sheep, he makes the Christians contribute until the number be made up. Their property, he said, is seized at will, without there being any one to whom to appeal; and remonstrance, on their part, only makes it worse.

Already a great many have been driven away; poverty alone keeping the remainder. They have commenced

building a church, in the hope of keeping all together, and as a safe place of refuge for their wives and children, in times of trouble; but the locusts and the sirocco have for the last seven years blasted the fields, and nearly all spared by them has been swept by the Muslims. They gave me the following appeal to the Christians in our more happy land, which I promised to make known. The following is a literal translation:—

“By God’s favour!

“May it, God willing! reach America, and be presented to our Christian brothers,—whose happiness may the Almighty God preserve! Amen!

“8642.

BEDUAH.

“We are, in Kerak, a few very poor Christians, and are building a church.

“We beg your excellency to help us in this undertaking, for we are very weak.

“The land has been unproductive, and visited by the locusts, for the last seven years.

“The church is delayed in not being accomplished, for want of funds, for we are a few Christians, surrounded by Muslims.

“This being all that is necessary to write to you, Christian brothers of America, we need say no more.

“The trustees in your bounty,

“ABD’ ALLAH EN NAHAS, Sheikh,

“YÂKÔB EN NAHAS, Sheikh’s brother.

“KERAK, Jâmad Awâh, 1264.”

Wednesday, May 3. It was exceedingly cold last night, the north wind whistling through the casement with a familiar sound of home. We all concurred in the opinion, that for comfort, the sea-beach would have been a preferable couch, the fleas having tormented us through the

night. Notwithstanding our disturbed slumbers, however, we did not feel as debilitated as heretofore on rising from sounder sleep. The exercise of riding and the variety of scenery through which we yesterday passed, were of service, and the air was much cooler and more invigorating than below.

We rose early, and breakfasted on eggs and rice. Shortly after, Muhammed came in, very surly; I refused to converse with him, but referred him to 'Akil, whom I had commissioned to procure the horses and make the necessary purchases for us. We would have liked to remain another day for the benefit of the mountain air and to make some examination of the neighbourhood; but we were unanimously of opinion that it would be unsafe, the prospect of difficulty with this insolent people increasing with the lapse of every hour. While we made preparations for our departure in the room above, the Arabs were in consultation beneath the window, Muhammed and several of his tribe gesticulating violently. But 'Akil and the Beni Sükr prince were there, and we knew that they would stand by us. After much difficulty, our horses were procured. As we were about starting, Muhammed again demanded a backshish, which was refused. He then said that he would not go down with us, and sneeringly asked what we should do if we found one hundred men in our path. We replied that we would take care of ourselves. I longed to seize him and carry him with us by force as a hostage, but he was surrounded by too many armed and scowling Arabs.

We started at 6.30 A. M., in battle array, our carbines unslung, and everything ready for immediate use. The Christian sheikh, the kind old man, although he made enemies by doing so, accompanied us, and three or four footmen journeyed along, without absolutely mingling with us. Muhammed, almost furious, remained behind.

I had noted well the ground the day before, and knew that there was no place above the plain where an attack could be advantageously made. My greatest fear, concurred in by the Christian sheikh, was that any one lagging behind would be cut off. Giving to Mr. Dale, therefore, who ably seconded me, the charge of the front, I kept with the rear. We had scarce left the town a mile, before Muhammed, black and surly, with some horsemen, overtook us. I was never more delighted in my life, for we had now the game in our own hands. Instantly detaching an officer and one of our most trusty men, I directed them to keep by him without regard to his companions, and shoot him at the first sign of flight or treachery.

It was some time before Muhammed realized that he was a prisoner; but observing that whether he rode ahead or tarried behind, he had ever the same companions, and that if he stopped, the march was arrested, and the whole party stopped also, the truth flashed upon him; and from being insolent and overbearing, he became first respectful and then submissive.

The march was delayed at one time by an unmanageable mule. He would not permit the sailor, who had slipped off, to remount, until the latter assumed the *koo-feyeh* and *āba* of a friendly Arab. We saw a great many black and white storks, in companies, and some black centipedes and grasshoppers.

At 10.15, came in sight of the sea, its surface covered by a thin mist, the garment in which it is ever wreathed during the heat of the day. The weather became warmer and warmer as we descended, — the torrent bed of the ravine (*Wady Kerak*) perfectly dry.

As we approached the plain, I placed myself beside Muhammed to watch him more narrowly. By this time, all but two or three of his followers had ridden ahead and left us. When he first joined us he had demanded a

watch, then a double-barrelled gun, and a number of articles in succession; but when he saw that we held him as a hostage for the good behaviour of his tribe, he changed his tone. About an hour before reaching the shore, we stopped fifteen minutes to breathe the horses. When we were about to remount, he had become so much humbled, that perceiving my saddle-girth loose, he hastened forward and drew it tight for me. In the morning he would have cut my throat rather than have performed a menial office.

At 1.30, issuing from the thicket upon the beach, we were gladdened with the sight of our boats, lying as secure as we had left them. We launched them and made preparations for immediate departure. There was nothing longer to detain us, and we surmised that, perhaps the Arab horsemen who left us had gone to join others concealed in the plain. At the instance of Abd' Allah, the Christian sheikh, I wrote to 'Akil by Friday, requesting him to protect the Christian Arabs against the Kerakiyeh; and in order to enlist the Beni Sükr prince in the same cause, I sent him a richly ornamented āba.

Burckhardt, and Irby and Mangles, were kindly received in Kerak; but the first spoke the language, and came disguised as an Arab, and the two last had a letter of introduction to the Muslim Sheikh of Kerak, given to them by the Sheikh of Hebron, without which, they intimated that their reception would have been a cold one. They had to pay down four hundred piastres (equal to 1600 now), and on the second day of their journey, while yet under the protection of the Sheikh of Kerak, one hundred and fifty (equal to 600 piastres) more were exacted. From Burckhardt, who had assumed the garb of a poor man, all was extorted that it was thought he could afford to pay. Seetzen was robbed by some of the tribe before he entered Kerak.

Everything being prepared, I had taken leave of Abd' Allah, after making him a present, and was about stepping into the boat without saying anything to Muhammed, when he sprang forward, and, taking my hand, begged for some gun-caps. But I refused; for had they been given, perhaps the first use made of them would have been against a Christian. Getting into the boat, therefore, we shoved off, and left him standing upon the shore. Thus far, these were the only Arabs from whom we had experienced rudeness.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

### CRUISE ALONG THE ARABIAN SHORE.

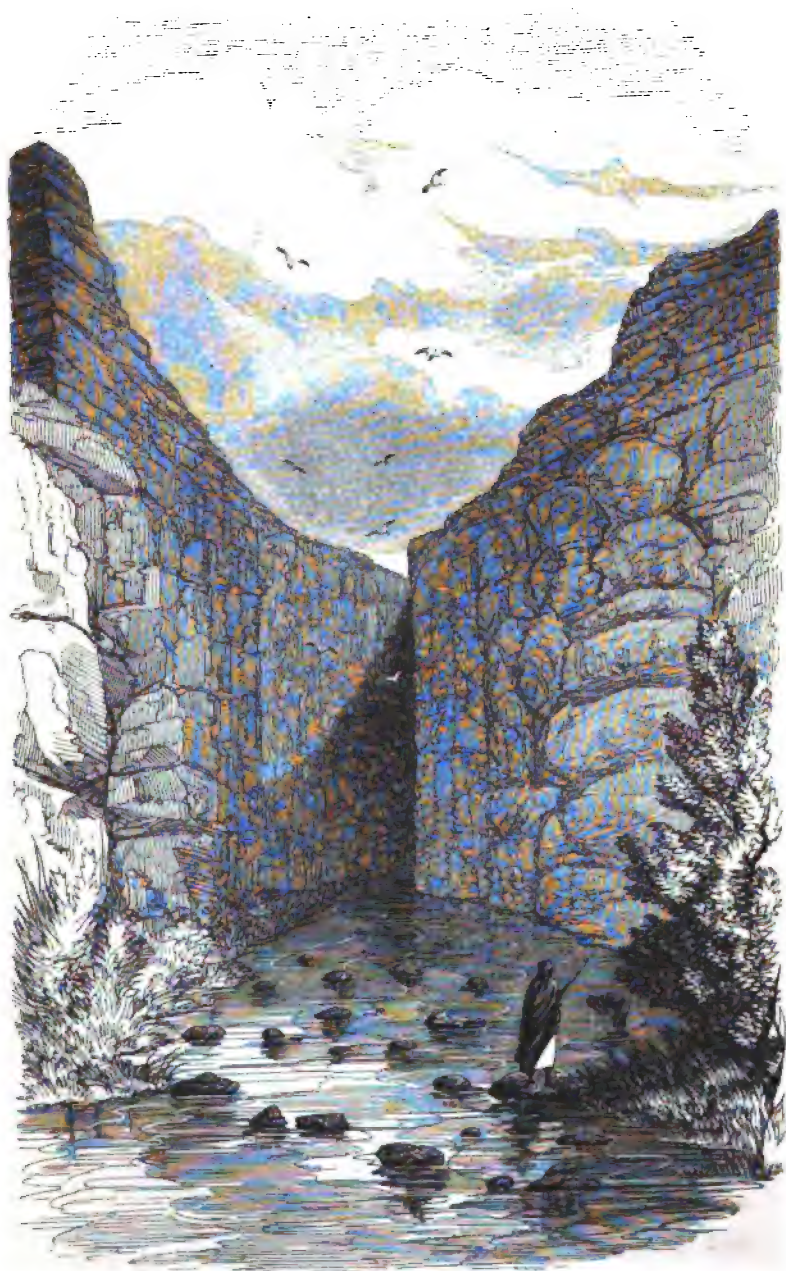
WE started, at 1.55 P. M., with a light breeze from the south, and steered down the bay, along the coast, towards Wady Môjeb, the river Arnon of the Old Testament. The shore presented the barren aspect of lofty perpendicular cliffs of red sandstone, and here and there a ravine with patches of cane, indicating that water was, or had recently been, there.

At 4.45, passed a date-palm-tree and some canes, their tops withered, at the foot of a dry ravine; soon after, saw an arch, twenty feet from the water, spanning a chasm twelve feet wide. The mountains of red sandstone were beautifully variegated with yellow and capped by high cliffs of white in the background. At 5.25, stopped for the night in a beautiful cove on the south side of the delta, through which, its own formation, the Arnon flows to the sea. The stream, now eighty-two feet wide and



four deep, runs through a chasm ninety-seven feet wide, formed by high, perpendicular cliffs of red, brown, and yellow sandstone, mixed red and yellow on the southern side, and on the north, a soft, rich red,—all worn by the winter rains into the most fantastic forms, not unlike Egyptian architecture. It was difficult to realize that some were not the work of art.

The chasm runs up in a direct line for 150 yards, then turns, with a slow and graceful curve, to the south-east. In the deepest part, within the chasm, the river did not at that time exceed four feet in depth; but after passing through the delta, narrowing in its course, it is ten feet deep, but quite narrow at the mouth. We saw here tracks of camels, and marks of an Arab encampment. There must be some passage down the ravine, the sides of which seemed so precipitous. There were castor-beans, tamarisks, and canes, along the course of the stream from the chasm to the sea. Fired a pistol up the chasm; the report reverberated finely against the perpendicular sides. Walked and waded up some distance, and found the passage of the same uniform width, turning every 150 or 200 yards gradually to the south-east. Observed a dead gazelle, and saw the tracks of gazelles and of wild beasts, but could only identify those of the tiger. The report of a gun, which we fired, reverberating like loud and long-continued peals of thunder, startled many birds. The highest summit of the inner cliffs, north of the chasm, were yellow limestone. Saw a large brown vulture, its beak strong with two denticulations. After bathing in the cool, refreshing stream, and supping on rice and tea, we spread our awnings upon the beach, and slept soundly under the bright stars. At midnight, thermometer 78°, wind N. W., and very cold. George Overstock, one of the seamen, had a chill this day. We feared that the fever which had heretofore attacked all who had



WADY MOHEB.

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turns, with a slow and  
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*[The page contains several lines of extremely faint, illegible text.]*

The first thing I saw when I stepped  
 out on the beach was a vast expanse of  
 white sand. The sea was a pale blue  
 color, and the sky was a clear, bright  
 blue. I was alone, and I felt a sense of  
 peace and solitude. The sun was shining  
 brightly, and the air was warm. I took a  
 deep breath and felt the sand under my  
 feet. I was in a new world, and I was  
 free.

and the sea.  
we passed a stream which was visible in the  
sea, from the summit to the sea, into which it  
fell, forming a foaming cataract. Its whole course  
was fringed with shrubbery, and its brawling noise was  
heard to examine some huge black 'out-

1037, stopped to examine some huge, black, con-  
 lying confusedly upon the shore, which proved to  
 trap interspersed with tuffa. The whole mountain  
 a base to summit appeared one black mass of compact  
 and lava, the superposition of the layers giving them a  
 regular appearance. In the rocky hollows of the horns  
 were incrustations of salt of which as well as the ash  
 we procured specimens.

At 10.50, started again—the water, sand and mud  
wherever there was a rivulet, lines of gravel, sand and



ventured upon this sea was about to make its appearance. It was to a city, "in the border of Arnon," to which Balak, king of the Moabites, came to meet Balaam. From the Arnon to the Jabbok, "which is the border of the children of Ammon," was the land given to the tribes of Reuben and Gad.

Thursday, May 4. A warm, but pleasant morning. Overstock better, but I feared the recurrence of his chill the next day. Started at 6.50, after filling the water-breakers. As we were shoving off, heard voices and two gun-shots in the cliffs above, but could see nothing. Sent Mr. Dale, in the Fanny Skinner, to sound across to Ain Tūrabeh. Our course was northwardly, parallel with, and a short distance from, the Arabian shore, sketching the topography as we passed. It presented the same lofty, rugged, brown parched hills as heretofore. At 8.40, a beautiful little stream, along the banks of which were twenty-nine date-palm-trees, in groups of two or three,—a grateful relief to the monotonous and dreary hue of the mountains and the sea.

At 9, we passed a stream which was visible, in a long white line, from the summit to the sea, into which it plunged, a tiny, but foaming cataract. Its whole course was fringed with shrubbery, and its brawling noise was distinctly heard.

At 10.37, stopped to examine some huge, black boulders, lying confusedly upon the shore, which proved to be trap interspersed with tufa. The whole mountain, from base to summit, appeared one black mass of scorix and lava, the superposition of the layers giving them a singular appearance. In the rocky hollows of the shore were incrustations of salt, of which, as well as of the lava, we procured specimens.

At 10.50, started again,—the scenery grand and wild; wherever there was a rivulet, lines of green cane and

tamarisk, and an occasional date-palm-tree, marked its course: a fine breeze from the southward. At 12.20, stopped in a cove formed by the Zerka main, the outlet of the hot springs of Callirohoe. The stream, twelve feet wide and ten inches deep, rushes, in a southerly direction, with great velocity, into the sea. Temperature of the air,  $77^{\circ}$ ; of the sea,  $78^{\circ}$ ; of the stream,  $94^{\circ}$ ; one mile up the chasm,  $95^{\circ}$ . It was a little sulphureous to the taste. The stream has worn its bed through the rock, and flows between the perpendicular sides of the chasm, and through the delta, bending to the south, about two furlongs, to the sea. The banks of the stream, along the delta, are fringed with canes, tamarisks, and the castor-bean. The chasm is 122 feet wide at the mouth; and, for one mile up, as far as we traced it, does not lessen in width. The sides of the chasm are about eighty feet high, where it opens upon the delta; but within they rise in altitude to upwards of 150 feet on each side, where the trap formation is exhibited. In the bed of the chasm, there was one stream, on the south side, eight feet wide and two deep, and two small streams in the centre, all rushing down at the rate of six knots per hour. There were no boulders in the bed of the ravine, which, in the winter, must, throughout its width, and high up the sides, pour down an impetuous flood. The walls of the chasm are lofty and perpendicular, of red and yellow sandstone, equally majestic and imposing, but not worn in such fantastic shapes, nor of so rich a hue, as those of the Arnon. Waded up about a mile, and saw a few date-palm-trees, growing in the chasm. The turns, about 200 yards apart, at first gently rounded, but subsequently sharp and angular. There was a succession of rapids, and a cascade of four, and a perpendicular fall of five or six feet. A little above the rapid, trap shows over sandstone. The current was so strong that, while bathing, I could not, with

my feet against a rock, keep from being carried down the stream; and, walking where it was but two feet deep, could, with difficulty, retain a foothold with my shoes off. There were many incrustations of lime, and some tufa. In the loneliest part of the chasm, nearly trod upon a sparrow before it flew away. Had this been a settled country, the wee thing would not have been ignorant that, in mere wantonness, man is its greatest enemy. Saw a white butterfly, some snipes and brown hawks, and gathered some heliotrope (*heliotropium Europeum*), which was scentless, and a beautiful purple flower, star-shaped, five petals, calix and seed-stalk a delicate yellow. Pulled up a species of willow by the roots, in the hope of preserving it.

At 7 P. M., bathed first in the sea and afterwards in the stream; a most delicious transition from the dense, acrid water of the sea, which made our innumerable sores smart severely—to the soft, tepid and refreshing waters of Callirohoe.

The water of the sea was very buoyant;—with great difficulty, I kept my feet down; and when I laid upon my back, and, drawing up my knees, placed my hands upon them, I rolled immediately over.

At 8 P. M., we had half a cup of tea each, to which we were limited from scarcity of sugar, and slept upon the gravel until 2 A. M.

There was a large fire on the western shore, in the direction of Feshkhah. Quite cool in the night; thermometer ranging from 70° to 68°. The great number submitted cheerfully to privation, but a few looked discontented at our scanty fare. This selfishness was painful to witness. If ever there was an occasion requiring a total exemption from it, this was surely one. In low minds this trait betrays itself in matters of the stomach and the purse; in those less sordid, but equally ungenerous, in the gratification of sensual love; and, in minds



more aspiring, but no less unrestrained by principle, in matters of ambition. Esau sold his birthright for a mess of pottage; and, for a few pieces of silver, the reprobate sold his heavenly Master: Charles II., instead of fervent thankfulness, spent the first hours of his restoration in seducing an unhappy lady of his court; and Napoleon never hesitated to sacrifice a friend on the altar of his ambition.

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

### FROM THE OUTLET OF THE HOT SPRINGS OF CALLIROHOE TO AIN TURÂBEH.

FRIDAY, May 5. Rose at 2 A. M. Fresh wind from the north; air quite chilly, and the warmth of the fire agreeable. It was this contrast which made the heat of the day so very oppressive. Everything was still and quiet, save the wind, and the surf breaking upon the shore. I had purposed visiting the ruins of Machærus, upon this singular hot-water stream, and to have excavated one of the ancient tombs mentioned in the Itinerary of Irby and Mangles, the most unpretending, and one of the most accurate narratives I have ever read; but the increasing heat of the sun, and the lassitude of the party, warned me to lose no time.

In his description of the fortress of Machærus, rebuilt by Herod, Josephus says, "It was also so contrived by nature that it could not be easily ascended; for it is, as it were, ditched about with such valleys on all sides, and to such a depth that the eye cannot reach their bottoms, and

such as are not easily to be passed over, and even such as it is impossible to fill up with earth; for that valley which cuts it off on the west extends to threescore furlongs, and did not end till it came to the Lake Asphaltites; on the same side it was, also, that Machærus had the tallest top of its hill elevated above the rest."

Speaking of the fountains, his words are, "Here are, also, fountains of hot water that flow out of this place, which have a very different taste one from the other; for some of them are bitter, and others of them are plainly sweet. Here are, also, many eruptions of cold waters; and this not only in the places that lie lower and have their fountains near one another, but what is still more wonderful, here is to be seen a certain cave hard by, whose cavity is not deep, but it is covered over by a rock that is prominent; above this rock there stand up two (hills or) breasts, as it were, but a little distant from one another, the one of which sends out a fountain that is very cold, and the other sends out one that is very hot; which waters, when they are mingled together, compose a most pleasant bath; they are medicinal, indeed, for other maladies, but especially good for strengthening the nerves. This place has in it, also, mines of sulphur and alum."

At 2.45, called the cook to prepare our breakfast. At 3.40, called all hands, and having

"Broke our fast,  
Like gentlemen of Beauce,"

started to sound across to Ain Turâbeh, thus making a straight line to intersect the diagonal one of yesterday. Two furlongs from the land, the soundings were twenty-three fathoms (138 feet). The next cast, five minutes after, 174 (1044 feet), gradually deepening to 218 fathoms (1308 feet); the bottom, soft, brown mud, with rectangular crystals of salt. At 8 A. M., met the Fanny

Skinner. Put Mr. Aulick, with Dr. Anderson, in her; also the cook, and some provisions, and directed him to complete the topography of the Arabian shore, and determine the position of the mouth of the Jordan; and, as he crossed over, to sound again in an indicated spot. Made a series of experiments with the self-registering thermometer, on our way, in the Fanny Mason, to Ain Turâbeh. At the depth of 174 fathoms (1044 feet), the temperature of the water was 62°; at the surface, immediately above it, 76°. There was an interruption to the gradual decrease of temperature, and at ten fathoms there was a stratum of cold water, the temperature, 59°. With that exception, the diminution was gradual. The increase of temperature below ten fathoms may, perhaps, be attributable to heat being evolved in the process of crystallization. Procured some of the water brought up from 195 fathoms, and preserved it in a bottle. The morning intensely hot, not a breath of air stirring, and a mist over the surface of the water, which looked stagnant and greasy.

At 10.30, we were greeted with the sight of the green fringe of Ain Turâbeh, dotted with our snow-white tents, in charge of the good old Sherîf. Sent two Arabs to meet Mr. Aulick, at the mouth of the Jordan. Sherîf had heard of the fight between 'Akîl and his friends with the Beni 'Adwans; we learned from him that several of the Beni Sûkrs had since died of their wounds, and that the whole tribe had suffered severely.

Reconnoitred the pass over this place, to see if it would be practicable to carry up the level. It proved very steep and difficult, but those at 'Ain Feshkhah and Ain Jidy are yet more so; and, after consultation with Mr. Dale, determined to attempt the present one. Made arrangements for camels, to transport the boats across to the Mediterranean. The weather very warm.

Saturday, May 6. A warm but not oppressive morning; the same mist over the sea; the same wild and awful aspect of the overhanging cliffs. Commenced taking the copper boat apart, and to level up this difficult pass. To Mr. Dale, as fully competent, I assigned this task. With five men and an assistant, he laboured up six hundred feet, but with great difficulty.

At 9 A. M., thermometer, in the shade, 100°; the sky curtained with thin, misty clouds. At 11 A. M., Mr. Aulick returned, having completed the topography of the shore, and taken observations and bearings at the mouth of the Jordan. Dr. Anderson had collected many specimens in the geological department. The exploration of this sea was now complete. Sent Mr. Aulick out again, in the iron boat, to make experiments with the self-registering thermometer, at various depths; the result the same as yesterday and the day previous, the coldest stratum being at ten fathoms. Light, flickering airs, and very sultry during the night.

Sunday, May 7. This day was given to rest. The weather during the morning was exceedingly sultry and oppressive. At 8.30, thermometer 106°. The clouds were motionless, the sea unruffled, the rugged faces of the rocks without a shadow, and the canes and tamarisks around the fountain drooped their heads towards the only element which could sustain them under the smiting heat. The Sherif slept in his tent, the Arabs in various listless attitudes around him; and the mist of evaporation hung over the sea, almost hiding the opposite cliffs.

At 6 P. M., a hot hurricane, another sirocco, blew down the tents and broke the syphon barometer, our last remaining one. The wind shifted in currents from N. W. to S. E.; excessively hot. In two hours it had gradually subsided to a sultry calm. All suffered very much from languor, and prudence warned us to begone. The tem-

perature of the night was pleasanter than that of the day, and we slept soundly the sleep of exhaustion.

Monday, May 8. A cloudy, sultry morning. At 5 A. M., the leveling party proceeded up the pass to continue the leveling. At 8, the sun burst through his cloudy screen, and threatened an oppressive day. Constructed a large float, with a flag-staff fitted to it.

In the morning, a bird was heard singing in the thicket near the fountain, its notes resembling those of the nightingale of Italy. The bulbul, the nightingale of this region, is like our kingfisher, except that its plumage is brown and blue, and the bill a deep scarlet. We cannot say that we ever heard it sing; but at various places on the Jordan we heard a bird singing at night, and the Arabs said it was the bulbul.

The heat increased with the ascending sun, and at meridian the thermometer stood at  $110^{\circ}$  in the shade. The Sherif's tent was dark and silent, and we were compelled to discontinue work. The surface of the sea was covered by an impenetrable mist, which concealed the two extremities and the eastern shore; and we had the prospect of a boundless ocean with an obscured horizon. At 1.30 P. M., a breeze sprang up from the S. E., which gradually freshened and hauled to the north. Towards sunset went to Ain Ghuweir, a short distance to the north. So far from being brackish, we found the water as sweet and refreshing as that of Ain Turâbeh.

At 4 P. M., the leveling party returned, having leveled over the crest of the mountain and 300 feet on the desert of Judea. They had been compelled to discontinue work by the high wind. The tent I sent them was blown down, and they were forced to dine under the "shadow of a rock."

Tuesday, May 9. Awakened at early daylight by the Muslim call to prayer. A light wind from N. E. Sky

obscured; a mist over the sea, but less dense than that of yesterday. Sent Mr. Dale with the interpreter to reconnoitre the route over the desert towards Jerusalem. Pulled out in the Fanny Skinner, and moored a large float, with the American ensign flying, in eighty fathoms water, abreast of Ain Ghuweir, at too long a distance from the shore to be disturbed by the Arabs. Sent George Overstock and Hugh Read, sick seamen, to the convent of Mar Saba. Wind light throughout the day, ranging from N. to S. E.

Nûsrallah, sheikh of the Rashâyideh, to whom I had refused a present before our work was complete, said to Sherîf to-day that if it had not been for him (Sherîf), he would have found means of getting what he wanted, intimating by force. On the matter being reported, he was ordered instantly to leave the camp. On his profession of great sorrow, and at the intercession of the Sherîf, he was permitted to remain, with the understanding that another remark of the kind would cause his immediate expulsion.

Sent off the boats in sections to Bab el Hulil (Jaffa gate), Jerusalem. Tried the relative density of the water of this sea and of the Atlantic — the latter from 25° N. latitude and 52° W. longitude; distilled water being as 1. The water of the Atlantic was 1.02, and of this sea 1.13. The last dissolved  $\frac{1}{11}$ , the water of the Atlantic  $\frac{1}{8}$ , and distilled water  $\frac{1}{7}$  of its weight of salt. The salt used was a little damp. On leaving the Jordan we carefully noted the draught of the boats. With the same loads they drew one inch less water when afloat upon this sea than in the river.\*

The streams from the fountains of Turâbeh, Ain Jidy, and the salt spring near Muhariwat, were almost wholly

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\* Since our return, some of the water of the Dead Sea has been subjected to a powerful microscope, and no animalculæ or vestige of animal matter could be detected.

absorbed in the plains, as well as those running down the ravines of Sudeir, Sêyâl, Mubûghghik, and Humeir, and the torrent between the Arnon and Callirohoe. Taking the mean depth, width, and velocity of its more constant tributaries, I had estimated the quantity of water which the Dead Sea was hourly receiving from them at the time of our visit, but the calculation is one so liable to error, that I withhold it. It is scarcely necessary to say, that the quantity varies with the season, being greater during the winter rains, and much less in the heat of summer.

At 8.30, Mr. Dale and the interpreter returned. Before retiring, we bathed in the Dead Sea, preparatory to spending our twenty-second and last night upon it. We have carefully sounded this sea, determined its geographical position, taken the exact topography of its shores, ascertained the temperature, width, depth, and velocity of its tributaries, collected specimens of every kind, and noted the winds, currents, changes of the weather, and all atmospheric phenomena. These, with a faithful narrative of events, will give a correct idea of this wondrous body of water, as it appeared to us.

From the summit of these cliffs, in a line a little north of west, about sixteen miles distant, is Hebron, a short distance from which Dr. Robinson found the dividing ridge between the Mediterranean and this sea. From Beni Na'im, the reputed tomb of Lot, upon that ridge, it is supposed that Abraham looked "toward *all* the land of the plain," and beheld the smoke, "as the smoke of a furnace." The inference from the Bible, that this entire chasm was a plain sunk and "*overwhelmed*" by the wrath of God, seems to be sustained by the extraordinary character of our soundings. The bottom of this sea consists of two submerged plains, an elevated and a depressed one; the former averaging *thirteen*, the last about *thirteen*

*hundred* feet below the surface. Through the northern, and largest and deepest one, in a line corresponding with the bed of the Jordan, is a ravine, which again seems to correspond with the Wady el Jeib, or ravine within a ravine, at the south end of the sea.

Between the Jabok and this sea, we unexpectedly found a sudden breakdown in the bed of the Jordan. If there be a similar break in the water-courses to the south of the sea, accompanied with like volcanic characters, there can scarce be a doubt that the whole Ghor has sunk from some extraordinary convulsion; preceded, most probably, by an eruption of fire, and a general conflagration of the bitumen which abounded in the plain. I shall ever regret that we were not authorized to explore the southern Ghor to the Red Sea.

All our observations have impressed me forcibly with the conviction that the mountains are older than the sea. Had their relative levels been the same at first, the torrents would have worn their beds in a gradual and correlative slope;—whereas, in the northern section, the part supposed to have been so deeply engulfed, although a soft, bituminous limestone prevails, the torrents plunge down several hundred feet, while on both sides of the southern portion, the ravines come down without abruptness, although the head of Wady Kerak is more than a thousand feet higher than the head of Wady Ghuweir. Most of the ravines, too, as reference to the map will show, have a southward inclination near their outlets, that of Zerka Main or Callirohoe especially, which, next to the Jordan, must pour down the greatest volume of water in the rainy season. But even if they had not that deflection, the argument which has been based on this supposition would be untenable; for tributaries, like all other streams, seek the greatest declivities without regard to angular inclination. The Yermak flows into the Jor-



dan at a right angle, and the Jabok with an acute one to its descending course.

There are many other things tending to the same conclusion, among them the isolation of the mountain of Usdum; its difference of contour and of range, and its consisting entirely of a volcanic product.

But it is for the learned to comment on the facts we have laboriously collected. Upon ourselves, the result is a decided one. We entered upon this sea with conflicting opinions. One of the party was skeptical, and another, I think, a professed unbeliever of the Mosaic account. After twenty-two days' close investigation, if I am not mistaken, we are unanimous in the conviction of the truth of the Scriptural account of the destruction of the cities of the plain. I record with diffidence the conclusions we have reached, simply as a protest against the shallow deductions of *would-be* unbelievers.

At midnight the scene was the same as at Ain el Feshkhah, the first night of our arrival, save that the ground was more firm and the weather warmer; but the sea presented a similar unnatural aspect. There was also a new feature betokening a coming change; there were camels lying around, which had been brought in, preparatory to to-morrow's movement. Heretofore, I had always seen this animal reposing upon its knees, but on this occasion all not chewing the cud were lying down. The night passed away quietly, and a light wind springing up from the north, even the most anxious were at length lulled to sleep by the rippling waves, as they brattled upon the shore.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### FROM THE DEAD SEA TO THE CONVENT OF MAR SABA.

WEDNESDAY, May 10. A clear, warm, but pleasant morning. Soon after daylight, sent Mr. Aulick and Mr. Bedlow to Jerusalem with the chronometers, to make observations for ascertaining their rate. At 7 A. M., the levelling party started. Made preparations for finally breaking up the camp on the Dead Sea.

At 9.30, struck tents, and at 10, started, and ascended the pass of Ain Turâbeh. With us were Sherif, Ibrahim Aga, and the sheikhs of the Raschâyideh and Ta'âmirah, and six camels. Winding slowly up the steep pass, we looked back at every turn upon our last place of encampment, and upon the silent sea. We are ever sad on parting with things for the last time. The feeling that we are never to see them again, makes us painfully sensible of our own mortality.

At 12, overtook the levelling party, and shortly after the camels with the sections of the boats. At 1.15 P. M., camped in Wady Khiyam Seyâ'rah (Ravine of the Tents of Seyâ'rah), so called from a tribe of that name having been surprised and murdered here. It is a rocky glen, over a steep precipice, a thousand feet above the Dead Sea. There are two large caves on the north side of the ravine, in which we prepared to take up our quarters, but the Arabs dissuaded us with the assurance that they abound with serpents and scorpions, which crawl out in the night.

Our camp was, properly speaking, in a depression of the

extremity of the ridge between the ravines Ghuweir and En Nar.

At night, we invited Sherîf to our tent, and prevailed on him to tell his history. His father was Sherîf, or hereditary governor of Mecca, to which dignity, at his death, the eldest brother of our friend succeeded. When Mecca surrendered to Mehemet Ali, his brother was deposed; and a cousin, inimical to them, was appointed in his stead. The deposed Sherîf fled to Constantinople; our friend was carried captive to Cairo, where he was detained ten years a prisoner, but provided with a house, and an allowance of 3000 piastres (125 dollars) per month for his support. When Arabia was overrun by the Wahabees, Mehemet Ali, wisely counting on sectarian animosity, gave our Sherîf a command, and sent him to the war. His person bears many marks of wounds he received in various actions. When Mehemet Ali was compelled by the quintuple alliance to abandon his conquests, our Sherif went to Egypt to claim his pay, and reimbursements for advances he had made. Put off with vague promises, he proceeded to Stambohl (Constantinople) to sue for redress, and having laid his application before the divan, was now awaiting the decision. His account of himself is sustained by the information we received from our Vice-Consul and Mr. Fingie, H. B. M. Vice-Consul at Acre, respecting him. He is intelligent and much revered, and, in consequence, very influential among the tribes. To him and to 'Akîl, coupled with our own vigilance, we may in a great measure ascribe our not having encountered difficulty with the Arabs. He was to leave us the next day, and would carry with him our respect and fervent good wishes. We often remarked among ourselves, what should we have done without Sherif and 'Akîl; we have not the slightest doubt that their presence prevented bloodshed.

A monk from the Convent of Mar Saba came in this evening, and brought word that our sick sailors were doing well. There seemed to be a good understanding between these religious and the various tribes; at night, an Arab shared his āba with the monk, and the shaven-crown of the Christian and the scalp-lock of the Muslim were covered by the same garment.

In a few hours we had materially changed our climate, and in this elevated region the air was quite cool. We slept delightfully, drawing our cloaks yet closer as the night advanced. At 4 A. M., thermometer 60°; absolutely cold.

We were in a most dreary country; calcined hills and barren valleys, furrowed by torrent beds, all without a tree or shrub, or sign of vegetation. The stillness of death reigned on one side; the sea of death, calm and curtained in mist, lay upon the other; and yet this is the most interesting country in the world. This is the wilderness of Judea; near this, God conversed with Abraham; and here, came John the Baptist, preaching the glad tidings of salvation. These verdureless hills and arid valleys have echoed the words of the Great Precursor; and at the head of the next ravine lies Bethlehem, the birth-place of the meek Redeemer,—in full sight of the Holy City, the theatre of the most wondrous events recorded on the page of history,—where that self-sacrifice was offered, which became thenceforth the seal of a perpetual covenant between God and man!

Thursday, May 11. There is, perhaps, no greater trial to the constitution than sudden changes of atmospheric temperature; in other words, of climate. We were so enfeebled by the heat we had experienced in the chasm beneath us, that, at the temperature of 60°, the air here felt piercingly cold. We had shivered through the night; and so busy had been the sentinels in searching for dried

thistles and shrubs, to feed the watch-fires, that, perhaps, in all our wanderings, the guard had never been so remiss.

We began, early, to prepare for work, and sent off three camel-loads of specimens, &c., to Jerusalem. Settled and parted with the good Sherif.

Breakfasted in the rocky glen, with our backs towards the barren hills of the Desert of Judea; while the rays of the sun, rising over the mountains of Moab, were reflected from the glassy surface of the desolate sea before us.

We levelled, to-day, over parched valleys, and sterile ridges, to the flattened summit of an elevation, at the base of which three ravines meet, called the "Meeting of the Tribes,"—the Dead Sea concealed by an intervening ridge. We were fully 2000 feet above it, and the wind was fierce and cutting. Strolling from the camp, soon after we had pitched the tents, I felt so cold as to be compelled to return to my tent. The thermometer, at the opening, stood at  $69^{\circ}$ ; but  $7^{\circ}$  below summer-heat. This place derives its name from a gathering of the tribes, or council, once held here. We saw, to-day, a light-brown fox, with a white tail.

Friday, May 12. The morning and the evening cool; the mid-day warm. Levelled into and up the Wady en Nar (Ravine of Fire) to the Greek Convent of Mar Saba. The ravine was shut in, on each side, by high, barren cliffs of chalky limestone, which, while they excluded the air, threw their reverberated heat upon us, and made the day's work an uncomfortable one. There was an association connected with the scene, however, which sustained us under the blinding light and oppressive heat of noon. The dry torrent-bed, interrupted by boulders, and covered with fragments of stone, is the channel of the brook Kidron, which, in its season, flows by the walls of the Holy City.

The approach to the convent is striking, from the lofty, perpendicular cliffs on each side, perforated with a great many natural and artificial excavations. Immense labour, sustained by a fervent though mistaken zeal, must have been expended here.

A perpendicular cliff, of about 400 feet, has its face covered with walls, terraces, chapels, and churches, constructed of solid masonry, all now in perfect repair. The walls of this convent, with a semicircular-concave sweep, run along the western bank of the ravine, from the bottom to the summit. The buildings form detached parts, constructed at different periods.

At 3.30 P. M., coming up from the ravine, we descended an inclined wady, and camped outside of the western gate of the convent, under a broad ledge of rock, forming the head of a lateral ravine, running into the main one. A narrow platform was before us, with a sheer descent from its edge to the bottom of the small ravine, which bore a few scattering fig-trees. We were earnestly invited to take up our quarters inside; but, dreading the fleas, we preferred the open air. There was a lofty look-out tower on the hill above us, to the south.

At the foot of a slight descent, about pistol-shot distance, was a low door, through which we were admitted to visit the convent. By the meagre monk who let us in, we were conducted through a long passage, and down two flights of stairs, into a court paved with flags; on the right centre of which stood a small, round chapel, containing the tomb of St. Saba. On the opposite side was the church, gorgeously gilded and adorned with panel and fresco paintings; the former enshrined in silver, and some of them good; the latter, mere daubs. The pavement was smooth, variegated marble; there were two clocks, near the altar; and two large, rich, golden chandeliers, and many ostrich-eggs, suspended from the ceiling.

From the court we were led along a terraced walk, parallel with the ravine, with some pomegranate-trees and a small garden-patch on each side; and, ascending a few steps, turned shortly to the left, and were ushered into the parlour, immediately over the chasm. The adjoining room was occupied by our two sick men, of whom admirable care had been taken, and we rejoiced to find that they were convalescent. The parlour was about sixteen by twenty-four feet, almost entirely carpeted, with a slightly-elevated divan on two sides. The stunted pomegranate-trees and the few peppers growing in the mimic garden were refreshing to the eye; and, after a lapse of twenty-two days, we enjoyed the luxury of sitting upon chairs.

From the flat, terrace roofs, are stairways of cut stone, leading to excavations in the rock, which are the habitations of the monks. We visited one of them, high up the impending cliff. It consisted of two cells, the inner one mostly the work of the present tenant. They were then dry and comfortable, but in the rainy season must be exceedingly damp and unwholesome.

Within the convent, we were told that there are seventy wells, and numerous cisterns, with abundance of rain-water. There are many flights of stairs, corridors, and cells; among the last, that of John of Damascus. A lofty tower shoots, shaft-like, from the northern angle, and a lone palm-tree rears its graceful form beside it. Near the chapel of St. Saba, is a singular cemetery, containing a great many skulls, piled against the walls,—a sad memorial of an act of cruelty on the part of the Turks and the Persians;—Chosroes, king of Persia, having, in the sixth century, put to death a number of monks, whose skulls are collected here. The room is excavated in the rock, and may have the preservative qualities such a legend would infer. In times of scarcity, the Arabs throng here for

food, which is given to them gratuitously; and to this, doubtless, is attributable the popularity of the inmates of the convent with the wandering tribes. The monks live solely upon a vegetable diet. There are about thirty in the convent, including lay-brothers, and, except a few from Russia, they are all Greeks. They are good-natured, illiterate, and credulous. The archbishop, from Jerusalem, looked like a being of a superior order among them, and, in his pontifical attire, presented an imposing appearance.

The interior of the convent is far more extensive than one would suppose, looking upon it from the western side, whence only the tower, the top of the church, and a part of the walls, are visible.

There is egress from the convent to the ravine by means of a ladder, which, at will, is let down from a low, arched door. The sight, from the bottom of the ravine, is one well calculated to inspire awe. The chasm is here about 600 feet wide and 400 deep,—a broad, deep gorge, or fissure, between lofty mountains, the steep and barren sides of which are furrowed by the winter rains. There are many excavations in the face of the cliffs, on both sides of the ravine, below the convent. One of them has evidently been a chapel, and on its walls are carved the names of many pilgrims, mostly Greeks, from 1665 to 1674, and, after the lapse of upwards of a century, from 1804 to 1843. A little above the convent, on the west side, half-way up, on the abrupt face of the precipice, are the ruins of a building, a chapel or a fortress. One story is standing, with a tower, pierced with loop-holes. The numerous excavations present a most singular appearance; and, looking upon them, one expects every moment to see the inmates come forth. It is a city of caverns.

We walked some distance up the bed of the Kidron, and encountered several precipices from ten to twelve



feet high, down which cataracts plunge in winter. It will be difficult, but not impracticable, to level this torrent bed. Collected some fossils, and a few flowers, for preservation. Even at this early season, the scanty vegetation, scattered here and there in the ravines of the desert of Judea, was already parched and withered. There were but few flowers within this ravine; the scarlet anemone and the purple blossom of the thistle being the prevailing ones. We gathered one, however, which was star-shaped; the leaves white near the stem, but blue above, and the seed-stalks yellow, with white heads. A few leaves nearest the flower were green, but the rest, with the stalk, were parched and dry. It was inodorous, and, like beauty without virtue, fair and attractive to the eye, but crumbling from rottenness in the hands of him who admiringly plucks it. In this ravine, from the Dead Sea to the borders of cultivation, we have, besides, gathered for our herbarium, the blue weed, so well known in Maryland and Virginia for its destructive qualities; the white henbane; the dyer's weed, used in Europe for dyeing green and yellow; the dwarf mallow, commonly called cresses, and the caper plant, the unopened flower-buds of which, preserved in vinegar, are so much used as a condiment.

R. E. Griffith, M. D., of Philadelphia, with whom our botanical collection has been placed for classification, cites an opinion, supported by strong argument, that the last-named plant is the hyssop of Scripture.

During the night, we had a severe thunder storm, with a slight shower of rain. One of the camels, in its fright, fell into the ravine before the caverns where we slept, and kept us long awake with its discordant cries. The animal was unhurt; but the Arabs tortured it, by their fruitless endeavours to extricate it in the dark. They were alike deaf to advice, entreaties, and commands, until one of the sentries was ordered to charge



GREEK ARCHBISHOP.



upon them, when they hurriedly dispersed, and the poor camel and ourselves were left in quietude.

Saturday, May 13. Calm and cloudy. 6 A. M., thermometer  $68^{\circ}$ . It had been  $53^{\circ}$  during the night, and  $79^{\circ}$  at 11 A. M. the preceding day. Deferred levelling any farther, until we had reconnoitred the two routes to Jerusalem. The one up the ravine, although presenting great difficulties, proved more practicable than the route we had come. Let all hands rest until Monday. Extricated the camel from the ravine.

Sunday, May 14. A quiet day—wind east; weather pleasant. Collected some fossils, and a few flowers, for preservation. At meridian, temperature  $76^{\circ}$ ; at midnight,  $58^{\circ}$ . While here, several of the *bteddin*, or *coney* of Scripture, were seen among the rocks.



## CHAPTER XX.

### FROM MAR SABA TO JERUSALEM.

MONDAY, May 15. Wind S. W.; partially cloudy. Thermometer, at 2 A. M.,  $58^{\circ}$ ; at Meridian,  $72^{\circ}$ . Discharged all the Arabs, except a guide and the necessary camel-drivers. The levelling party worked up the bed of the Kidron, while the camp proceeded along the edge of the western cliff. In about two hours, we passed a large cistern, hewn in the rock, twenty feet long, twelve wide, and eighteen high. There was water in it to the depth of four feet, and its surface was coated with green slime. In it two Arabs were bathing. Nevertheless, our

beasts and ourselves were compelled to drink it. Soon after, isolated tufts of scant and parched vegetation began to appear upon the hill-sides. We were truly in a desert. There was no difference of hue between the dry torrent-bed and the sides and summits of the mountains. From the Great Sea, which washes the sandy plain on the west, to that bitter sea on the east, which bears no living thing within it, all was dreary desolation! The very birds and animals, as on the shores of the Dead Sea, were of the same dull-brown colour,—the colour of ashes. How literally is the prophecy of Joel fulfilled! “That which the palmer-worm hath left, hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left, hath the canker-worm eaten; and that which the canker-worm hath left, hath the caterpillar eaten. The field is wasted, the land mourneth, and joy is withered from the sons of men.”

How different the appearance of the mountain districts of our own land at this season! There, hills and plains, as graceful in their sweep as the arrested billows of a mighty ocean, are before and around the delighted traveller. Diversified in scenery, luxuriant of foliage, and, like virgin ore, crumbling from their own richness, they teem with their abundant products. The lowing herds, the bleating flocks, the choral songsters of the grove, gratify and delight the ear; the clustering fruit-blossoms, the waving corn, the grain slow bending to the breeze, proclaim an early and redundant harvest. More boundless than the view, that glorious land is uninterrupted in its sweep until the one extreme is locked in the fast embrace of thick-ribbed ice, and the other is washed by the phosphorescent ripple of the tropic; while, on either side, is heard the murmuring surge of a wide-spread and magnificent ocean. Who can look upon that land and not thank God that his lot is cast within it? And yet *this* country, scathed by the wrath of an offended Deity, teems with

associations of the most thrilling events recorded in the book of time. The patriot may glory in the one,—the Christian of every clime must weep, but, even in weeping, hope for the other.

Soon after leaving the cistern, or pool, we passed an Arab burial-ground, the graves indicated by a double line of rude stones, as at Kerak; excepting one of a sheikh, over which was a plastered tomb. Before it our Arab guide stopped, and, bowing his head, recited a short prayer.

As we thence advanced, pursuing a north-westerly course, signs of cultivation began to exhibit themselves. On each side of us were magnificent rounded and sharp-crested hills; and, on the top of one, we soon after saw the black tents of an Arab encampment; some camels and goats browsing along the sides; and, upon the very summit, the figures of some fellahas (Arab peasant women) cut sharp against the sky.

A little farther on, we came to a small patch of tobacco, in a narrow ravine, the cotyledons just appearing; and, in the shadow of a rock, a fellah was seated, with his long gun, to guard it. Half a mile farther, we met an Arab, a genuine Bedawy, wearing a sheepskin āba, the fur inwards, and driving before him a she-camel, with its foal. A little after, still following the bed of the Kidron, we came to the fork of the pilgrim's road, which turns to the north, at the foot of a high hill, on the summit of which was a large encampment of the tribe Subeih. Leaving the pilgrim's road on the right, we skirted the southern base of the hill, with patches of wheat and barley covering the surface of the narrow valley;—the wheat just heading, and the fields of barley literally "white for the harvest." Standing by the roadside, was a fellaha, with a child in her arms, who courteously saluted us. She did not appear to be more than sixteen.

The valley was here about two hundred yards wide ; and to our eyes, so long unused to the sight of vegetation, presented a beautiful appearance. The people of the village collected in crowds to look upon us as we passed far beneath them. Some of them came down and declared that they would not permit the 'Abeidiyeh (of which tribe were our camel-drivers) to pass through their territory ; and claimed for themselves the privilege of furnishing camels. We paid no attention to them, but camped on the west side of the hill, where the valley sweeps to the north.

Tuesday, May 16. Weather clear, cool, and delightful. At daylight, recommenced levelling. Soon after, the sheikh of the village above us, with fifteen or twenty followers, armed with long guns, came down and demanded money for passing through his territory. On our refusal, high words ensued ; but finding his efforts at intimidation unsuccessful, he presented us with a sheep, which he refused to sell, but gave it, he said, as a backshish. Knowing that an extravagant return was expected, and determined not to humour him, I directed the fair value of the sheep, in money, to be given. Finding that no more was to be obtained, he left us.

It was a pastoral sight, when we broke up camp, this morning. The sun was just rising over the eastern hills ; and, in every direction, we heard shepherds calling to each other from height to height, their voices mingling with the bleating of sheep and goats, and the lowing of numerous cattle. Reapers were harvesting in every field ; around the threshing-floors the oxen, three abreast, were treading out the grain ; and women were passing to and fro, bearing huge bundles of grain in the straw, or pitchers of leban (sour milk), upon their heads. Every available part of this valley is cultivated. The mode of harvesting is primitive. The reaping-hook alone is used ; the cradle

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seemed to be unknown. The scene reminded one forcibly of the fields of Boaz, and Ruth the gleaner. But, with all its peaceful aspect, there was a feature of insecurity. Along the bases of the hills, from time to time shifting their positions, to keep within the shade, were several armed fellahin, guarding the reapers and the grain. The remark of Volney yet holds true :—"the countryman must sow with his musket in his hand, and no more is sown than is necessary for subsistence."

Towards noon it became very warm, and we were thirsty. Meeting an old Arab woman, we despatched her to the Subeih for some leban. We noticed that 'Awad, our Ta'âmirah guide, was exceedingly polite to her. But when she returned, accompanied by her daughter, a young and pretty fellaha, he became sad, and scarce said a word while they remained. On being asked the reason of his sudden sadness, he confessed that he had once spent twelve months with that tribe, sleeping, according to the custom of Arab courtship, every night outside of the young girl's tent, in the hope of winning her for his wife. He said that they were mutually attached, but that the mother was opposed to him, and the father demanded 4000 piastres, about 170 dollars. 'Awad had 2000 piastres, the earnings of his whole life, and in the hope of buying her (for such is the true name of an Arab marriage), he determined to sell his horse, which he valued at 1000 piastres, or a little over forty dollars. But,

"The course of true love did never yet run smooth ;"

and unfortunately his horse died, which reduced him to despair. Shortly after, the girl's uncle claimed her for his son, then five years old, offering to give his daughter to her brother. According to an immemorial custom of the Arabs, such a claim took precedence of all others, and the beautiful girl, just ripening into womanhood, was be-



trothed to the child. With the philosophy of his race, however, 'Awad subsequently consoled himself with a wife; but, true to his first love, never sees its object without violent emotion.

He further told us, that in the same camp there was another girl far more beautiful than the one we had seen, for whom her father asked 6000 piastres, a little more than 250 dollars. The one we saw was lightly and symmetrically formed, and exceedingly graceful in her movements. The tawny complexion, the cheek-bones somewhat prominent, the coarse black hair, and the dark, lascivious eye, reminded us of a female Indian of our border.

Leaving the fellahin busy in their fields, and still following the ravine, we came to a narrow ridge, immediately on the other side of which were some thirty or forty black tents. Here a stain upon the rocks told a tale of blood.

An Arab widower ran off with a married woman from the encampment before us,—a most unusual crime among this people. In little more than a month, the unhappy woman died. Knowing that by the laws of the tribes he could be put to death by the injured man, or any of his or the woman's relatives he might encounter, and that they were on the watch for him; and yet anxious to return, he made overtures for a settlement. After much negotiation, the feud was reconciled on condition that he gave his daughter, 400 piastres, a camel, and some sheep to the injured man. A feast was accordingly given, and the parties embraced in seeming amity. But the son-in-law brooded over his wrong, and one day seeing the seducer of his former wife approaching, concealed himself in a cavity of the rock and deliberately shot him as he passed. Such is the Arab law of vengeance, in cases of a flagrant breach of faith like this, that all of both tribes,

'Awad told us, are now bound to put the murderer to death.

This elopement is not an isolated circumstance, although a most unusual one. The only wonder is that with such a licentious race as the Arabs, the marriage contract, wherein the woman has no choice, is not more frequently violated. Burckhardt relates a similar case, which occurred south of Kerak, in 1810.

A young man of Tafyle had eloped with the wife of another. The father of the young man with all his family had been also obliged to fly, for the Bedawin law authorized the injured husband to kill any of the offender's relations in retaliation for the loss of his wife. Proffers were made for a settlement of the difficulty, and negotiations were opened. The husband began by demanding from the young man's father two wives in return for the one carried off, and the greater part of the property which the emigrant family possessed in Tafyle. The father of the guilty wife, and her first-cousin also, demanded compensation for the insult which their family had received by the elopement. The affair was settled by the offender's father placing four infant daughters, the youngest of whom was not yet weaned, at the disposal of the husband and his father-in-law, who might betroth them to whom they pleased, and receive themselves the money which is usually paid for girls. The four girls were estimated at three thousand piastres. In testimony of peace being concluded between the two families, and of the price of blood having been paid, the young man's father, who had not yet shown himself publicly, came to shake hands with the injured husband; a white flag was suspended at the top of the tent in which they sat, a sheep was killed and the night spent in feasting. After that, the guilty pair could return in safety.

Soon after noon, we passed the last encampment of

black tents, and turning aside from the line of march, I rode to the summit of a hill on the left, and beheld the Holy City, on its elevated site at the head of the ravine. With an interest never felt before, I gazed upon the hallowed spot of our redemption. Forgetting myself and all around me, I saw, in vivid fancy, the route traversed eighteen centuries before by the Man of Sorrows. Men may say what they please, but there are moments when the soul, casting aside the artificial trammels of the world, will assert its claim to a celestial origin, and regardless of time and place, of sneers and sarcasms, pay its tribute at the shrine of faith, and weep for the sufferings of its founder.

I scarce realized my position. Could it be, that with my companions I had been permitted to explore that wondrous sea, which an angry God threw as a mantle over the cities he had condemned, and of which it had been heretofore predicted that no one could traverse it and live. It was so, for there, far below, through the descending vista, lay the sombre sea. Before me, on its lofty hill, four thousand feet above that sea, was the queenly city. I cannot coincide with most travellers in decrying its position. To my unlettered mind, its site, from that view, seemed, in isolated grandeur, to be in admirable keeping with the sublimity of its associations. A lofty mountain, sloping to the south, and precipitous on the east and west, has a yawning natural fosse on those three sides, worn by the torrents of ages. The deep vale of the son of Hinnom; the profound chasm of the valley of Jehoshaphat, unite at the south-east angle of the base to form the Wady en Nar, the ravine of fire, down which, in the rainy season, the Kidron precipitates its swollen flood into the sea below.

Mellowed by time, and yet further softened by the intervening distance, the massive walls, with their towers

and bastions, looked beautiful yet imposing in the golden sunlight; and above them, the only thing within their compass visible from that point, rose the glittering dome of the mosque of Omar, crowning Mount Moriah, on the site of the Holy Temple. On the other side of the chasm, commanding the city and the surrounding hills, is the Mount of Olives, its slopes darkened with the foliage of olive-trees, and on its very summit the former Church of the Ascension, now converted into a mosque.

Many writers have undertaken to describe the first sight of Jerusalem; but all that I have read convey but a faint idea of the reality. There is a gloomy grandeur in the scene which language cannot paint. My feeble pen is wholly unworthy of the effort. With fervent emotions I have made the attempt, but congealed in the process of transmission, the most glowing thoughts are turned to icicles.

The ravine widened as we approached Jerusalem; fields of yellow grain, orchards of olives and figs, and some apricot-trees, covered all the land in sight capable of cultivation; but not a tree, nor a bush, on the barren hill-sides. The young figs, from the size of a currant to a plum, were shooting from the extremities of the branches, while the leaf-buds were just bursting. Indeed, the fruit of the fig appears before the leaves are formed,\* and thus, when our Saviour saw a fig-tree in leaf, he had, humanly speaking, reason to expect to find fruit upon it.

Although the mountain-sides were barren, there were vestiges of terraces on nearly all of them. On the slope of one there were twenty-four, which accounts for the redundant population this country once supported.

Ascending the valley, which, at every step, presented more and more an increasing luxuriance of vegetation,

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\* Kitto's Palestine.

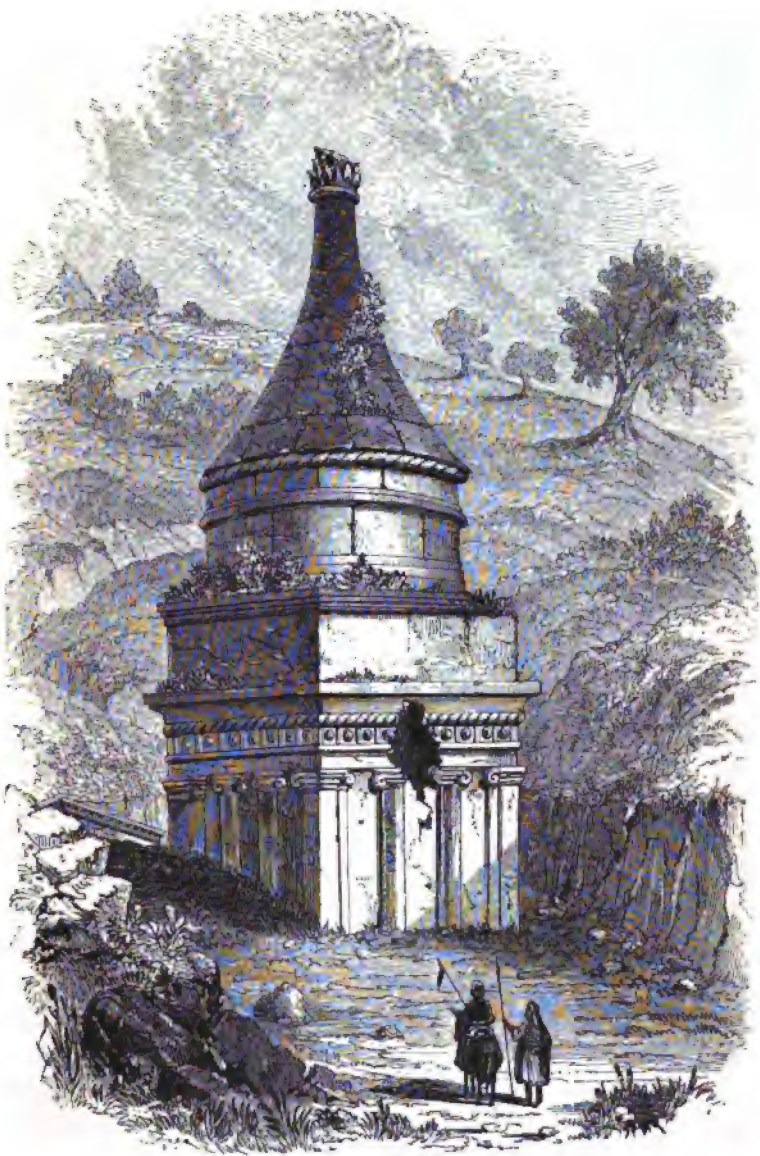
the dark hue of the olive, with its dull, white blossoms, relieved by the light, rich green of the apricot and the fig, and an occasional pomegranate, thickly studded with its scarlet flowers, we came to En Rogel, the Well of Job, or of Nehemiah (where the fire of the altar was recovered), with cool, delicious water, 118 feet deep, and a small, arched, stone building over it.

On our right, was the Mount of Offence, where Solomon worshipped Ashtaroth : before us, in the rising slope of the valley of Jehoshaphat, had been the kings' gardens in the palmy days of Jerusalem : a little above, and farther to the west, were the pool of Siloam and the fountain of the Virgin : on the opposite side of the chasm was the village of Siloam, where, it is said, Solomon kept his strange wives ; and, below it, the great Jewish burial-ground, tessellated with the flat surfaces of grave-stones ; and, near by, the tombs of Absalom, Zacharias, and Jehoshaphat ; and, above and beyond, and more dear in its associations than all, the garden of Gethsemane.

We here turned to the left, up the valley of the son of Hinnom, where Saul was anointed king ; and, passing a tree on the right, which, according to tradition, indicates the spot where Isaiah was sawn asunder ; and by a cave in which it is asserted that the apostles concealed themselves when they forsook their Master ; and under the Aceldama, bought with the price of blood ; and near the pool in the garden of Urias, where, from his palace, the king saw Bathsheba bathing ; we levelled slowly along the skirts of Mount Zion, near the summit of which towered a mosque, above the tomb of David.

It was up Mount Zion that Abraham, steadfast in faith, led the wondering Isaac, the type of a future sacrifice.

Centuries after, a more august and a self-devoted victim, laden with the instrument of his torture, toiled along the same acclivity ; but there was then no miraculous



TOMB OF ABSALOM.



interposition ; and He who felt for the anguish of a human parent, spared not Himself.

From this valley Mount Zion rises high and precipitous ; and, isolated as the hill was under the Jebusites, might well justify their scornful message, when summoned by David to surrender.

Following the curve of the vale of Hinnom, the Gehenna of the Old Testament, which rounds gradually to the north, with the Hill of Evil Counsel\* on our left, we proceeded to the lower pool of Gihon, where, at 5 P. M., we were compelled to halt, in consequence of the high wind agitating the spirit-level.

We pitched our tents upon a terrace, just above where the aqueduct crosses from Solomon's pool, with Zion gate immediately over us, and, a quarter of a mile below the tower of Hippacus and the Jaffa gate. In a line with us, above the Jaffa gate, was the upper pool of Gihon, with a number of Turkish tombs near it. On the opposite, or western side of the ravine, were old, gray, barren cliffs, with excavated tombs and caverns. The lower pool, beneath the camp, is formed by two huge, thick walls across the chasm. The aqueduct is led along the upper edge of the lower one ; and the surface of the wall serves as a bridge, over which passes the road to Bethlehem,—the one traversed by our Saviour, on his first visit to Jerusalem. We made a bench-mark on a rock, above the north-west angle of the city-wall. We made a similar mark in the Wady en Nar, immediately under the Convent of Mar Saba. The object of these bench-marks was to prevent the necessity of recommencing the level, *de novo*, in the event of an error.

There was little evidence of curiosity respecting us or

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\* So called, from the tradition that on it Caiaphas dwelt when he counselled with the Jews.



400 NIGHT UNDER THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM.

the labour in which we were engaged. Our interpreter once or twice heard the remark, "the Franks are preparing to take possession of the Holy City."

The localities around us were so interesting, every spot teeming with recollections of the past, that the night was far advanced before we slept. The stars shone forth lustrous, yet serene; and the fleecy cloud drifted slowly along the sky; and the glittering dew settled upon the bending blade, which, while it bent, it fertilized. The luxuriant valleys, the lofty mountains, and the jewelled sky, proclaimed the existence of a Being as merciful as He is potent; while the crumbling terraces, the desecrated tombs, and the fast-bound gates of the silent city, beyond which, after night-fall, none can venture in security, told of the devastating hand, and the cruel and rapacious nature of man.

The dew was heavy, and we suffered from the cold, although the thermometer did not range below 52° in the night. The grain, already cut, laid in heaps in the valley below, exposed to the depredation of the spoiler, for none dared remain to guard it. Of all that solitude, we were the only tenants.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### JERUSALEM.

WEDNESDAY, May 17. At 4 A. M. this morning, the thermometer stood at 53°. In our present condition, the air felt as keen at this temperature as formerly at home, when the sky was clouded, and there was snow upon the ground.

We ran the level up the road, and beyond the Jaffa gate, to the highest near peak, north-west of Jerusalem. There were many Jewish women and children, clothed all in white, under the olive-trees in the valley, as we passed. They were families from the city, who thus came to spend the day beneath the shade, away from the stifling air of the Jew's quarter.

On the eminence just without the gate, was a large khan, in which the sections of our boats had been deposited on their arrival. A little beyond, on the somewhat flattened summit, a battalion of Turkish infantry was going through the exercise. The arms were brightly burnished and in fine order, and the precision of their evolutions was admirable; but the men were of small stature, and looked physically incapable of enduring much fatigue. They were dressed in the European costume.

Passing a large tomb which stands conspicuous to the north, we camped a little off the Jaffa road, beside an olive-tree, about a mile and a half distant from the city; and as far south-west from the reputed place where the empress Helena was buried, and immediately west of the site most probably occupied by the besieging camp of the

Roman army under Titus. There were many fields of grain around us, occasionally separated by low walls of uncut and uncemented stone. There were few trees, and the mountains, from their summits two-thirds down, were masses of brown rock without soil and unrelieved by verdure. South-west from us, about a mile distant, was a large building, its towers just visible over an intervening ridge. It was the Greek convent of the Holy Cross, where, we were told, "is the earth that nourished the root, that bore the tree, that yielded the timber, that made the cross." A most irreverent play upon words connected with such a theme, for it reminds one forcibly of the nursery tale of the "house that Jack built."

It is from this quarter that the appearance of Jerusalem has been usually described. Looking hence upon the city, but little above a level, it is certainly less grand and imposing than from the gorge of the valley to the south-east, where it towers majestically above the spectator. Yet, beheld even from this point, there is no other city in the world which can compare with it in position. It does not, like other cities, present an indefinite mass of buildings, which must be viewed in detail before the eye can be gratified; but, with only its dome-roofs swelling above the time-stained and lofty walls, Jerusalem sits enthroned, a queen in the midst of an empire of desolation. Apart from its associations, we look upon it in admiration; but, connected with them, the mind is filled with reverential awe, as it recalls the wondrous events that have occurred within and around it.

The city is nearly in the form of a parallelogram, about three-fourths of a mile long, from east to west, and half a mile broad, from north to south. The walls are lofty, protected by an artificial fosse on the north, and the deep ravines of Jehoshaphat, of Gihon, and the Son of Hinnom, on the east, south, and west. There are now but four

gates to the city. The Jaffa gate, the fish-gate of the New Testament, on the west; the Damascus gate, opening on the great northern road, along which our Saviour travelled, when, at twelve years of age, he came up with his mother and kindred; the gate of St. Stephen, on the east, near the spot where the first Christian martyr fell, and overlooking the valley of Jehoshaphat; and the Zion gate, to the south, on the crest of the mount. Immediately within the last, are the habitations of the lepers.

On the 18th, sent the sections of the boats to Jaffa, under the charge of Sherif, whom we found here. We remained in camp until the 22d, the officers and men by turns visiting the city and its environs. During that time the weather was clear, cool at night, and delightful throughout the day.

Dr. Anderson left us here, his business calling him in another direction. Although not required to do so, he had, while with us, generously persisted in bearing his portion of watchfulness and fatigue; and by his invariable cheerfulness, his promptitude and zeal on all occasions, proved, independently of his professional services, a most valuable auxiliary. He won our esteem, and carried with him the fervent good will of every member of the party. Mr. Bedlow, who had studied medicine, and given us satisfactory proof of his capacity, was appointed to fill the place of Dr. Anderson.

The following account of his first day in Jerusalem is from the diary of the youngest member of the party, who was sent up from Ain Jidy in advance of the camp. I give it as the unvarnished recital of one who simply relates what he saw.

"Our bones yet ached from the effects of our fatiguing ride; nevertheless, we determined first to visit the holy places of Jerusalem, and then to regale ourselves with

a civilized repast, and afterwards luxuriate upon a bona fide bed.

“Our cicerone had arrived betimes, and installed himself in his office with that pleasantness of manner which the expectation of a liberal fee produces. His entreaties to make haste roused us from our recumbent postures, and we sallied forth through miserable apologies for streets, lined on each side by dilapidated bazaars.

“The Via Dolorosa, or Sorrowful Way, first arrested our attention, and our guide pointed out the spot where our Saviour fell under the burthen of his cross. A little farther on, we had a partial view of the mosque of Omar, above the high walls by which it is surrounded. While we gazed upon it, a crowd of Abyssinian pilgrims called out to us with such fierce expressions of fanatic rage that our hands instinctively grasped our weapons. The movement had its effect, and after indulging our curiosity, we passed on unmolested.

“Next to Mecca, Jerusalem is the most holy place of Muhammedan pilgrimage, and throughout the year, the mosque of Omar and its court are crowded with turbanned worshippers. This mosque, built upon the site of the Holy Temple, is the great shrine of their devotions. It is strictly guarded against all intruders, and there is a superstitious Muslim belief that if a Christian were to gain access to it, Allah would assent to whatever he might please to ask, and they take it for granted that his first prayer would be for the subversion of the religion of the Prophet.

“In one of the streets we came to a low gate, passing through which and descending a long flight of stairs, we entered upon an open court in front of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, an ancient and venerable building. Scattered about the court were motley groups of Jew pedlars, Turks, beggars, and Christian pilgrims. The appearance

of a poor cripple excited my compassion, and I gave him a piastre; but the consequences were fearful. The war-cry of the Syrian pauper, "backshish! backshish!" instantly resounded from all quarters, and we were hemmed in, pressed, and swayed to and fro by the rabble. Our cicerone plied his stick vigorously in our defence, and it truly seemed to be gifted with miraculous powers, for the blind saw, and the lame walked, and amid their imprecations upon our Christian heads we entered the church.

"Just within the door, seated on a raised divan, two sedate old Muslims were regaling themselves with miniature cups of coffee and the everlasting chibouque. Immediately in front of the entrance is the stone of unction, upon which, according to tradition, the body of our Lord was anointed. It is a plain slab of Jerusalem marble, slightly elevated above the floor of the church, and enclosed by a low railing. The pilgrims, in their pious fervour, crowding forward to kiss it, prevented our near approach.

"Turning to the left, we saw in the centre of the main body of the church a small oblong building, which contains the sepulchre. There were different processions crossing and recrossing each other with slow and measured pace, each pilgrim with a taper in his hand, and the numerous choirs, in various languages, were chanting aloud the service of the day. The lights, the noise, and the moving crowd had an effect for which the mind was not prepared, and with far less awe than the sanctity of the place is calculated to inspire, we entered the sepulchre. In the middle of the first apartment, for it is divided into two, is a stone, upon which the angel was seated when he informed the two Marys of the resurrection. This room is about eight feet square, and beautifully ornamented. From this we crept through a narrow aperture into the inner apartment, against the north side

of which is the sepulchre in the form of a low altar. It is about the same size as the first, and between the sepulchre and the southern wall, there is barely space to kneel. It was brilliantly lighted by rich and costly lamps.

“From the sepulchre we were led to see the pillar of flagellation, visible through a hole in the wall, but we did not credit the pious imposition. Thence, we ascended to the altar of Calvary, with three holes beneath it, where were planted the crosses upon which the Saviour and the two thieves were crucified. The holes are cut through beautifully polished marble.\* Near by is a fissure in the limestone rock, caused, it is alleged, by the earthquake which closed the sad drama of the crucifixion. This rent is certainly not an artificial one. Before leaving the church, we visited the tomb of Godfrey of Bouillon, and the place where the true cross, it is said, was found by the Empress Helena.

“We next determined to visit a spot respecting the identity of which even the mind of the most skeptical can have no room for doubt. Passing through the Damascus gate, we skirted the northern wall, and descending into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and crossing the bridge over the dry bed of the Kidron, we commenced the ascent of the Mount of Olives. We soon reached the summit, but the scorching heat of a Syrian sun did not permit us to enjoy long the magnificent view it afforded. Parts of the Dead Sea were visible, and looking down upon it, we felt proud in being able to say that we were the first thoroughly to explore this sea, which has for ages kept its mysteries buried in the deep bosom of its sullen waters.

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\* The writer was not aware that the surface of the natural rock had been cut away, and marble placed upon it.

"On our return, we stopped at the garden of Gethsemane, which is held by the Latins, who have enclosed it with a wall. After repeatedly knocking at the gate, we were about to come away, when it was opened by a garrulous old Spaniard, whose visage was as gnarled as the trees we now saw before us. The garden consists of eight enormous olive-trees, their venerable appearance truly typical of old age; and there can scarcely be a reasonable doubt that this is, indeed, the very place where the Saviour wept and prayed.

"Crossing the valley of Jehoshaphat, and ascending the slope of Mount Moriah, we passed by the Golden Gate, now walled up by the Turks. Why it is called 'golden,' I am unable to say, unless from its rich and elaborate sculpture.

"We next came to the fountain of the Virgin, which flows through a subterranean passage into the pool of Siloam, and is thence distributed along the slope of the valley. The pool is near the foot of the mount, and is a deep oblong pit, with fragments of columns in the centre. There are steps leading down to it on the left side, and the water is muddy and shallow. Here Christ restored the blind man to sight.

"Re-entering the city through the Jaffa gate, our cicerone declared 'by the body of Bacchus' that he would show us the greatest sight in the Holy City. It was the Armenian convent near by. We entered through the portal, and were ushered into an antechamber by a sour looking old monk, where, in the midst of a crowd of camel-drivers, we waited for permission from the patriarch to see the riches of the convent. We were first shown the portraits of all preceding patriarchs, now canonized as saints in their calendar; while that of the present one was the most gorgeously framed — par excellence, the greatest saint of them all. Persons well versed in the art



of discolouring canvass had painted these miserable daubs, which, taking the portrait of the present patriarch as a fair criterion, bore not the slightest resemblance to their originals.

“We then entered the chapel, the chef-d’œuvre of this costly building. The most tasteful ornaments were the doors, made of tortoise-shell and inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The walls were of mosaic, representing saints and devils engaged in most furious combats; but unfortunately, although our cicerone zealously endeavoured to point out which were the saints and which the devils, we often fell into a mistake respecting them. We were shown throughout the convent, which is constructed in the well-known Saracenic style of architecture; and the patriarch long detained us with an account of the improvements he intended to make.

“We returned to our hotel sorely fatigued, and for lack of better amusement, watched the preparations for dinner with more avidity than would a hungry citizen of Arkansas the like evolutions on board of a western steam-boat.”

Jerusalem, its narrow, tortuous streets, with its pavement of large round stones, and its arches and recesses, time-stained and ivy-grown, and the walls of many of the houses, like those of the pavement, a consolidated limestone, cream-coloured and streaked with blood-red, has been repeatedly described.

Visitors to Jerusalem consist, usually, of three classes:—the ignorant and credulous, who are prepared to believe everything; the conceited and intolerant, who are equally determined to believe nothing; and the weak and indolent, who side with the last, because it is easier to doubt than to investigate.

The first listens with greedy ear, and assenting mind, to the most improbable legends. The second, stubborn

and querulous, scoffs openly at what he hears, and laughs in his sleeve at the simplicity of those who differ from him. The third, not sufficiently ill-natured to sneer, adopts the opinions, without the malevolence, of others, who, because they are more positive, he concludes must be the best informed.

Most of the wall, and all the houses of Jerusalem, were demolished by Titus. Who, therefore, can believe in the assigned localities along the "Via Dolorosa"? Who can credit that here the Virgin Mary was born; there, the Saviour instituted the sacrament of the last supper; or that yonder is the house where Pilate sat in judgment? Faith does not require, and true reverence would not be sustained by, such weak credulity.

But there is a place which, above all others, should be approached with humility,—the church of the Holy Sepulchre; for even the greatest cavillers admit that, if it do not cover all the sacred localities assigned to it, some, at least, may lie beneath its roof, and none can be very far distant from it.

It is known that early in the second century, the pagan conquerors of Jerusalem erected a statue to Jupiter, on the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and one to Venus, on Mount Calvary;—thus, the very means taken to obliterate the recollections of those localities, served, as has been often remarked, to perpetuate them. The Christians were never absent from the city, except at its destruction by Titus, when they took refuge, for a short time, in Pella. In less than two centuries after the destruction of the temple, the holy places were restored to them. So that they could not have forgotten them. Can the Jews forget the site of the temple?

It is not my purpose to enter into an argument. No one, however, should venture to approach the sacred precincts without learning thus much; and he who, with

this knowledge, enters them with a cavilling spirit, is a heartless scoffer.

Some of our officers visited this church in company with a clergyman. While their minds were occupied with the thoughts which such a place is calculated to inspire in all but a perverted heart, the latter annoyed them by the frequent remark, "Well, I hope you will not be offended, but I am somewhat skeptical on this point." At length one of the officers said to him, "Please reserve your doubts for discussion elsewhere; we do not believe all that is told us, but know that not far from this, if not here, the Saviour died."

It is true that much occurs in these places calculated to shake the faith of the unstable, who cannot distinguish between what men do and what they are enjoined to do. The Almighty withheld from the Israelites all knowledge of the final resting-place of their great law-giver: may not the same Supreme Wisdom have left us in ignorance of the exact position of places infinitely more sacred, to preserve them from desecration, whether of wanton malice or intemperate zeal? The *possibility* that any assigned spot may be the true one, and the certainty that it cannot be very far removed from it, is sufficient to inspire awe in every feeling breast.

Disgusted with the conduct of many of the pilgrims, in paschal week, without looking to the impelling motive, many come to the sage conclusion that the temple must be an imposture because some of its visitors are disorderly;—which is about as fair as to judge of the nature of our beautiful institutions by the pugilistic combats which sometimes (thank God, rarely) disgrace our national halls of legislation.

Intemperate zeal may be as reckless as intoxication from drink;—but is the sincere Christian to be, therefore, classed with a fanatic; or a sober citizen with an ine-

briate? At all events, on such a subject, an excess of enthusiasm is preferable to insensibility; and he who believes and bows down is more to be envied than he that stands scornfully erect because unconvinced *by so many feet and inches*. He who, in such places, with tape-line and rule, employs himself measuring the sizes of objects, and their exact distances from each other, thereby endeavouring not only to destroy what he persuades himself are the illusions, but absolutely undermining the religious belief, of others, is little better than a heathen.

There is nothing which so perverts the heart as intellectual pride. The calamities which have most afflicted and debased our race have sprung from the abuse of the free and gifted intellect. In the perversity of a corrupt will, and in the excesses of a presumptuous understanding, man has frightfully abused the powers entrusted to him for high and holy purposes. Too often, the extent of human knowledge is the measure of human crime.

History, revelation, and tradition, unite to teach us that the unchastened will, and the perverted genius, seeking to snatch the forbidden fruit, have been man's first, greatest, unforgiven sin. While other crimes seem rather to excite the pity than to provoke the immediate wrath of heaven, and, by degrading the soaring spirit to the earth, serve to humble its pride, this appears to be a rebellion against Him, who is a jealous God, and who will avenge his cause. From the fall of the son of the morning star, who, in the excess of a presumptuous understanding, dared to wage war "against the throne and monarchy of God," down, through the deserted paths of paradise, to the terrible convulsions of the last century, when an impiety, second only to that of the archangel ruined, met with a punishment scarcely less horrible, we see, everywhere, this frightful lesson written in characters of ruin.

Yet mind is not like the "corporal rind" with which it is "immanacled," subjected to age, and decay, and decrepitude. Nor is it refluant in its essence, having a latent power within, or a controlling principle without, which proclaims, thus far shalt thou go, and no farther. It is immortal in its energies and aspirings—ever advancing and to advance—soaring still higher and higher with untiring wing, and gaining new scope and vigour from every flight towards Him from whom it descended, and with whose image it is stamped. Limitless and free, its nature is progressive, its spring is upward; no barrier to check its lofty aspirations; no power to control its daring flight; no obstacle to stay its resistless progress, *but* its own wild and erring presumption, its own fiery and impetuous promptings, its own inherent and rebellious pride. As long as, with humble heart and chastened will, it seeks the end of its being in the ocean of truth, its stream can never flow backward.

Such is the law of all intelligence. "The rapt seraph that adores and burns," the chief of the hierarchy of Heaven, the moment he deems himself sufficient for his own support, by that one act of impious self-idolatry, falls, headlong, from his high estate.

Such is the awful and salutary lesson which we glean from that book, which contains all that is useful in time and hopeful in the future.

As if to impress indelibly upon the soul of man the terrible consequences of a presumptuous intellect, a jealous Deity has enforced the lesson with special revelations. He has not only bestowed upon us the godlike capacity of reason to collect and compare the fruits of experience in the ages which have been gathered to the past, but he has suspended the arm of the cherubim, that we might enter the forbidden paths of paradise to read, beneath the tree of knowledge, the price of disobedience. And he

has unbarred the gates of heaven itself, that, in the fall of the angelic hosts, we might tremble at the instant and irremediable ruin which followed the single sin of thought. One truth we therefore know, that, unaccompanied with an upright heart and a chastened will, with the morality which springs from religion, the measure of man's intellect is the measure of his ruin. The pride of wealth inspires contempt, and the pride of place awakens resentment,—they are human follies, and are punished by human means; but the pride of intellect, wherein the gifted wars with the Giver, is a crime which the dread Creator has reserved for special retribution.

There is a remark of Sir H. Davy, so appropriate to this subject, that I cannot withhold it:—"I envy no quality of the mind or intellect of others,—not genius, wit, nor fancy; but if I could choose what would be most delightful, and, I believe, most useful to me, I prefer a firm religious belief to any other blessing; for it makes discipline of good, creates new hopes when earthly hopes vanish, and throws over the decay, the destruction of existence, the most gorgeous of all lights; awakens life in death, and, from corruption and decay, calls up beauty and divinity; makes an instrument of misfortune and of shame the ladder of ascent to paradise, and, far above all combinations of earthly hopes, calls up the most delightful visions of palms and amaranths,—the gardens of the blest, and the security of everlasting joys, where the sensualist and the skeptic view only gloom, decay, annihilation, and despair."

My apology for touching on this subject, which is without my sphere and above my capacity, is the pain I have felt, with others, in witnessing the effects of the cavilling spirit of those who plume themselves on being considered the most literary of modern travellers to the Holy Land. For their peace of mind here, I hope that they may never

know how much they have injured a cause, of which some of them are the professed champions; and, for their future welfare, every true Christian will pray that the evil has not been premeditated. I have not meant to reflect upon those who honestly doubt; for faith is not a product of reason, but a gift, an inspiration from on high. I allude to those whose intellectual pride prompts them to parade their own attainments in opposition to, rather than in the search of, truth,—which never shrinks from a fair encounter. In the words of Milton, “Truth is strong, next to the Almighty.” The mists of human prejudice cannot long withstand the penetrating light of truth,—which is the purest ray, reflected from the brightest gem in the diadem of the Great Jehovah.

Thursday, May 18. Visited, to-day, the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and other places consecrated by tradition. All these localities have been so repeatedly and so minutely described by other writers, as to be familiar to the minds of every Sunday-school scholar, beyond the age of childhood, at home; and Jerusalem itself is, geographically, better known to the educated classes in the United States, than Boston, New York, or Philadelphia, to those who do not reside in and have not visited them.

Neither need anything be said of the present condition and future prospects of Palestine; for it is a theme too copious for this work, even if it were not above the capacity of its author. I can only express an opinion, founded upon what I have seen and heard, that the fanaticism of the Turks is fast subsiding, with the rapid diminution of their number, while the Christian and Jewish population is increasing. As yet, this holds good only of the capital. The country traversed by nomadic tribes, and cultivated but in patches, continues to be as insecure as it is unproductive. But, like the swelling of the waters which precede the tide of flood, there are indications of a favourable

change. The Muhammedan rule, that political sirocco, which withers all before it, is fast losing the fierce energy which was its peculiar characteristic, and the world is being gradually prepared for the final dismemberment of the Ottoman empire.

It needs but the destruction of that power which, for so many centuries, has rested like an incubus upon the eastern world, to ensure the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. The increase of toleration; the assimilation of creeds; the unanimity with which all works of charity are undertaken, prove, to the observing mind, that, ere long, with every other vestige of bigotry, the prejudices against this unhappy race will be obliterated by a noble and a God-like sympathy. "Many a Thor, with all his eddas, must first be swept into dimness;"—but the time will come. All things are onward; and, in God's providence, all things are good.

How eventful, yet how fearful, is the history of this people! "The Almighty, moved by their lamentations, determined, not only to relieve them from Egyptian bondage, but to make them the chosen depositary of his law, by the observance of which men might be gradually prepared for the advent of the Saviour. Living at first under a theocracy, the most perfect form of government that can exist, for it unites infinite wisdom with power supreme;" and subsequently, under judges, prophets, and kings, the Israelites were led through wondrous vicissitudes to the trying scene, which crowned their perfidy with an act so atrocious that, like the glimmer of an earthly torch before the lurid glare of pandemonium, their previous crimes sunk into insignificance; and nature thrilled with horror as she looked upon the deicides, their hands imbrued in the blood they should have worshipped. Yet even this sin will be forgiven them; and the fulfilment of the prophecy with regard to the Egyptians



ensures the accomplishment of the numerous ones which predict the restoration of the tribes. Besides overwhelming Pharaoh and his host, the Almighty decreed, through Ezekiel, that Egypt should never obey a native sceptre. From Cambyses to the Mamelukes; from Muhammed to Ali Pasha, how wonderfully has this judgment been carried out!

From the 15th to the 22d of May was devoted to making astronomical observations, and reconnoitering the country for the most eligible route to level across to the Mediterranean. All the time not appropriated to duty, was spent in visiting over and over again the interesting localities in and around Jerusalem. Above all others, the spot least doubted, and very far from the least halloed, was the garden of Gethsemane. It is enclosed by a high stone wall, and when we saw it, the trees were in blossom; the clover upon the ground in bloom, and altogether, in its aspect and its associations, was better calculated than any place I know to soothe a troubled spirit.

Eight venerable trees, isolated from the smaller and less imposing ones which skirt the base of the Mount of Olives, form a consecrated grove. High above, on either hand, towers a lofty mountain, with the deep, yawning chasm of Jehoshaphat between them. Crowning one of them is Jerusalem, a living city; on the slope of the other is the great Jewish cemetery, a city of the dead. Each tree in this grove, cankered, and gnarled, and furrowed by age, yet beautiful and impressive in its decay, is a living monument of the affecting scenes that have taken place beneath and around it. The olive perpetuates itself, and from the root of the dying parent stem, the young tree springs into existence. These trees are accounted 1000 years old. Under those of the preceding growth, therefore, the Saviour was wont to rest; and one of the present may mark the very spot where he



GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE.



knelt, and prayed, and wept. No cavilling doubts can find entrance here. The geographical boundaries are too distinct and clear for an instant's hesitation. Here the Christian, forgetful of the present, and absorbed in the past, can resign himself to sad yet soothing meditation. The few purple and crimson flowers, growing about the roots of the trees, will give him ample food for contemplation, for they tell of the suffering life and ensanguined death of the Redeemer.

On the same slope and a little below Gethsemane, facing the city, are the reputed tombs of Absalom, Zachariah, St. James, and Jehoshaphat, the last giving its name to the valley. Some of them are hewn bodily from the rock, and the whole form a remarkable group. That of Absalom in particular, from its peculiar tint, as well as from its style of architecture, reminded us of the descriptions of the sepulchral monuments of Petra. It is eight feet square, surmounted by a rounded pyramid, and there are six semi-columns to each face, which are of the same mass with the body of the sepulchre.

The tomb of Zachariah is also hewn square from the rock, and its four sides form a pyramid. The tomb of Jehoshaphat has a handsomely carved door; and a portico with four columns indicates the sepulchre where St. James, the apostle, concealed himself.

It was in the valley of Jehoshaphat that Melchisedec, king of Salem, met Abraham on his return from defeating the five kings in the vale of Siddim. In the depths of this ravine Moloch was worshipped, beneath the temple of the Most High, which crowned the summit of Mount Moriah.

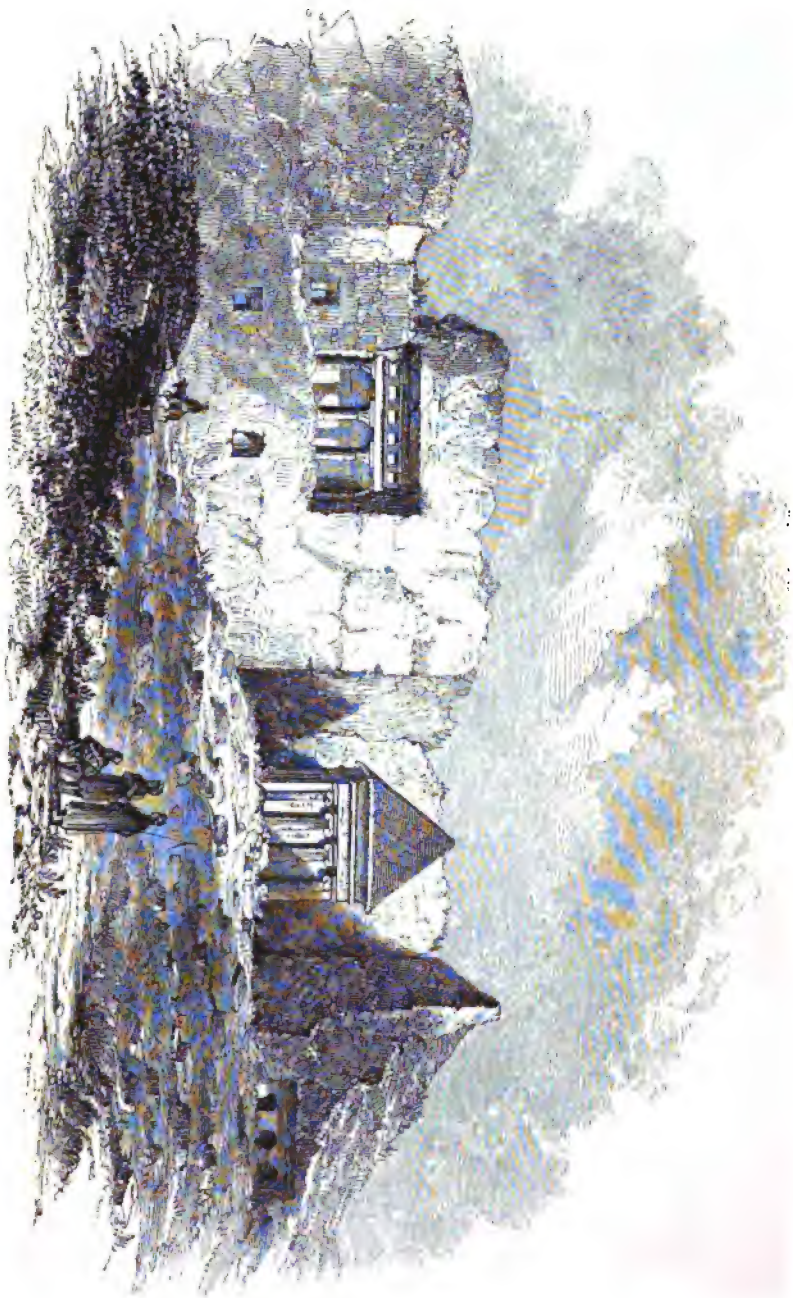
In the village of Siloam, the scene of Solomon's apostasy, the living have ejected the dead, and there are as many dwelling in tombs as in houses. Beneath it, at the base of the Mount of Offence, is the great burial-ground,

the desired final resting-place of Jews all over the world. The flat stones, rudely sculptured with Hebrew characters, lie, as the tenants beneath were laid, with their faces towards heaven. In the village above it and in the city over against it, the silence is almost as death-like as in the grave-yard itself. Here the voice of hilarity or the hum of social intercourse is never heard, and when man meets his fellow there is no social greeting. The air here never vibrates with the melodious voice of woman, the nearest approach to a celestial sound; but, shrouded from head to foot, she flits about, abashed and shrinking like some guilty thing. This profound silence is in keeping with the scene. Along the slope of the hill, above the village, the Master, on his way to Bethany, was wont to teach his followers the sublime truths of the gospel. On its acclivity, a little more to the north, he wept for the fate of Jerusalem. In the garden below, he was betrayed, and within those city walls he was crucified. Everything is calculated to inspire with awe, and it is fitting that, except in prayer, the human voice should not disturb these sepulchral solitudes.

From the slope of the Mount of Olives projects a rock, pointed out by tradition as the one whereon the Saviour sat when he predicted and wept over the fate of Jerusalem. It is farther alleged that upon this spot Titus pitched his camp when besieging the city. Neither the prediction nor its accomplishment required such a coincidence to make it impressive. The main camp of the besiegers was north of the city, but as the sixth legion was posted on the Mount of Olives, the tradition may not be wholly erroneous.

A little higher, were some grotto-like excavations, hypothetically called the Tombs of the Prophets; and above them, were some arches, under which, it is said, the Apostles composed the creed. Yet above, the spot is





TOMBS IN THE VALLEY OF JEHOSEPHAT.



pointed out where the Messiah taught his disciples the Lord's Prayer,—that beautiful compend of all that it is necessary for man to ask, whether for time or eternity.

On the summit of the mount are many wheat-fields, and it is crowned with a paltry village, a small mosque, and the ruined church of the Ascension. In the naked rock, which is the floor of the mosque, an indentation is shown as the foot-print of the Messiah, when he ascended to heaven. Apart from the sites of the Temple, of Calvary, and of the Holy Sepulchre, the assigned localities within the city walls, such as the Arch of the Ecce Homo, and the house of the rich man before whose gate Lazarus laid, are unworthy of credit. But those without the walls, like the three first-named within them, are geographically defined, and of imperishable materials. While one, therefore, may not be convinced with regard to all, he feels that the traditions respecting them are not wholly improbable.

From the summit, the view was magnificent. On the one hand lay Jerusalem, with its yellow walls, its towers, its churches, its dome-roof houses, and its hills and valleys, covered with orchards and fields of green and golden grain, while beneath, distinct and near, the mosque of Omar, the Harem (the Sacred), lay exposed to our infidel gaze, with its verdant carpet and groves of cypress, beneath whose holy shade none but the faithful can seek repose. On the other hand was the valley of Jordan, a barren plain, with a line of verdure marking the course of the sacred river, until it was lost in an expanse of sluggish water, which we recognised as the familiar scene of our recent labours. The rays of the descending sun shone full upon the Arabian shore, and we could see the castle of Kerak, perched high up in the country of Moab, and the black chasm of Zerka, through which flows the hot and sulphureous stream of Callirohoe.



No other spot in the world commands a view so desolate, and, at the same time, so interesting and impressive. The yawning ravine of Jehoshaphat, immediately beneath, was verdant with vegetation, which became less and less luxuriant, until, a few miles below, it was lost in a huge torrent bed, its sides bare precipitous rock, and its bed covered with boulders, whitened with saline deposit, and calcined by the heat of a Syrian sun. Beyond it, south, stretched the desert of Judea; and to the north, was the continuous chain of this almost barren mountain. These mountains were not always thus barren and unproductive. The remains of terraces yet upon their slopes, prove that this country, now almost depopulated, once maintained a numerous and industrious people.

North of Gethsemane, nearer the bed of the ravine and the one-arched bridge which spans it, is a subterranean church, in a grotto reputed to contain the tomb of the Virgin Mary. Having no faith in the tradition, which is based on an improbable legend, I did not visit it; but in passing by, just from the garden, and accoutred in a soiled and salt-encrusted dress, the only one I had, I saw a European fop ascending the flight of steps, attired in a short frock, tightly-fitting pants, a jockey-cap upon his head, a riding-whip in his hand, and the lines of his face wreathed in a smile of smirking self-conceit,—not one feature of the man or his dress in keeping with the scenes around him.

H. B. M. Consul, Mr. Finn, as I have before said, kindly took charge of the money I sent to him; and, furthermore, put himself to great trouble in paying the drafts which, from time to time, I made upon it; and, also, in forwarding provisions to our depôt at Ain Jidy. In all matters of business, he was as attentive as he could have been were he our own consular representative. But from none of the foreign residents in Jerusalem did we receive the slightest personal attention. This I ascribe

to the condition of our wardrobe. Before commencing the descent of the Jordan, we had been compelled to send back from Tiberias everything that could possibly be dispensed with. Each one, officer and man, retained only the suit he wore, with a change of linen; and, whenever circumstances permitted, did his own washing. Sometimes, when both of those garments required the process, we laid in the water until one of them had dried. From an indifferent tailor, we procured a few articles of dress a short time previous to our departure from Jerusalem, but had to be economical, in order to reserve what money remained for the necessary expenses of the expedition. I mention the circumstance, not as a matter of complaint, but to account to any of those gentlemen who may see this, for our toil-worn and shabby appearance.

Returning from the Mount of Olives, we passed along the hill of Zion, and made another circuit of the city.

A little below the gate of St. Stephen is the pool of Bethesda, where our Saviour healed the paralytic. It is now dry, and partly filled with rubbish.

Yet farther south, in the face of the eastern wall, near the court of the mosque of Omar, is the Golden gate, now built up. Through this gate, it is supposed, the Messiah entered in triumph on the Sunday preceding his crucifixion.

Some distance down, is the Fountain of the Virgin; and yet farther below, the pool of Siloam, which has been mentioned before. The water, which is hard and unpalatable to the taste, has no regular current, but ebbs and flows at intervals of a few minutes.

North of the city, on the margin of the Damascus road, was a picturesque scene—hundreds of Jews, enjoying the fresh air, seated under enormous olive-trees—the women all in white shrouds, the men in various costumes—some with broad-brimmed black hats, and many with fur caps. There were also many Turks and Christians abroad

The Jewesses, while they enveloped their figures in loose and uncomely robes, allowed their faces to be seen; and the Christian and the Turkish female exhibited, the one, perhaps, too much, the other, nothing whatever of her person and attire. There was also a marriage-procession, which was more funereal than festive. The women, as usual, clothed all in white, like so many spectres, chaunted unintelligibly, in a low, monotonous, wailing tone; while some, apparently the most antique, for they tottered most, closed each bar with a scream like a diapason. The least natural and the most pompous feature of the scene, was the foreign consuls, promenading with their families, preceded by Janissaries, with silver-mounted batons, stalking solemnly along, like so many drum-majors of a marching regiment. As the sun sank behind the western hills, the pedestrians walked faster, and the sitters gathered themselves up and hastened within the walls.

The present walls of the city were rebuilt in the 16th century, and vary from thirty to sixty or seventy feet in height, according to the inequalities of the ground. They are about ten feet thick at the base, narrowing to the top. The stones are evidently of different eras, extending back to the period of Roman sway, if not to the time when Judea was an independent kingdom. Some massive pieces near the south-eastern angle, bear marks of great antiquity. From a projecting one, the Turks have a prediction that Muhammed, their Prophet, will judge his followers. We have also a prediction respecting this vicinity which will prove as true as the other is fabulous. It is up the valley of Jehoshaphat that the prophet Joel declares the quick and the dead shall come to judgment.

On the third day after our arrival, we went to Bethlehem, two hours distant. Going out of the Jaffa gate, and obliquely descending the western flank of Mount Zion, we

crossed the valley of the son of Hinnom (Wady Gehenna, or valley of Hell), by the wall of the lower pool of Gihon. The road then turned southwardly, and ran mostly parallel with the aqueduct from Solomon's pools. This aqueduct consists of stones hollowed into cylinders, well cemented at the joints, and supported upon walls or terraces of rock or earth, and mostly concealed from sight. Here and there, a more than usual luxuriance of vegetation indicated places where water was drawn from it to irrigate the olive orchards which, for much of the way, abounded on our left; and occasionally, a stone drawn aside disclosed a fracture in the trough beneath, where the traveller might quench his thirst.

We soon came to the well of the Magi, assigned by tradition as the spot where the star reappeared to the wise men from the east. The country on our left was here broken and rough, and on the right was the plain of Rephaim, with the convent of John the Baptist, erected on the spot where the great precursor was born, and the grotto where the Virgin Mary pronounced that sublime hymn, beginning "My soul doth magnify the Lord." We next came to the tomb of Rachel, in the plain of Ramah,—a modern Turkish building, but the locality of which is believed to be correctly assigned. It is a small building, with two apartments, the one over the tomb being surmounted by a dome. On the right was the wilderness of St. John, wherein the Baptist practised his austerities. In that direction, too, is the valley of Elah, where David slew the giant; and in the valley before us, it is said the army of Sennacherib the Assyrian was encamped, when

"The angel of death spread his wings on the blast."

Ascending the hill from the tomb, and for the second time during the ride recognising the Dead Sea through gorges

in the mountains, we passed some extensive olive orchards, and after turning aside to the left to look at a nearly dry cistern called David's Well, and admiring the luxuriant groves of olives and figs, and the many vineyards which beautify the head of the ravine of Ta'âmirah, we entered Bethlehem, the "city of king David," and the birthplace of the Redeemer; and went direct to the Franciscan convent, a large, massive, and ancient building. The church within it, erected by the Empress Helena, is in the form of a cross. It is supported by four rows of twelve columns each, without a ceiling, and presented the appearance of a net-work of longitudinal and transverse beams of wood, with the roof above them. But this church, and the grotto of the Nativity within it, has been repeatedly and accurately described.

Many visitors to Bethlehem have persuaded themselves to use the words of a recent one, "that the Saviour was *not* born in a subterraneous cavern like this, difficult of access to cattle, but in an approachable stable attached to the khan, or inn, in which the virgin mother could not be accommodated." Without dwelling on our own observation of the frequent and almost universal appropriation, where practicable, of caverns and recesses in the rocks for sheltering man and beast from the heat and inclemency of the weather, and forbearing to quote from Stephens, whose experience was similar to our own, I extract some passages from Calmet's dissertation upon the habitations of the ancient Hebrews, to show that such places were frequently selected as desirable human dwellings.

"The rocks and the caverns were not only places of retreat, and forts against enemies, in times of war and trouble; they were also ordinary dwelling-places, both commodious and agreeable, in the country of the Israelites. On the coasts of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, in the mountains of Armenia, in the Balearic Islands,

and in the isle of Malta, we learn that certain people had no other homes than the hollows of the rocks, scooped out by their own labours; from which circumstance they took the name of Troglodytes, which signifies, in Greek, those who hide themselves in caverns.

"In short, they were the ordinary retreat of the prophets and the just in times of persecution, to avoid the machinations of the wicked; and in times of peace, to fly from the corruptions of the world, and to exercise themselves in practices of piety and prayer. It was this mode of life that Elias, St. John the Baptist, and Jesus Christ adopted.

"The summer habitations were of various kinds, or rather, they had various means of protecting themselves from the extreme heat of the sun. Sometimes it was in places deep and hidden, where its ardour could not penetrate, under crypts, subterranean porticoes, &c."\*

To the east of Bethlehem is the hill where the shepherds heard the annunciation of the birth of the Messiah; and in the plain below, the field where Ruth gleaned after the reapers. The country around was luxuriant with vegetation, and the yellow grain, even as we looked, was falling beneath the sickle. Variegated flint, chalk and limestone, without fossils, cropped out occasionally on the hill-sides; but along the lower slopes, and in the bottom of the valley, were continuous groves, with a verdant carpet beneath them. It was the most rural and the loveliest spot we had seen in Palestine. From among many flowers we gathered a beautiful white one, free from all earthly taint, fit emblem of the purity of the infant Godhead.

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\* Those who wish to see more on the subject, are referred to Pliny, lib. vi. c. 29. Strabo, lib. xi. c. 26. Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. Josephus' Antiq., lib. xiv. c. 27, where he speaks of the caverns of Galilee. Genesis, xix. 30. Judges, xv. 8. 1 Kings, x. 11; xxiv. 4. Judges, vi. 2. 1 Kings, xiii. 6. 3 Kings, xviii. 4. Hebrews, xi. 38.

This was not the only time we visited Bethlehem; but, although my notes are copious, I deem it unnecessary to say anything more of a place which has been so often and so well described. The same remark holds good of the tombs of the kings, or of the Empress Helena, the grotto of Jeremiah, and other places within and without the walls of Jerusalem.

In the Latin convent at Jerusalem, poor pilgrims are allowed to remain thirty days, with two meals a-day, free of cost; in the one at Bethlehem, three days; and at Ramleh, one day. No Frank is permitted to hold real estate in Palestine, or, I believe, in any part of the Turkish dominions. In the country around Jerusalem, olives, figs, wheat, barley, dhoura, lentils, melons, cucumbers, artichokes, and many leguminous plants and Irish potatoes are cultivated; the last in small, experimental patches. The silk-worm is also reared, and some little silk is made.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

### FROM JERUSALEM TO JAFFA.

MONDAY, May 22. Having completed all the necessary arrangements, given the officers and men time to recruit, and to see Jerusalem and its vicinity, I settled the accounts of the Expedition with H. B. M. Consul, Mr. Finn, broke up the camp, and started to run the line of level across to the Mediterranean, thirty-three miles distant, in a direct line. The desert being passed, we substituted mules for camels, to transport our baggage.

1 P. M. We recommenced levelling from the benchmark we had made north-west of Jerusalem, and carried

the line to the highest point, but little less than four thousand feet above the surface of the Dead Sea, before skirting down the Wady Lüfte.

The road, which was frightful, ran at first along the mountain ridge, looking down into the beautiful valley, with a convent toward the head of the gorge, and Ghebel Samwil, the highest peak in Palestine, towering to the north-west, its summit crowned with a ruined mosque. It is supposed to be the Mozpeh of the Old Testament, the reputed birth-place and the tomb of the Prophet Samuel.

We here overtook a number of Jews, of both sexes and various ages. They were separating, one part to return to the city, the other to pursue the route towards the sea coast. Their sobs and tears, and clinging embraces, were truly affecting.

The vegetation increased in luxuriance, and in vividness of colour, as we descended. The mountain-sides are cut in terraces, many of them but a few yards wide, bearing olive, fig, and apricot trees, and numerous extensive vineyards.

At 3.25, crossed a massive stone bridge of one arch, which spans the now dry torrent bed of Kūlonîeh, and proceeding half a mile farther, stopped for the night on the edge of an olive-grove, a short distance from a fountain. The tents looked picturesque, pitched upon the green sward, with the highly cultivated valley before, and the village of Kūlonîeh perched high on the hill above them. Soon after camping, we caught a cameleon, six inches long. It was deep green, with dark spots; but the colour became of a lighter hue, and turned brown, when the animal was placed upon a stone.\*

By a regulation most necessary for the security of tra-

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\* This cameleon was brought safely home, together with a pheasant from the vale of Sharon. Nearly everything else, including some singular blue pigeons from the Dead Sea, perished.



vellers, the nomadic tribes are not permitted to pitch their tents west of Jerusalem. The only extortion to be now apprehended, is from the powerful and rapacious family of Abu Ghūsh, the sheikh of which, Lamartine, with his usual exaggeration, represents as having fifty thousand Arabs, subject to his sway. In order to evade the severe military conscription under the Egyptian rule, some of the Arabs of this district put out one of their eyes; but Ibrahim Pasha counteracted their purpose, by forming a one-eyed regiment.

The night was clear, and quite cool; the dew fell heavily, and the morning found us enveloped in a mist.

Tuesday, May 23. At 4 A. M., very cold. Wishing to send to Jaffa some things, which were cumbersome to carry about, and could be dispensed with, I roused one of the Arab mule-drivers, and bade him go up to the village, about a mile distant, and procure another mule. He sprang instantly to his feet, and, from where he stood, called out in a stentorian voice to some one in the village. To my surprise, he was answered almost immediately, and very soon afterwards the mule was brought. It is astonishing how far, and how distinctly, the Arabs can hear and recognise each other's voices in this hilly country. In the descent of the Jordan, and repeatedly along the cliffs of the Dead Sea, when we could only hear a faint halloo, or inarticulate sounds, our swarthy friends could distinguish words, and sometimes recognise the tribe of the speaker from his voice. They seem to have distinctive cries, corresponding to the whoops of our Indians.

We have often thought that we detected a resemblance, in many respects, between the Arabs and our North American Indians; but we were like those who, at a superficial glance, pronounce a portrait to be an exact similitude of the original, which, on a close inspection, exhibits such traits of difference, that they are astonished at their

first impression. The nomadic mode of life, the colour of the skin, the prominent cheek-bones, and the black hair and eyes, present a similarity of appearance which, at first, misleads an observer. By slow degrees, however, traits of character are developed, and peculiarities of manner exhibited, which proclaim a marked and striking difference.

In his most repulsive aspect, the North American savage is a being lusty and ferocious, over whose countenance the light of intelligence casts but a feeble and lingering ray. He exhibits no trait whatever of that forethought which is the great characteristic of the grandeur of the human mind. To gather the fruit, he fells the tree; he slaughters the oxen bestowed upon him by the missionary to till his lands; and with the fragments of his plough he builds the fire to roast his food. From his civilized neighbour he seeks nothing but gunpowder, to destroy his brethren, and intoxicating spirits, to destroy himself; and, relying upon the undying avarice of the white man, he never dreams of manufacturing them. The son murders the father, to relieve him from the ennui of old age, and his wife destroys the fruit of his passion in her womb, to escape the duties of a nurse. He snatches the bleeding scalp from his yet living foe; he tears the flesh from his body; he roasts it and devours it amid songs of triumph; and if he can procure ardent spirits, he drinks to intoxication, to madness, to death, insensible alike to the reason which restrains man by his fears, and the instinct which repels the animal by distaste. To all human judgment, he seems a doomed being, smitten for his crimes by an avenging Hand, in the innermost recesses of his moral conformation, so that he who regards him with an observant eye, trembles as he views.\* Hence it

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\* This view of the character of the North American Indian has once before been presented, in the columns of a periodical.

has been charged that, "in the commission of a crime, the savage but follows his nature, while, by the same act, we violate our own;" and it is therefore inferred that he can never be reclaimed. They who reason thus are but shallow observers, and confound the bias of education with inherent propensities. The child of the meekest Christian of the land, if torn from the parental roof, and brought up from infancy in a wigwam, would become a blood-thirsty and ferocious savage; while the papoose, exchanging conditions, might be a zealous missionary of the Gospel. Instances of the former are frequent in our border history; and an educated Indian, not very long since, died, holding a commission in the medical corps of the Navy.

Beneath the frightful exterior of the North American savage, there are noble attributes. Such races are as necessary for the well-being of the human family as the whirlwind to the atmosphere when it sweeps through the forest and bears off the decaying and tainting vegetation. Such men, or not far removed from such, were the ancient Northmen, the Goths, and the Vandals. And now the countries overrun and settled by them are the most polished on the surface of the globe. England occupies the key-stone of the arch of civilization; France has long been proverbial for its refinement; and in Italy, the temple of the arts, the painter and the sculptor seek for the most beautiful models. The tide is now setting the other way, and civilization is overwhelming barbarism. Whether the Indian is to be swept away, or the red-man become merged with the white, time alone can determine.

The distinctive trait of the American savage is his vindictiveness towards an enemy. The ruling passion of an Arab is greediness of gold, which he will clutch from the unarmed stranger, or filch from an unsuspecting friend. The Indian, seeking only a trophy, as a record of his

achievement, is content with the scalp of the foe he has slain in war. The Arab lurks in the crevices of the rock, and, from his covert, fires upon the peaceful traveller, that he may rifle his body of money and clothes. It is the ambition of an Indian father to bestow his daughter on the bravest warrior of the tribe: an Arab sheikh will sell his child to the meanest fellah, if he be the highest bidder. The Arab is yet more lascivious than the Indian; and in no part of the world is the condition of woman more abject than it is in the East. The wandering Arab does not, like the wild Indian, destroy the implements of agriculture, but watches and waits, and sweeps off the fresh-gathered harvest of the laborious and timid fellahin. The Arab will extort money from his guest, and expects a backshish for the slightest act of hospitality. The Indian, without dreaming of recompense, will share his last morsel, and, with his life, protect the stranger who has sought the shelter of his wigwam. To the noisy children of the desert, intoxicating drink is unknown; and, in that respect, their condition is far superior to that of the more taciturn but intemperate hunters of the forest. But the greatest distinction of all is, that while the North American savage, except in war or the chase, evinces no forethought whatever, the Arabian is cautious to the extreme of timidity. The one is reckless, the other calculating. The one, when roused, is implacable; the other barters forgiveness of the deepest injuries for a new wife, or her equivalent in money. The Arab, therefore, to the best of my judgment, is as far inferior to the North American Indian as an insatiate love of gold is more ignoble than a spirit of revenge. The distinction drawn by Chateaubriand is as beautiful as it is true:—  
 “In the American (Indian) everything proclaims the savage who has not yet arrived at a state of civilization;

in the Arab, everything indicates the civilized man who has returned to the savage state."

Started, after an early breakfast; the road, execrable, leading along the skirts and over the crests of mountains; the ravines and the slopes fertile and highly cultivated; the ridges bare and verdureless. From the highest peak, we had anticipated another and a last view of Jerusalem, but it was concealed by intervening hills. Nebi Samwil towered above us to the north. The country bordering the ravine became more beautiful as we descended in the afternoon, and a little before sunset we encamped at 'Ain Dilbeh (Fountain of the Plane-tree), near Beit Nakûbeh (House of Nakûbeh). There were some old ruins about the spring. In the bed of the ravine there were fields of grain; on the lower slopes, vineyards and olive-groves; above them, dwarf oak-trees and bushes; and towards and along the summits, huge masses and scattered fragments of rock. On a hill in the distance, was a ruin, pointed out as the castle of the Macchabees; and among those hills, it is supposed that the Virgin visited the mother of the Baptist. In our route this day, we may have crossed the dry bed of the brook where David gathered the pebbles, with one of which he slew the Philistine. In this neighbourhood, it is supposed was the village of Emmaus, on the road to which our Saviour conversed with two of his disciples after his resurrection.

We found here the hop-trefoil, a small clover, with yellow flowers and hop-like heads; also a pink, with viscid flower-stalks, the first sometimes seen, the last common, at home.

From the vestiges about it, this spot seemed to be a favourite camping-ground of travellers. We found here some mules laden with baggage, marked "Miss Cooper, by steamer Novelty." The lady, attended by an escort, soon after made her appearance, and expressed the opi-

nion, which will be confirmed as she advances, that "the roads are very bad in this country."

Every preceding camp seems to have left its colony here. We were annoyed during the night by all kinds of vermin. The weather was cool and damp, and the cries of jackals down in the ravine were incessant. The cry very much resembles that of a person in distress.

Wednesday, May 24. Descended the ravine into the vale of Jeremiah by the village of 'Kuryet el 'Enab (village of grapes), the Kirjath-jearim of the Bible, where it is said the prophet was born. When passing the village the sheikh, with the evident purpose of levying tribute, came out and forbade us to level through his territory; but we paid no attention to the terrible Abu Ghûsh (father of lies). He then rode within forty or fifty yards of the interpreter, who was in advance of the levelling party, and called out in an imperious tone, "toorgeman, talon!" (interpreter, come here); to which the latter, half turning round, but without rising from his position, replied "talon!" The sheikh at length went up to him, and demanded by what right we attempted to pass through his territory, stating that none could do so without his permission. The firman was shown to him. After reading it, he said that it mentioned nothing about surveying the road, and that one thousand armed men could not pass against his will. We told him that he had better consent then, for we had the sanction of his superiors and were not to be bullied. During the altercation, our Arab cook was dreadfully alarmed, and reminding us that Abu Ghûsh was a powerful sheikh, implored us in his broken English not to provoke him.

Great exception was taken by this sheikh to 'Awad, our Ta'âmirah guide, who, he swore, should not pass through his territory; to which we replied that his services were necessary to us, and that we would protect

him. 'Awad said to him, in a deprecating tone, that he was only a poor fellah. We may judge of his fright and feigned humility, from the supreme contempt in which it is known that the predatory and pastoral Arabs hold the fellahin.

The sheikh was of a light complexion, with European features, and wearing a red moustache—very much resembling a gaunt, rough Jew. He is brother to the celebrated Abu Ghûsh, so long the terror of this district, who, for his exactions, robberies, and murders, was sent not long since to Constantinople, and is now, it is said, an exile on the banks of the Euxine.

When abreast of the village, in which there are the ruins of a Christian church, an old Arab called out, "O ye Muslims, come forth and see the Christians searching for treasures concealed by their forefathers in this country." Great curiosity was exhibited by the people with respect to our operations. All desired to look through the telescope, and even little children were held up for a peep.

Leaving the village on the left, the road led over a high ridge; the vegetation extremely luxuriant, and the hill-sides terraced, with many vines and fig-trees, and groves of olive on each side. The olive is only picturesque in clusters. Individually it is an ungainly tree. With the appearance of greater strength than the oak, its branches are less graceful, and its leaves are smaller and less vivid in colour. The old trunks, gnarled and twisted, present to the eye vast bodies with disproportioned limbs. Those which are partially decayed are protected by stones piled up in the hollows.

From the summit of the ridge, through the mist which curtained it in the distance, we beheld the blue, the glorious Mediterranean. Not the soldiers of Xenophon cheered more heartily than we did when we beheld its

broad expanse stretching towards the west, where lay our country and our homes.

Crossing over a rugged, rocky country, we descended by a precipitous road, a slope covered with bushes and shrubbery, to a dense olive grove near the village of Sârûs, where we camped for the night.

The whole face of the country since leaving Jerusalem bears evidence of a high state of cultivation, and after the calcined cliffs of the Dead Sea and the utter barrenness of the desert of Judea, our senses are soothed by the soft and refreshing green of these terraced hills.

In the middle of the day the weather was oppressively warm, and being much fatigued we retired early

“To sleep—to dream,  
But in that sleep”—what bugs may come.

Thursday, May 25. Weather cloudy, with a fine westerly breeze. Descended the dreadful road which leads down Wady Ali, and through Bab Wady Ali (Gate of the Ravine of Ali), issued out upon the vale of Sharon, covered with immense fields of ripened grain; the thick, clustering stems bending to the breeze, and their golden surfaces chequered with the shadows of passing clouds. Behind us were the rugged mountains; before us the lovely plain, dotted with villages, and covered with a whole population gathering the harvest; and beyond, in the distance, the pellucid and far-stretching sea, over which lay our homeward route. In the ravine we saw in great profusion the corn poppy, its bright scarlet flowers presenting a gorgeous appearance. The acacia was also abundant.

Camped under some tamarisk trees, near the village of Dier Ayoub, and received a visit from its sheikh. 10 P. M., temperature of the air 78°.

Friday, May 26. A pleasant morning; wind light, with



passing clouds; a dense fog to seaward. The night passed with less annoyance than usual from fleas and other insects. Long before sunrise, the industrious fellahin were at work in the fields. The scene was pastoral and picturesque. The herdsmen, with their flocks of black goats on the hill-sides, the cattle grazing below them; the reapers among the grain, the women gleaning after them; while the armed Nubian guard sat under the shadow of a tree, his ample costume setting off his jet-black skin. A light wind played in the loose folds of his white āba, and thence sweeping on, bowed down the heads of the unreaped barley, presenting an appearance like the surface of a still lake, when clouds are drifting over it.

We soon passed the Bir Dier Ayoub, the road, which was yet but a bridle-path, becoming better, and the mountains receding on each side, and giving at once an almost uninterrupted view of the plain. On the summit of a lofty hill before us, was the village of Latrûn (Thief), named by tradition as the birth-place of the repentant thief upon the cross. Instead of following the road over the hill and through the village, we skirted its southern base, and passing the well, struck first into the Gaza road, and then into the usual road to Ramleh.

Gaza, the famous town of the Philistines, in a direct line, was about thirty miles distant. Once the residence of a king, it is now a paltry village. It was taken by Alexander the Great, after a siege of two months; and Quintus Curtius relates that, in imitation of Achilles, the ungenerous conqueror, who was twice wounded during the siege, dragged twice round the walls, at his chariot-wheels, the body of the general who had gallantly defended it.

Pursuing the road to Ramleh, we crossed Merj ibn 'Amir, an extensive plain under high cultivation. Ascending a slight eminence, we passed the village of Kubab.

The scene must have been similar to those of the days of Scripture. Below the village, and on the sides of the hill, the fields, in some spots, were yellow with the ripened grain; in others, large quantities, newly reaped, were spread upon the threshing-floors, and the cattle, yoked in couples, were treading it out; the whole population of the village was at work, reaping, gleaning, tossing in the sheaves, or raking aside the chaff. We encamped in the field by the road-side.

Saturday, May 27. A fine breeze from the westward gave us a delicious temperature. Early in the morning, two jackals came nearly up to the camp, and narrowly escaped paying, with their lives, for their temerity. They were frequently around us at night, and their cries were the accompaniments of our slumbers; but they had not, before, ventured so near in open day. Towards mid-day, the wind lulled, and the heat was oppressive.

The road continued over the almost level plain. Hundreds of villagers, men, women and children, with camels, mules, and donkeys, were employed getting in the harvest. The donkey is loaded in a singular manner: an immense heap of grain, in the straw, is trussed together, in the form of a parallelogram, and laid on one of its narrow sides; a donkey is made to stand close against it; and two of the fellahin, standing on the opposite side, place each a foot against the animal, and haul over on the bundle by a rope. When it is half over, they secure it; and there is nothing of the donkey to be seen but its little feet, far beneath the cumbrous load, in bulk six times larger than himself. The small, square houses of the village, like those of all we have seen, Aba Ghûsh's excepted, are of uncut stones, cemented and plastered with mud, and with flat, mud roofs. The mud floors are usually several feet below the surface of the ground; and the only aperture in the walls is the low and narrow

doorway. Through the last, a stream of smoke is ever issuing, tainted with the foetid odour of the fuel, the sun-dried excrement of the camel ; which is so offensive that the deaf and the blind would detect, with their nostrils, the impregnated atmosphere of a village. The habits of the people are as filthy as their dwellings are uncomfortable ; and it is not surprising that, with all their simplicity of life, there are so few instances of longevity.

The town of Ramleh, seated in the plain, with its tower, its minarets, its ruins, and its palm-trees, looked more like an oriental city, than any we had seen in Palestine. In this plain, according to tradition, the Virgin, the infant Saviour, and St. Joseph, passed a night, in their flight to Egypt.

Arriving at Ramleh, we experienced great difficulty in getting round it, owing to the number of high and impenetrable cactus-hedges. At length our vice-consul came out in state, and guided us round to the north side, where we struck into the Jaffa road. This is the only place in the interior of Palestine where the American flag is permitted to fly. There were fine olive-groves, and many cypresses, around the town ; and beyond, a lovely plain, bounded by a range of mountains on one hand, and the Mediterranean on the other.

Ramleh is supposed to have been the Rama-Ephraim of the Old Testament, where Samuel judged the people, and where the elders assembled to demand a king. It has now a large convent, rebuilt, it is said, by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy.

Passing along the plain of Beth Dagon, we camped, for Sunday, a little off the road, on a slope in the edge of an orchard of old olive-trees, near the village, and a few miles distant from Lyd, the Lydda of the New Testament, and the Diospolis of the Romans, where St. Peter miraculously cured the man afflicted with the palsy.

The uncultivated parts of the plain were beautified by the violet purple flowers of the plumbago, which grows more luxuriantly here than in southern Europe, the heads of the flowers being much longer, and the colours more vivid.

Monday, May 29. Pleasant weather ; — commenced operations early. At the village of Yâzûr, turned to the left and followed the Frank road, the one on which Napoleon marched to and from Gaza. There were a number of people in the fields, but not many travellers on the road. Some wandering dervishes, bearing banners, and a few returning Christian pilgrims, passed us in the course of the morning. About three miles from the town, was a very handsome fountain, with a mosque beside it. Pursuing thence nearly a due-west course, we came out on the sand-hills, and planted the level on the margin of the Mediterranean, about one and a half miles south of Jaffa. The task was at length accomplished. We had carried a line of levels, with the spirit-level, from the chasm of the Dead Sea, through the Desert of Judea, over precipices and mountain-ridges, and down and across yawning ravines, and for much of the time beneath a scorching sun. It had been considered by many as impracticable. It has, however, been accomplished; and with as much accuracy as, I believe, it can be done. The instrument was a capital one of Troughton's, imported by Blunt. It was of the most recent construction, with staves to be read off by the observer. The adjustments of the instruments were frequently examined, and we were careful to make the observations as nearly mid-way as possible. The whole credit of this is due to Lieutenant Dale, to whom, in full confidence of his zeal and capacity, I assigned the task of levelling. The result is confirmatory of the skill and extraordinary accuracy of the triangulation of Lieutenant Symonds, R. N.

We found the difference of level, in other words, the depression of the surface of the Dead Sea, below that of the Mediterranean, to be a little over 1300 feet. The height of Jerusalem above the former sea, is very nearly three times that of this difference of level, while, at the same time, it is almost the exact multiple of the depth of that sea, of the height of its banks, and of the depression of its surface.

In the hollow of the hills near Jaffa, is a circular plain, where Ibrahim Pasha contemplated making a harbour, to be connected with the Mediterranean by a canal. At the request of our Vice-Consul, who had come to meet us early in the day, we examined it carefully, and felt satisfied that the work could be done at little cost, compared to the immense benefit that would be derived from it. The duties of the customs, 12 per cent., amount to 10,000 pounds sterling per annum; and twice that sum, or two years' duties appropriated to the purpose, would accomplish it. Vessels not exceeding 160 tons can anchor near the town in summer; but in winter, they must keep in the offing.

Our work accomplished, we repaired to the country-house of Mr. Murad, our worthy consular representative, who had kindly placed it at our disposal.

The town of Jaffa is situated on a hill-side, the declivity towards the sea, and sweeping round it, inland, from north to south, is a plain of luxuriant vegetation, consisting of gardens and orange and mulberry groves, separated by hedges of cactus, fifteen feet high, then in full blossom, bearing a beautiful straw-coloured, cup-shaped, wax-looking flower. The roads, numerous but narrow, and shaded by the magnificent sycamore fig, wind between these hedges, the tenderest leaves of which are cropped by the passing camels, though, from being fretted with thorns, they are avoided by every other animal.

The garden in which we were quartered, was a delightful spot to recruit in, after our fatigue. A great many swallows were flying in and out, and twittering over our heads, in the open alcove we selected for our bed-chamber. We had been so long accustomed to camping in the open air, that we could not reconcile ourselves to sleeping in a room; moreover, we felt more secure from insects, away from apartments that had recently been inhabited.

We never wearied of the luxuriant and refreshing green of the gardens around and before us. The one we occupied, although not the largest in the vicinity, had in it 2500 orange and 1500 lemon, besides a number of apricot, and some *apple* and pomegranate trees. The first were nearly all laden with fruit, then near maturity, but some were in blossom, as were also all the pomegranate trees, and the beautiful white and crimson flowers were richly intermingled; while those of the orange, the bridal flower, fairly burthened the air with their fragrance. Attached to the garden is a well, a Persian wheel, and a reservoir. The wheel is worked day and night by mules; the water is collected in the reservoir, and thence conducted by small canals through the garden. There are two canals, built of cemented stone, with apertures in them at regular distances. They were this evening occupied two hours in irrigating one half of the garden, which is done on alternate days. A trench is dug in the loose soil from one of the canals to a tree, and the earth is raked aside from the roots and the stem, leaving a circular basin, according to the size of the tree; the water is let in, the basin filled, and in the mean time another trench and basin are prepared; the first is blocked up, the water diverted to the second, and in this manner every tree is irrigated once in two days. There is great loss of water by the process, and we endeavoured to persuade our consul to erect a windmill, which, requiring no food and

much less attendance than mules, would, in this region of periodical winds, be far more economical than the present mode. But Jaffa is an antediluvian place, and I suppose that the Persian water-wheel, like the other customs of their ancestors, will be adhered to by this people. In the vineyard attached to the garden, within pistol-shot of the alcove we occupied, is the reputed tomb of Tabitha, who was restored by St. Peter. It is a cave excavated in a scaly, friable limestone, and is about twelve feet deep, with a flight of steps leading down to it. The floor is level. The interior is about eighteen feet long, and it has nine crypts, three fronting the entrance, and three on each side, each one measuring eight feet in length, two feet in width, and three feet in height; the side crypts about eight feet apart.

We remained in the quarters so hospitably assigned to us until the 6th of June; and found full occupation in bringing up our work, particularly the astronomical and barometrical observations, and the measurements of the level, and rebuilding our boats by putting their sections together. The physical repose was truly grateful.

On the main road between this and the town there is an arabesque fountain, with a reservoir. Besides the fruit and mulberry trees, and wheat, barley, sesame, dhoura, and lentils,\* we noticed within the gardens, squashes, cucumbers, melons, peas, artichokes, egg-plants, okra, and some Irish potatoes, the last recently introduced. A little off the road, there was a very large tamarind and some date trees. In the near vicinity of the town there were many beggars, seated beneath trees by the road-side, reciting passages from the Koran to excite the sympathy of travellers. We came out from the labyrinthine road upon

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\* Of this pea, was made the red pottage for which Esau sold his birth-right.

a sandy knoll, just without the town, and had the waves of the Mediterranean at our feet, the brawling sound of which we had heard before we saw them. Apart from the associations of the sight, we were exhilarated by the breeze which its sister element rendered so cool and refreshing. We had thence a glorious view of the sea before, and the plain and the cloud-capped mountains behind us.

To the north of the town, a short distance from the gate, for Jaffa has but one, and immediately upon the sea shore, is a village inhabited by Copts. These people followed Ibrahim Pasha from Egypt, but since the restoration of the country to Ottoman sway they have been driven from the town, and live in their poor mud village with the sea before and a graveyard behind them. Possessing no means of transportation over the first, along which they must often wistfully gaze towards their native country, the last remains as their only refuge from hunger, oppression, and unrewarded toil. Their complexions are dark, but the dress of the men differs in no respect from that of Arabs of the lowest class. The women wear a triangular piece of thin dark cloth suspended from the forehead, sometimes fringed with coins, and concealing the nose, mouth, and chin.

In another graveyard to the left was an Egyptian woman at her devotions. Eastern women are rarely seen to pray by travellers. Like the majority of their sex all over the world, they seem to shrink from public exhibition. Once before, in a Turkish burial-ground just without St. Stephen's gate, Jerusalem, I saw some black slaves making their prostrations before a tomb, but could not tell whether they were worshipping God, or paying homage to the shade of their master. The real belief of Muhammedans with regard to the future prospects of women, I have never been able to ascertain. The vulgar



idea that they are denied the possession of souls by the Koran, is, however, an incorrect one. Muhammed named four as worthy of Paradise. But it is impossible, for a Christian at least, to obtain satisfactory information from a native on this subject. They never speak of their women to strangers, and consider any allusion to them as insulting. 'Awad, our guide, was the only one who would answer our questions in this matter, and he did it with perceptible reluctance. Indeed, all the Arabs with whom we have been associated, and they were many and of various tribes, were very reserved about their domestic affairs, and more evasive even than our eastern brethren in their replies to questions of a personal nature. I have never known them to give a direct answer to a question pertaining to their families or themselves. When asked how he is, an Arab replies, "Thanks be to God!" When the question is repeated, he says, "God is great!" and if asked the third time, his reply is, "God is bountiful!"

On the sands of the sea, a little beyond the Coptic village, the Pasha of Jerusalem, with a number of his officers and attendants, were jousting and throwing the djerid. They were mounted on spirited horses, drawn up in two lines, facing each other, about 150 yards apart. A single horseman would leave his ranks, cross the intervening space, and ride leisurely along in front of the opposite line, when, selecting his opponent, he quickly threw his djerid, or short, blunted, wooden spear, directly at him. The latter, generally dodging the weapon, immediately started in hot pursuit of his antagonist, who, now unarmed, spurred his horse towards his friends, and, to avoid the threatened blow, threw himself nearly from the steed, hanging by one leg, exactly in the manner of our Blackfoot Indians, and the inhabitants of the Pampas of South America. If the assailed were struck with the first cast, one of his party pursued the assailant; and if

successful in striking him, it became his turn to flee from an adversary. It is a manly and a beautiful game, and excited us as we looked upon it. How much more so must it have been to those who were engaged in it! The noble black charger of the Pasha seemed to devour the wind, and not one escaped the unerring aim of his rider. There was no sycophancy, however; for, less successful in retreat than pursuit, the Pasha was repeatedly struck before he regained his place.

Immediately in front of the gate were a number of fruit-sellers, some bazaars, and a new khan under construction, with a throng of people moving rapidly to and fro, indicating more activity of trade than we had seen since leaving Beïrût. Just before entering, we stopped to let a funeral procession pass. It was quite a long one, and consisted wholly of females. They were wailing in the same monotonous tone as those we saw in a similar procession at Jerusalem. It is the custom for the relatives and friends, for three consecutive days, to repair in procession to, and weep over, the grave of the deceased.

Just within the gate, on the right, is a very handsome fountain, with elaborate carved-work about it. Passing through lines of bazaars, and by a mosque with a large court, and handsome fountain on the right, and thence threading narrow, unpaved streets, cumbered with rubbish, which seemed to have no precise direction, and to lead to no particular place, and twice descending steps where Putnam might have hesitated, with a foe behind him, but down which our horses walked as carefully as we could have done ourselves, we at length reached the residence of our consul, immediately overlooking the harbour. There were some thirty or forty small polacre vessels in the port, which is protected by a reef of rocks to the westward. This reef is generally supposed to be the remains of a breakwater, built by the Emperor.

Adrian; but to me the reef presented a natural aspect. I could detect no vestiges of an ancient mole, and have not been able to find any historical account of an artificial harbour being formed here. On the contrary, Josephus speaks of the dangers of the anchorage, caused by a number of rocks off the town.

Our worthy consular representative is a Syrian by birth and an Armenian in faith. He was dressed in the oriental style, and received us hospitably and kindly. For upwards of twenty years he has been in the service of our government; in the first place as an assistant, and subsequently as the successor of his father.

Jaffa is, perhaps, the oldest city in the world; and Pliny calls it an antediluvian one. Here, in mythology, Andromeda was chained to a rock, and exposed to the embraces of a sea-monster.

History fixes upon this as the landing-place of the crusaders, subsequently fortified by St. Louis; within its Armenian convent Napoleon touched the sick infected with the plague, and without its walls massacred his prisoners in cold blood; and here Ibrahim Pasha sought refuge from the Arab tribes, whom he had driven to desperation. According to tradition, here Noah built the ark, and from its port Jonas embarked; on these shores were landed the cedars of Lebanon, brought for the building of the temple; and in it was the house of Simon the tanner, with whom the first of the apostles dwelt. We visited the site of the last, which is upon the sea-side, exactly accordant with the description. There is a sarcophagus in the yard, used as a reservoir to the fountain. It is said to have belonged to the family of Simon. Quien sabe? Who knows? Who can believe? and who can contradict it? The population of Jaffa is now about 13,000, viz: Turks, 8000; Greeks, 2000; Armenians, 2000; Maronites, 700; and Jews, about 300.

The consul's dinner was an extremely plentiful one, consisting of a great variety of dishes, many of them unknown to us, prepared in the Eastern style. His wife, in compliment to us, for the first time in her life, sat down to a table with strangers. She had a sweet countenance, and her profile was a beautiful one. She was timid, yet dignified in her manners; the wave of her hand was particularly graceful, and her voice soft and gentle,—“an excellent thing in woman.” She was dressed richly, according to the fashion of her country. Her head was ornamented with diamonds, in clusters of leaves and flowers; and on her finger was a magnificent ruby, encircled with brilliants. When she turned to address those who were waiting behind her, we were particularly struck with the exquisite contour and flexure of her head and throat. A master-artist would have painted her so, and called her the heroine of some historic scene. From time to time, she helped us to morsels from her own plate; a marked compliment, founded on a custom which, under other circumstances, we should have thought “more honoured in the breach than the observance;” but her manner was so gentle and so winning, and her smile so irresistible, that, had it been physic instead of palatable food, we should have swallowed it without hesitation. For the first time within many months, we felt the soothing and refining influence of the society of the other sex.

Members of the family acted as waiters, it being the custom when it is intended to pay the highest honour to a guest. Conscious of not deserving it in that sense, we received it as a tribute to the exalted character of our country, and as an evidence of the patriotism of our worthy host;—and a more patriotic, unassuming, and truly hospitable representative of that country I have never seen. He stowed our boats in his warehouse, and

placed his country-house at our disposal. His residence in town was our familiar resort, and we ever found a heartfelt welcome at his table. He spared no trouble; hesitated at no expense; and, at the settlement of the accounts, refused all compensation whatever. Mr. Stephens says that he is the only man he has ever known to declare himself happy. I can safely add that he is the only one whom I thought truly so. Many there are who ought to be, but I have never before met with one who rightly appreciated the blessings he enjoyed.

While at dinner, we heard sung in the street the same song of the wild Ta'âmirah, to which we had so often listened on the shores of the Dead Sea. Heretofore invariably discordant, it now sounded almost melodious.

In the afternoon there was a marriage-procession; the bride being escorted to her future home by her husband and his friends. First came the groom, with a number of his male friends, walking two abreast; then a gorgeous silken canopy, beneath which walked the bride, her person entirely screened. On each side was a man with a drawn sword in his hand, suggesting to the mind thoughts about a lamb led to the sacrifice, or of a criminal conducted to execution. Behind the canopy, in the same order as the men who preceded it, were a number of females of various ages. There were also many attendants with musical instruments. The monotonous, twanging sound of the last, mingled with the shouts of the men; the whining tones and occasional screams of the women; and the flourishes of the swords by those who bore them, presented a singular spectacle; a most extraordinary vocal and instrumental concert, with a yet stranger accompaniment.

We learned from our Consul, that the Turks treat their wives very badly. In consequence of the power vested in the husband to divorce at will, there is no community

of interest between man and wife. The latter, not knowing at what moment the dreadful word may be pronounced, is ever laying by something for such a contingency, of which her mother is usually the depository. Hence, the husband, in self-defence, rarely provides groceries or food in any quantity, of which the wife would certainly sell a portion, and retain the proceeds. In the vicinity of towns, therefore, and we have frequently observed it, Turks may be seen returning home with a little oil, and a small quantity of provisions, for the day's consumption.

It is true, that if the wife be divorced for any other cause than infidelity, she can claim her dower,—that is, the sum paid for her by her husband, if it had been returned to him, which is rarely the case. But her youth, and with it, all her attractions, had probably passed away; and, what is the most severe part of the infliction, the children, in such an event, remain subject to the father's control. The wife can also obtain divorce; and in Constantinople there is a singular female court to which she may appeal, but its jurisdiction, like the edict with regard to slavery, is nominal, and the rights of woman and the slave are alike disregarded.

All over the world, civilized and savage, women are treated as inferior beings. In what is esteemed refined society, we hold them in mental thralldom, while we exempt them from bodily labour; and, paying a sensual worship to their persons, treat them as pretty playthings.

The law of inheritance, in the Turkish dominions, recognises no right whatever in the female. On the death of the father, if there be one son and one or more daughters, the son inherits all the property. If two or more sons, it is portioned equally among them; but, in either case, the daughters have no share.

As illustrative of the seclusion of the female in Syria,

the Christian as well as the Muslim, a circumstance was related to us by our Consul's brother, which, from a less authentic source, we should have deemed incredible. A widower, on marrying a second time, enjoined it upon his son, then about half-grown, never to enter the apartment occupied by his step-mother without knocking, in order that she might have time to conceal her face. This form was scrupulously observed by the son, who, after the lapse of some years, also married. In turn, he requested his father to adopt the same rule which had been applied to him; and we were assured that they lived and died in the same house, without seeing the faces of each other's wives. I give this for what it is worth.

On the 5th of June we dined with Dr. Kayat, H. B. M. Consul. The dishes were excellent and most abundant; — among them a lamb, roasted whole — and the attendance was a miracle for Syrian servants. The dress of the hostess, a perfect lady in her manners and appearance, was a singular dovetailing of the oriental with the European costume. Her hair, flowing beneath her head-dress of cerulean silk, ornamented with crimson and surmounted by a gold-embroidered crown, was internettted with minute spiculæ of gold about the size of a spangle, and fell like the fabulous tiara of a mermaid upon her shoulders. Her neck, at least so much of it as could be seen, for the lady was not slightly moulded, was encircled with a string of golden ornaments in the forms of claws of animals, altogether reminding one of the necklace of a Tuscarora belle. Her fingers sparkled with rings of emerald, ruby and diamond, and an amethystine silk dress, made in the European style, with neat slippers upon the feet, completed her costume. She presided with quiet dignity and becoming grace, and the conversation of the husband gave an additional zest to the repast he had hospitably prepared for us.

Dr. K. has just claims to be 'considered a benefactor to this section of country. He has encouraged the culture of the vine; has introduced that of the mulberry and of the Irish potatoe; and by word and example is endeavouring to prevail on the people in the adjacent plain to cultivate the sweet potatoe, which in this warm climate and light friable soil will doubtless succeed admirably. This section, like all Syria, has few nutritious and succulent vegetables. The introduction of the potatoe would be a blessing, if only to supersede the washy and unwholesome cucumber, which is now *the* vegetable of the country. In the court-yard we observed an English plough of an improved construction, imported by the consul. This gentleman related two anecdotes, one illustrative of the superstition of the lower order, the other, of the increasing liberality of spirit among the Muslim clergy.

Last winter a boat was upset in the harbour, and the insensible body of one of the crew was thrown by the waves upon the beach. Dr. K. had it immediately carried to his house, where he took instant measures for its resuscitation. In the mean time, a report was spread abroad that a Giaour was making incantations over the body of one of the faithful. A crowd was very soon collected before the house, and became clamorous for the body that they might inter it; for, as I have before stated, it is an article of Muslim belief that the soul of a person, not slain in battle, cannot enter the gardens of Paradise until the body is interred. Dr. K., from his official position, succeeded in keeping the doors closed, until, after several hours' persevering efforts, he succeeded, and indignation gave way to astonishment among the people, who declared that he had restored the dead to life.

A short time after the above occurrence, two Mullahs called upon him, and seeing an Arabic translation of the



Bible upon his table, expressed a desire to read it, whereupon he presented each of them with a copy. The Imaum (head of the hierarchy in Jaffa) was present, but said nothing. A few days after, however, he came alone, and asked why a copy had not been given to him. Of course, he was presented with one.

Our host also told us of a ruin, supposed to be antediluvian, and we went to see it. It is covered by a Saracenic arch, some thirty or forty feet from the sea. We could not tell whether it had been a pier or an abutment of a bridge, but the fragmentary ruin bore evident traces of the action of water, and we found some small, dead sea-shells in its crevices. It was deliciously cool as we returned after nightfall, by the faint light of the young moon, with the old moon in her arms. Every evening, after sunset, the zodaical lights were beautiful. Can they, as has been suggested, be the unabsorbed rays of the sun?

Monday, June 5. Another night has passed, which would have been delightful, were it not for the harassing and incessant annoyance of fleas. The boats being complete, I now chartered a small Arab brig to convey them, our stores, and a majority of the party, to St. Jean d'Acre. A short distance within the gate, we recognized and joyfully accosted Sherif Musaid, one of our Bedawin allies. To our mortification his return greeting was anything but a cordial one, and we parted from him abruptly, our bosoms chilled with such an unexpected proof of the instability of human friendship. We had all become much attached to him during our association, and from his deportment towards us had believed the feeling to be reciprocal. Many, therefore, were the fruitless surmises as to the cause of his change of manner.

After embarking the boats, and making all necessary arrangements for to-morrow's start, among them, pro-

curing quantities of every variety of seed, we returned to our quarters, to spend the last night in the spacious but infested villa of our most worthy consul. Great was our surprise, and unequalled our delight, when, shortly after, the younger Sherif came in and explained the cause of his reserved demeanour in the morning. A valuable slave had absconded from him at Acre, taking with him his master's best horse and a highly prized rifle. Following in swift pursuit, Musaid had tracked him to Jaffa, and was, incognito, making some necessary inquiries, when we suddenly came upon him. He ascertained that the slave had continued his flight to Egypt, and purposed following in pursuit.

In reply to our inquiries, Sherif humanely said that if he came within gun-shot of the fugitive, he would not shoot him, even to secure his horse and his gun. He expressed his regret that he had not parted with the slave some time before, when he seemed dissatisfied. By an imperial edict (which is, however, disregarded with respect to Nubians), a slave cannot remain in servitude more than seven years; and, by a custom, the most imperative of all laws, a slave, if dissatisfied, can claim to be sold; and if the demand be thrice ineffectually made, before witnesses, he becomes, *ipso facto*, free. Hence, the treatment of slaves is mild and conciliatory.

I do not purpose entering into a description of Jaffa, or to give the statistical facts which were collected there. The first has been repeatedly done before; the last will, with more propriety, accompany the official report. Moreover, I feel that my notes are diminishing in interest as we recede from those mysterious shores, where we alone were almost the only voyagers. We were now, and had, since our departure from Jerusalem, been travelling a route repeatedly and graphically described by others. Any attempt, on my part, to compete with some of them,

would be like one endeavouring to rival the lightning of heaven with the artificial fireworks of earth. In consideration, therefore, alike of the patience of the reader and my own reputation, I will henceforth be as brief as possible.

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## CHAPTER XXIII.

### FROM JAFFA TO NAZARETH.

TUESDAY, June 6. A pleasant, calm morning, with a dense fog to seaward. Set the cook to work at 4 A. M. The sun rose at 4.40.

When all hands were called, I was amused with the simplicity of an Arab's toilet. He had been sleeping beneath a tree in the court. When awakened, he sprang immediately to his feet, tightened the leathern belt around his āba, and throwing back the flaps of his koo-feeyah, he was attired for the day. Except the elder Sherif, we never saw the Arabs wash anything but their feet, and they regarded our use of the tooth-brush as an absurdity.

At 7 A. M., the land-party, under command of Mr. Dale, started for St. Jean d'Acre. In the evening, I embarked with the remainder in the Arab brig. These vessels have no names, each one being designated only by that of the reis or captain. According to the custom of the country, a vessel becomes the property of the chartering party for the time being. We therefore hoisted our colours, and christened the brig after a valued friend of one of us. The name, beautiful in itself, was the more accepta-

ble, that, although rarely met with now, it is frequent in songs of the olden time, and a great favourite with sailors.

The wind drawing too much ahead, we were, near sunset, compelled to anchor again within the outer verge of the harbour. While thus detained, we received another proof of the kindness of our consul, in a present of provisions and fruit.

The finest view of Jaffa is from the harbour. The houses are mostly one story, with flat roofs, and being built on an acclivity, the flat roofs of those on one street form terraces to the houses on the one above it; hence, at sunset, when the inhabitants were assembled on the house-tops to enjoy the breeze, they presented an animated and pleasing appearance. After night-fall, the scene was beautiful; the town rising terrace above terrace, with hundreds of living and moving lights; in front, stretched the sea, with a line of foam where it broke against the reef, and a young, but bright, unclouded moon above it.

Sailed again at 8 P. M.; the wind very light. When I awoke, at 2 A. M., the brig was gently moving, unrestrained by human guidance. The sheets were hauled aft; the helm lashed alee, and the reis and his crew were fast asleep. The moon had gone down, and the stars shone lustrous through the humid atmosphere.

Behind us, but a few miles distant, was Jaffa, dark and still as a city of the dead. To the left, was the broad expanse of sea, arched over by an unclouded sky. On the right, was a waving line of coast, defined by the uncrested waves, as they lazily tumbled and broke against it with a monotonous, but refreshing sound. Beyond, was a line of barren sand-hills, terminated by cliffs in the remote distance. To the careless eye and unreflecting mind, an unattractive and a dreary scene! But, in truth, how teeming with association, and with food for thought!

Over those barren sand-hills, were the sites of Gilgal and Antipatris; and to the north, that seeming line of cliffs was Cæsarea, built (or rebuilt) by Herod, and named after his imperial master. Thence, St. Paul departed on his way to Rome. Some centuries later, this very shore presented another and a less quiet scene,—when the battle raged upon its sands, and Christian and Infidel hosts rent the air with shouts of defiance. To the west, across the sea, lay our home, the resting-place of all our earthly ties; and to the east, beyond the line of hills which skirts the horizon, were the consecrated scenes in the life of Him, in whom should be centred all our future hopes.

Early in the morning, the sea-breeze sprang up, and making a speedy passage, we anchored off St. Jean d'Acre, about an hour after the gates were closed, and had, consequently, to remain all night on board.

The route of the land party was along the sea shore, with an occasional detour to the right. The beach was covered with a profusion of shells, of a yellow colour near the sea, but blanched white a short distance up, which, with a harsh, discordant sound, crushed and crumbled beneath the horses' feet.

Early in the day, they passed the ruins of Apollonia, and, a short distance beyond, the village El Haram, with a mosque and minaret. The cliff was 300 to 400 feet high, sand and crumbling sandstone, and the walls ran into the sea: there was also a bastion with loop-holes, like the one at Kerak. There were several feluccas here, lading with stone from the ruins, to be taken to Jaffa.

After leaving Apollonia, the beach was a heavy sand, until, early in the afternoon, they came to a stream, El Faled, which cuts through a rock; when, turning inland, they entered upon a rolling country, and crossing a hill, spurring off from the range, they followed a broad valley

or plain, and camped for the night near the village of Mūkhalid. The village Es Skarki, with ruins, was on a hill to the right. There was here a sycamore fig-tree, under which reclined three Armenians, officers of the customs, respectively, of Jaffa, Gaza, and Jerusalem. They were attired in shabby European costume. But the resemblance extended to a less commendable feature; they drank freely of arrack, a vile, spirituous compound. At sunset, a Muslim was seen at his prayers and prostrations on the extreme end of the castle wall. His figure, cutting against the clear sky, had a singular effect, and reminded one of "prayer on the house-top."

At sunset, the flocks of sheep and goats were driven in. It was a clear, glorious night, but with a heavy dew; and it was necessary to keep vigilant watch, for the fellahin between Jaffa and Acre are noted for their thievish propensities. The shepherd's pipe was heard from the village; there were many watch-dogs barking, and sheep bleating, and hundreds of goats sneezing throughout the night; and there were many, many fleas.

Early on the 7th they started, and passing a number of women, some cutting wood, and others carrying it in large bundles upon their heads, they recrossed the sand-hills, with scattering, scrubby bushes on them, and came again upon the sea-shore. The coast here was sand, with outlying flat sandstone. At 10 A. M., they crossed the Nahr Akhdar, and came to the ruins of Cæsarea.

These ruins present walls and bastions with a deep ditch around them. They are all of cut sandstone, which a number of feluccas were taking to Jaffa for the new khan. In like manner and for a like purpose, stones have doubtless been taken to Beirût, Tripoli, and other places. The citadel presents a striking scene of great masses of masonry overturned, and displaying rows of dark granite columns beneath, the foundation of which

was laid in what is termed cob-house fashion. All the ruins were of massive sandstone. There were Saracenic arches and three very lofty pieces of masonry standing—abutments, perhaps, of a church, or a castle. The whole area within the walls is full of pits, where hewn stones have been dug from the earth accumulated over them in the lapse of ages. There was an Arab shepherd with several hundred goats within the enclosure. “The sea-coasts shall be dwellings, cottages for shepherds and folds for flocks.”

The walls were in good preservation. Along the bank are the remains of a line of ancient buildings, and near the termination, a temple fallen into the sea, its dark granite columns lying side by side in the water. How beautiful once! how mournful now! Parallel to the sea are Roman arches of an aqueduct, nearly buried in the fine white sand. This aqueduct evidently conveyed water from the Zerka (Blue River), although where the party came upon it, it ran more inland among the sand-hills. The whole of this region is almost an entire desert.

The river Zerka is a fine stream, with the remains of a stone bridge at its mouth, on the very shore of the sea. There is a mill a little distance up, and an ancient dam or bridge across of solid masonry. There were a number of camels, horses, and donkeys standing around with their loads of grain. This mill grinds for the neighbouring villages, and is represented to have been a mill-seat of ancient Cæsarea. Throughout the day, there was a lofty spire visible in the distance, which they took for a minaret or a light-house.

At 2 P. M., they reached Tantûra, a populous and thriving town, with a harbour formed by three or four islands. There were several feluccas taking in grain, from huge piles of it on the beach; and among the fellahin there was a merchant from Beirût.

Leaving Tantûra, they passed some wells excavated in the rocks, so near the sea that the latter, when moderately agitated, breaks into them. Shortly after, they came to the ruins of Dora, situated on a promontory; where were the remains of an ancient building, very much resembling a light-house—the one they had seen all the morning. The base of the rock was excavated for a fosse to the castle, and there was a row of granite pedestals of columns. How magnificent the colonnade upon this promontory must have been! After some trouble in finding sweet water, they pitched the tent in a grove of date-palm-trees. There were a number of wells in the field, and many women passing to and fro with jars upon their heads.

On the 8th the road led along the sand beach, passing by occasional coves and over ridges of rock. When near Castellum Perigrinorum, Charles Homer, seaman, was wounded by the accidental discharge of a gun. The load of twelve buck-shot entered the under part of the arm near the wrist, and came out on the upper side below the elbow, lacerating the arm dreadfully, and, as it afterwards proved, shattering one of the bones. The severed artery discharged dark arterial blood in frightful jets, and the wounded man suffered excruciating agony. With great difficulty, Mr. Bedlow checked the bleeding, and the poor fellow was slowly conveyed to the ruined castle. Fortunately there were some feluccas in the harbour, and under charge of Mr. B. he was immediately embarked in one of them for Acre. The wind was fair and fresh, and in six hours they reached their destination. Homer was immediately taken to the consul's house, and a surgeon in the Turkish army, who had been educated in Ibrahim Pasha's medical school in Egypt, dressed the wound. I dreaded, however, the heat of the climate, and felt it my duty to procure for the unfortunate man the most comfortable quarters and the very best surgical attendance.



I therefore sent him, the same evening, to Beirût, under charge of Passed Midshipman Aulick, Mr. Bedlow, and three men.

The carriage trucks, and all our effects sent back from Tiberias, were also embarked in the brig. On their arrival, Homer was without delay placed under the care of the Sisters of Charity, and a French surgeon of eminence attended him daily. The only time that I have ever been addressed by an Arab female, was this day, when one inquired about the condition of the wounded sailor. Humanity, a lovely tenant, dwell where it may, has its peculiar and appropriate home in the female breast.

The castle of the Pilgrims is a mountain of masonry, furnishing an inexhaustible quarry for exportation. A village of about thirty families is perched upon the summit, and its inhabitants have spent their lives in excavations. A road, made by the excavators, runs over and around the hill. A beautiful arched window, or doorway was crammed with bundles of wheat. One apartment, with groined arches and carved-work, presented a most imposing appearance. It is in perfect preservation, dimly lighted from the doorway, and the windows facing the sea;—it was used as a cow-yard! The guide said that the castle was built “for the king’s daughter.” North of the castle, was a magnificent fragment of a wall, upwards of one hundred feet high, built of large stones, crossing a stream which is probably the Wady Ajil, but called, by the guide, Nahr Düstray (Justeriyeh?). They then opened, from a sand-ridge, the beautiful vale of Esdraelon, running down by Mount Carmel, towards the outlet of the Kishon. Sometime after, they passed Mount Carmel, with its convent, the temporary resting-place of so many travellers; and, riding through the walled village of Haifa, where there were many lazy Arabs lounging about the doors, they came out at the camping-ground of the 31st of

March. There were the grave-yard, the ruined tomb, the carob-tree, and the shelving beach, with its line of foam.

Winding along the beach, and again crossing the Kishon and the Belus, the last our second camping-place, they halted on the glacis of the outer parapet of the eastern wall, a little north of the main gate of the fortress of Acre. In front was the plain, with an aqueduct, Abd' Allah Pasha's garden, and cultivated fields beyond, to the verge of the mountains; behind, and on each side, was the sea.

On the morning of the 9th, we had a visit from Sherif and 'Akil, who came in state, and we accepted an invitation to breakfast with them. Going into the town, we saw a man in the fosse of the ramparts, digging for bullets expended in various sieges of the place. He had found a number of them, two feet below the surface.

On repairing to the Sherif's, a little after noon, we were ushered, through a paved court, into a large room, with a lofty, arched ceiling; Persian mats were upon the floor; a handsome divan at one end, and at the other a *European bedstead, with chintz curtains*, and costly weapons were hanging against the walls. Nubian slaves were in immediate attendance, with sherbet, pipes, and coffee; shortly after which, followed the repast. It consisted of a great many dishes, of Arab cookery, and was served up in an immense circular brazen tray. Among other things, there was a lamb, roasted whole, which 'Akil tore apart and distributed with his hands. We had learned not to consider knives and forks as indispensable; and, being hungry, made, tooth and nail, a hearty meal. In ten minutes, the exercises were over; and, with a lavation and a pipe, the entertainment concluded.

Saturday, June 10. After taking some observations to connect with preceding ones, we started, at 8.15 A. M., for Nazareth, via the Valley of the Winds, the first

encampment of our previous march. The aspect of the country was far more parched and dry than when we first saw it; the plain was embrowned by the sun, and the air filled with myriads of insects, the product of the already decaying vegetation. At 11.45, reached the former camping-place, and stopped to make renewed observations. To our deep regret, we here discovered the delicate boiling-water apparatus, for determining elevations, to be broken, notwithstanding all our care. The horses were exceedingly restive from the heat and the bites of insects, coming across the wide plain of Acre, and to that I attributed the unfortunate accident. We here gathered a few flowers, which, the offspring of a more mature season, were gaudy in their colouring, but less redolent of fragrance, than those which bloomed around us on our previous visit. From the heat of the climate, vegetation germinates, matures, decays, and revivifies, with great rapidity. The poetical figure is an approximation to the truth :—

“The Syrian flower

Buds, and blooms, and withers, in an hour.”

At 1.30 P. M., started again, and, diverging from the route we had before pursued, stopped at Sepphori to examine the ruins of a church with pointed arches, apparently of the time of the crusades. At 4 P. M., came in sight of Nazareth, seated at the head of Wady Hadj (Valley of the Pilgrims), which, through the Wady el Kafyeh (Ravine of the Leap), communicates with the great valley of Esdraelon. Leaving the Greek Church of the Annunciation on our left, we skirted the eastern slope of the mountain, and, descending through the outskirts of the town, camped, where so many travellers had camped before, in an olive-grove, about eighty yards from the Fountain of the Virgin. There were a great many women and children around the fountain; the children, sprightly, with intelligent features; and the women, the



GREEK-CATHOLIC PRIEST AT NAZARETH.



most cleanly in their attire, and the most courteous in their manners, of any we had seen in Syria.

Sunday, June 11. We visited the Franciscan Convent, and its church, containing the grotto of the Annunciation. We were also taken to the reputed workshop of St. Joseph; to the place where our Saviour dined with his disciples, and to the precipice whither he was led by the Jews.

The feelings are inexpressible which overpower one in passing to and fro amid scenes which, for the greater portion of his mortal existence, were frequented by our Saviour. In Jerusalem, the theatre of his humiliations, his sufferings, and his death, the heart is oppressed with awe and anguish; but in Nazareth, where he spent his infancy, his youth, and his early manhood, we yearn towards him unchilled by awe, and unstricken by horror.

In its secluded position, with a narrow valley before it, and mountains in every other direction, we liked Nazareth better even than Bethlehem, and thought it the prettiest place we had seen in Palestine. The streets were perfectly quiet; there was an air of comfort about the houses, and the people were better dressed, and far more civil, than any we had encountered.

Nazareth contains about 5000 inhabitants, four-fifths Christians, the remainder Muslims. It has twenty-two villages in its district, which is subordinate to the Pashalic of Acre. While here, we paid a visit to a Turkish tax-gatherer, who, from his books, furnished us with much statistical information with regard to the tenure and the cultivation of land, and the land-tax, the poll-tax, and the "kharaje," or blood-tax, paid by the Christians. This tax-gatherer was an Egyptian, with a dark complexion, and short, crisp, black hair; his wife, a native of Aleppo, in the north of Syria, had a white skin, and chesnut ringlets; and their servant woman was a Maronite of

Mount Lebanon, with high cheek-bones, a freckled face, and reddish-brown hair.

Napoleon stopped at Nazareth after having rescued General Kleber in his desperate engagement with the Syrian army, in the plain of Esdraelon, about two hours distant.

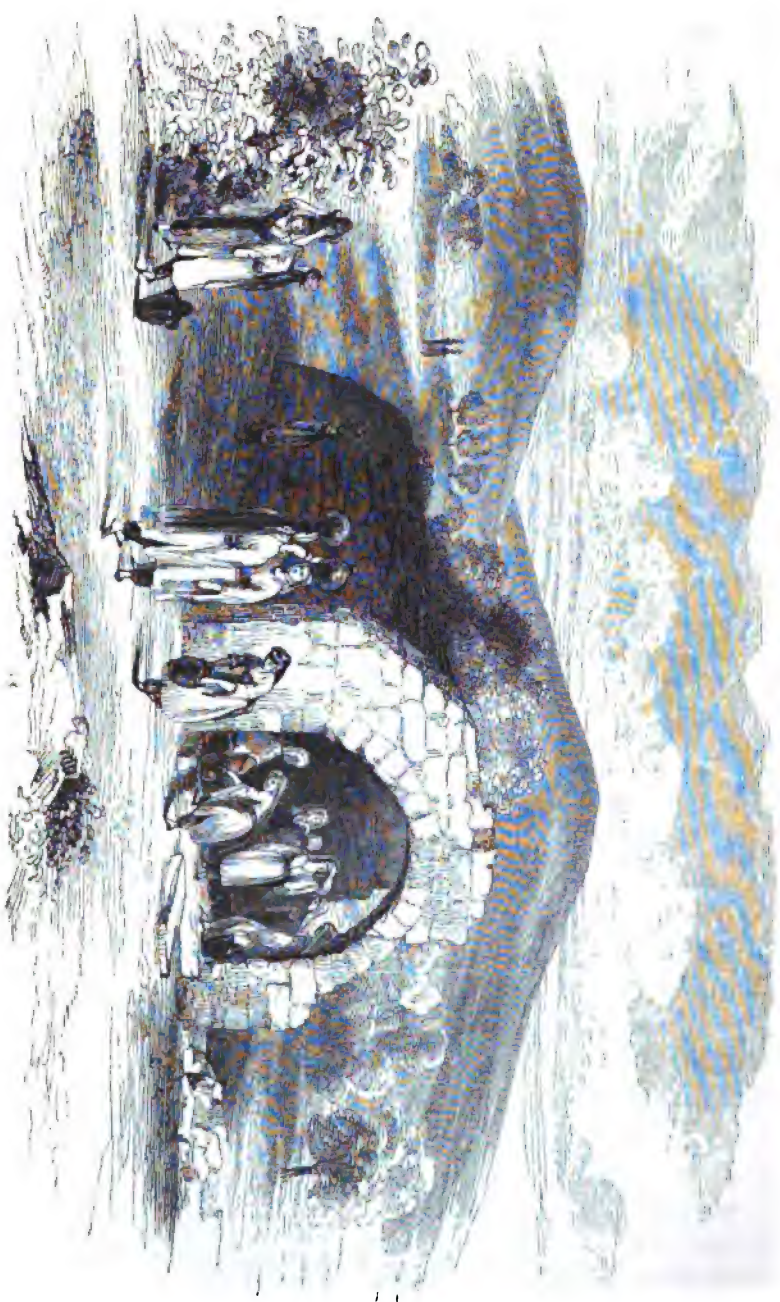
We found here the heliotrope, the pink, the pheasant's eye, and the knotty hartswort. The roots and seeds of the latter are medicinal, having similar properties to those of the carrot. The Turks are said to eat the young shoots as a salad.

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## CHAPTER XXIV.

### FROM NAZARETH TO THE SOURCE OF THE JORDAN.

MONDAY, June 12. Started for Mount Tabor, bearing about E. S. E., leaving Cana on the left. There were many oak-trees on the hill-sides and in the ravines, but no cultivation and very few flowers, except the purple bloom of the thorn. Bearing a little to the south, we soon opened the extensive and beautiful plain of Esdraelon. Over the plain was the village of Nain, where the widow's son was restored to life. Skirting along the northern edge of the lovely plain, nearly hemmed in by lofty hills, and cultivated in patches, with here and there a village; passing the battle-field of the French, and the reputed spot where Deborah and Barak discomfited Sisera, we reached a village at the base, and ascended to the summit



FOUNTAIN OF NAZARETH.





of Mount Tabor; the sloping sides, two-thirds up, thickly dotted with oak-trees, and beautified by many white and yellow flowers. Near the top, were remains of ancient walls and fortifications; and on the flattened summit were six or eight acres in wheat, being harvested by male and female fellahin, whose homes were in the village below. All around were ruins, many of cut stone, without mortar, the loftiest fragment being part of a pedestal with sculptured plinths. There were several cisterns and arched vaults on the southern side of the flattened summit. This is the reputed Mount of Transfiguration, and one of those vaults answers annually the purpose of a chapel.

From the summit was a magnificent view of the plain of Esdraelon, stretching to the range of Carmel in the west, and to Mount Gilboa in the south, with its off-shoot, the plain of Jezrael, reaching east to the Jordan. To the north-west, was Nazareth, embosomed among the hills; to the north-east, the Sea of Galilee, with Safed and the snowy peak of Ghibel es Sheikh (Great Mount Hermon). To the south-east, in the plain, was the village of Endor; to the south-west, was Little Mount Hermon, crowned with a ruined mosque, which glittered in the sunlight; and there were two streams from the north, and one from the southward and westward, which, uniting under the south-east base of the mountain, flowed along the plain, and fell into the Jordan near Beisan. A chapter might be written upon the history and associations of Mount Tabor, and its circumjacent plain.

Descending the mount, and pursuing a north-easterly course, we passed a large khan, where about 1000 persons had, that morning, been present at the usual weekly fair. Thence the road, in nearly a due east line, led over rocky ridges, and across barren ravines, for an hour, when we came upon several large encamp-

ments of black tents, with much cultivation, and many cattle and sheep around them. In the fields were dhoura, wheat, (the last being harvested), and some patches of castor-bean, which is raised for lamp-oil. The uncultivated parts of the rolling plain abounded with the khob (wild artichoke), bearing a large, round, beautiful purple flower, resembling the lilac in its hue, and partaking of the fragrance of the thyme.

Soon after, we passed two ruined villages. Just below the last one, was a deserted garden, with apricot and fig trees. No one reclined in the grateful shade of the fruit-trees; and the song of a mother, and the mimic shouts of children, which once echoed around them, were no longer heard. It is not difficult to surmise the fate of the family—the father killed—the mother and the children driven forth—helpless wanderers. A few months back, and this was probably the seat of domestic happiness; but now the plaintive cooing of the dove by day, and the mournful whooping of the owl at night, are the only sounds which find an echo in that desolate spot.

Coming to the summit overlooking the Sea of Galilee, and the Jordan, where it issued from it, we descended to the bank, and halted near our first camping-place on the river, beside the ruined bridge of Semakh. Bathed, for the last time, in the lower Jordan, and gathered some flowers and shells, memorials of the consecrated stream and its lovely banks. From the want of wood, we went nearly supperless to bed.

Tuesday, June 13. We had been compelled, last night, to pitch our tents in a field of wheat newly cut. When about to start, this morning, I sent to some reapers in the adjoining field to pay the owner of the one we had occupied for the slight damage we had occasioned. He came slowly and with hesitation, and appeared perfectly astonished when he understood our object. The idea of

remuneration for waste of another's property never occurring to this harassed and misgoverned people.

Our course to-day was along the western shore of the lake. Passing the ruins of Tarrichæa and of Kades, we stopped to bathe in the hot bath of Emmaus;—the water salt and sulphureous, its temperature as before, 143°. The shore of the lake was in many places fringed with the pink oleander, and we saw a beautiful violet coloured flower, as round and as large as a small apple, growing on a thorn-like bush. We met a Jewish silver-smith going from Tiberias to the Hauran, to supply the wives and daughters of the Arabs with trinkets; thus combining thrift with the preservation of health, he will spend the sultry months of summer in the mountains.

At 9.30, we passed the gate of Tiberias; a few persons on the crumbled walls. The ground, except a few irrigated patches, was parched and dry, and there was much grain being trodden out by cattle and mules.

When here in April, we purchased the only boat upon the lake, with the condition that another should be procured by the 1st of June — an arrangement we were induced to make in the event of losing our boats or being unable to return with them. To our great regret, we now learned that the one being built on the sea-coast would not be delivered for two weeks, a delay prohibited by the advancing season and our enfeebled condition. Thus fell our hopes of thoroughly exploring this inland sea. It could not have been done when we were there before, without incurring great risk of failure in the main objects of the expedition.

We soon after reached the fountain Bareideh, with ruins of baths. The clear thermal stream gushes from the ground and flows into a reservoir, and thence, through another, out upon the shore and into the sea. There were many oleanders and purple flowers growing around,

forming a lovely grove, and there were some gardens and cucumber beds behind and beside it. Resting a short while near Mejdel (Magdala), our road ran parallel with the sea-shore, with the luxuriant but uncultivated plain of Chinnereth on our left, and the holy city of Safed and Mount Hermon towering before us. Upon this plain it is supposed that Chorazin and other towns mentioned in the New Testament were situated.

A little south of the ruins of Khan Minyeh we came to 'Ain et Tîn (Fountain of the Fig). From the base of a high cliff at the north-west angle of the sea, the limpid stream gushes out beneath a rock, with two large fig-trees above it,—whence its name. The water is sweet and cooler than that of the lake. For about twenty paces it flows a broad but shallow stream, which separates into two branches, that enclose a verdant little island, almost exactly in the shape of a heart, and thence its united streams have worn a channel to the sea. Upon the cliff above, Dr. Robinson places the site of Capernaum, where our Saviour cured the centurion's servant. We examined the brow of the hill very minutely, but could discover no traces of ruins. It is said that fragments of pottery have been found there, but we saw none. We were repaid, however, by the splendid view of the sea and its shores.

Ascending from 'Ain et Tîn, turning to the east, and leaving the khan and the usual route on our left, the road led along the face of the cliff, being cut through the rock, about four feet wide, with high perpendicular sides.

We soon after passed Ain et Tobighah, a brackish stream, with a flour-mill, ruins of other mills, canals and wells, and thence along a slope, barren of verdure except a few isolated, thorny shrubs, the surface covered with boulders of ferruginous sandstone. We next came to Tannûr Eiyûb (Job's oven), a small building with a dome roof. In the door-way were several females, coy but

curious, gazing at us. A short distance beyond was Tell Hâm (Hill of Hâm), the reputed site of "Frank's-town," built by the crusaders. The Arabs call it "Infidel's buildings." To my feeble understanding, this seemed the most probable site of Capernaum. It is about the centre of the northern shore line of the sea, and commands a more extensive view of the latter, and is more conspicuous from it, than the cliff over 'Ain et Tîn, at the north-west angle. Next to Safed, the words "a city seated on a hill" seem most applicable to it.

Early in the afternoon, we arrived at the debouchure of the upper Jordan. Flowing through an extensive and fertile plain, the river pours itself in a wide and shallow stream into the sea, nearly at its north-east extremity.

Upon the western shore, near the mouth of the river, were many tents of the tribe El Batiheh. A number of these were constructed of wattled cane, giving free access to the air, and, from their diminutive size, more resembled cages for beasts than human habitations. Much of the plain had been under cultivation, but the harvest was over, and the fields were blackened from the burning of the stubble. We encamped on the western bank, about half a mile up the stream, to avoid the near vicinity of the Arabs, this tribe having a bad reputation. Across the river on the first spur of the hills which bound the plain in that direction, is a village, the reputed site of Bethsaida. The river ran in front of the camp, about ten paces distant, and in the rear and on one side, as well as along the bank, were a great many oleanders in full bloom. This day there were very many oleanders along the sea-shore, and in some places the road passed through groves of them, but we did not meet the aromatic shrub mentioned by Strabo. The purple flower I have before mentioned was frequent. The day had been oppressively

hot, and as soon as the observations of Polaris were taken, we retired—but not to sleep—for we were dreadfully tormented by mosquitoes and fleas; and the distressing cries of the jackals were more incessant even than they were the night before.

X Starting early on the 14th, the road led at first through a morass intersected by several streams and numerous ditches, and covered with a tangled growth of shrubbery. Bethsaida, the birth-place of Peter, Andrew, and Philip, in full sight to the north-east. We soon began to ascend, clambering up the western hills, the river becoming rapid, brawling, and more contracted in its width—its banks fringed with the cane, the willow, and the oleander, the last in great profusion, its delicate pink hue contrasting well with the light and dark green of the other vegetation. After a toilsome ascent of an hour, we reached the summit of the hill overlooking the plain. From it was a fine view of the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan, the latter rushing down in one line of foam fringed with willows, oleanders, and the ghürrah of the lower Ghor. Thence descending and ascending the sides of a deep ravine, we reached the highest elevation, whence the face of the country breaks down towards lake Huleh. Thus far from the head of the plain, the river has been a perfect torrent. Mount Hermon soon came into view, its brow seamed with lines of snow, which were fast disappearing beneath the sun of a Syrian summer. Passing a reservoir and a ruined khan, we came at noon to Jisr benât Ya'kôb (Jacob's daughter's Bridge), with four arches. There was a toll-house on the western shore, and the ruins of an extensive khan on the eastern side. Here the river flowed with great rapidity, being the first rapid below the upper lake. The last was visible from the bridge.

Above the bridge, the river, about forty yards wide,

and full to the utmost capacity of its banks, flowed in nearly a due south course, through a narrow plain. Our road led parallel with the river, until we opened on a yet more extensive plain, with the lake on its eastern side. This plain was under partial cultivation; there were two villages (one in ruins) near the centre, and many Arab encampments scattered about,—the men smoking in the tents, while the women, with uncovered heads, were at work in the broiling sun. This lake is the Merom of the Bible, and upon this plain, Joshua overthrew the Canaanites.

We stopped to rest at 'Ain el Mellâhah (Fountain of the Salt Works), with a primitive grist-mill beside it. Back of the mill, was a beautiful little lake of cool, pellucid water. The lofty hill to the south was covered with what seemed blocks of lava and scorixæ, but we were too much overcome by heat and fatigue to visit it.

In the afternoon, our course led along the western edge of the plain, between the lake and the mountains. We passed a large pond filled by numerous springs; a Turkish mausoleum on a high western cliff, and a deep and wide ravine, with ruins on its northern summit. The plain seemed perfectly level to the eye; and there were two streams running down its northern end, which, with the numerous fountains, render it very fertile. There were many encampments of the fellahin, who cultivate rice and dhoura. The tents were of cane wicker-work, with upright sides, and more comfortable than any we had seen. The hills on the left formed a lofty range of swelling domes, terminating to the north in an abrupt perpendicular face of horizontal strata,—the prevailing rock, limestone. Sweeping round the head of the plain to the north-east, we ascended to an elevated plateau, and camped on the banks of the Golden Stream, a tributary of the river of Bânias, one of the former supposed sources



of the Jordan. The castle of Honin, which was concealed from view when on the plain, bore north-west. It seemed a bold, commanding fortress, on the extreme summit of the western range.

Starting early on the 15th, our course led north-east, along the brow of the hill overlooking the Ardh el Huleh (Lands of Huleh), the lake, Tell el Kadi (Hill of the Judge), and the town of Bânias, with several villages in sight. Much dhoura and rice, but little wheat, cultivated in the plain.

In two hours, we crossed a fine old Roman bridge, with its three arches, spanning the river Hâsbeiya (the true Jordan), which, far below, swept through with great velocity, its rushing and tumbling waters darkened with fragments of rock peering above the eddying whirls of foam; the light spray half concealing the green fringe, richly decked with flowers, which ran along its shores.

In one hour more, we came to Tell el Kadi (Hill of the Judge), the site of ancient Dan, and the Laish of the Canaanites, "the utmost border northwards of the land of Israel," and where Jeroboam placed one of his golden calves. It is an oblong hill, with swelling sides and a flattened summit, about eighty feet above the plain. Over the crest is a hollow, where the fountain bubbles up. There were a great many oak-trees scattered about; and to the south-west, a ruined stone-house, not very ancient; and, in the same direction, on a smaller elevation, a ruined village. There was much tufa, and some quartz, and the whole hill bore traces of volcanic characters.

On the west side, a short distance from the fountain, a stream, or rather many streams, gushed out so copiously from the hill-side as, in an instant, to form a river; the water clear, sweet and cool. This was long supposed to be the highest source of the Jordan, and from it the name is said to have been derived. The only objection

(although unconfessed), of many to the derivation is that it is too simple. The Hebrew words *Jor* and *Dan*, as rendered in our language, mean *River* and *Judge*. *Dan*, in Hebrew, being the same as *kadi* in Arabic. To this place, as related in *Genesis*, *Abraham* pursued the kings.

Thence to *Bânias* (*Cesarea Philippi*), the road led, in nearly an easterly direction, through a beautiful country, with numerous clumps of trees, mostly oak, and many coy flowers, peeping out from the tufted grass. Ascending a hill-side, dotted with oaks, we encountered many streams rushing down, it being the hour of irrigation. Passing through an extensive olive-orchard, with grain growing beneath and around the trees, we opened the town, seated near the head of a narrow valley, with the ruins of a bridge, over a deep ravine, and a castle towering high on the hill which overlooked it from the east. In every direction there were broken shafts and capitals of marble pillars scattered upon the ground, and an entire bridge, through the single arch of which rushed a clear, rapid stream, that immediately after leaped down some twenty feet, and was lost to sight in the deep and winding gorge. It was the River of *Bânias*, one of the tributaries of *Lake Huleh*.

The houses, built of uncemented stones taken from the ruins, were mostly one story high, almost every one surmounted by a light, graceful structure of lithe and flexible boughs, wattled with the leaves upon them, and with network-like cane floors, laid on transverse poles, some two or three feet above the roof of the dwelling. There were many mulberry-trees about, cultivated, we were told, more for the fruit than for rearing the silk-worm, only a small quantity of silk being raised.

Stopping to rest, a few moments, under a majestic oak, on a raised platform, encircled three feet high by a wall

of fluted and chiselled blocks of marble, we proceeded to the cave, beneath which, it is said, flows the stream we had crossed, which finds an outlet farther down. The cave was dry, but, in places, bore marks of recent water. We were assured that, in the rainy season, it is nearly filled. It no doubt communicates, through a fissure, with one or more gorges in the mountain above. In the face of the rock, above and beside the cave, were niches, supposed to have been occupied by statues of Pan and the nymphs, for another name of this place is Paneas. There is a fabulous legend of the true source of this stream X being Lake Phiala, a short distance to the south-east of the town. Josephus states that "Philip the Tetrarch cast straw into this lake, which came out again at Panion, which, till that time, was taken for the head of the Jordan." To this place our Saviour came from Bethsaida.

From Bâneas we pursued a north-west course, the country rolling; the soil, like that of yesterday, red clay, with a substratum of limestone, which occasionally cropped out. At first there was much cultivation, and a great many people harvesting; their complexions were much lighter than those of the dwellers in the plain. The women wore petticoats and aprons; and, when first seen, there was a general shout along the line—"hurrah for civilization!" We soon came upon stone fences, and other marks of a more secure tenure of property; and the people were courteous; saluting and returning the salutations of strangers. In saluting, they placed the right hand upon the breast. We were once more among Christians.

The road led over two high mountain-ridges and down into a rolling plain, with fields of dhoura, beans, and houma, and across the Hâsbeiya (Jordan), by a bridge at Khan Suleil. It then wound, first to the north, and then gradually to the north-east, along the valley, which nar-

rowed as we advanced, and led through groves of olive and some poplars, and by fields of grain, in sight of several villages. Turning to the south, and crossing the river again at a ford, and then rounding to the east, we clambered the steep Wady et Teim, along a most execrable road. It is said that the mountaineers, to increase their security, purposely render their roads almost impassable. We soon opened the town of Hâsbeiya, seated far up on the crest of the right acclivity, its castle and a minaret conspicuous, and camped on a ledge, in an olive-grove, about one-third up from the bed of the ravine.

The town was two hundred feet above us, on the opposite side, on the crest of a hill, which sweeps from east round to south, and overlooks the ravine on those two sides. The houses are two stories high, with the universal flat mud roof, which answers very well, there being, even at that elevation, but little frost in winter to affect them. It is not a walled town, but its terraces, and the horizontal lines of houses along the face of the hill, give it quite a fortified aspect. There were groves of olive, mulberry, and fig, and some apricot trees on each side of the ravine, from its head as far down as we could see. There was a large stone reservoir, with a ruined bridge, at the head of the ravine; a meagre fountain a little lower down; and, immediately below us, three or four silk-mills, constructed of wattled twigs, like the summer sleeping apartments on the roofs at Bânicas. On the cliffs behind us were many scattered oaks, with here and there an orchard and a dwelling. The rich cultivation extended from the head of the ravine far up to a village on the mountain-side, which was, in turn, overlooked by the snow-capped crest of Mount Hermon, Ghebel es Sheikh, Mountain of the Aged, or Lord of the Mountain, as it is variously rendered.

From extreme weariness, we could not leave the tents

the day after our arrival, even to visit the town, but impatiently awaited intelligence from our wounded comrade; intending, if his life were in danger, to hasten to him.

On the 16th, we received a great many visitors, and obtained much information from some of the most intelligent. There are 1500 who pay poll-tax in the town; and as it is only paid by able-bodied men, over twenty-one and under forty years of age, there must be near 9000 inhabitants in Hâsbeiya, of whom two-thirds are Christians, mostly of the Greek persuasion. The Protestants number fifty-five; the Maronites, fifty; the Greek Catholics, thirty; and there are a few Jews. There was great religious discord here: the members of the Greek church being prohibited from speaking to, or holding any communication with the Protestants. The governor was under the influence of the Greeks, it was asserted, from mercenary considerations; but the rest of the Muslims, as well as the Druses, were free from intolerance, and seemed disposed to favour the persecuted. Freedom of religious worship was denied to the Protestants, and we were indignant witnesses of the persecutions to which they were subjected.

We are, mercifully, so framed as to depend upon association with each other, to relieve necessities, to enhance enjoyments, and to maintain security. Peace, therefore, and harmony, unity and benevolence, is the proper condition of the human family; without which, man but cumber the earth he should adorn; and, in his abasement, deeply feels the abiding curse of Ishmael,—“thy hand is against every man, and every man’s hand against thee.”

Of all the embittered feelings of the human heart, there are none so detestable as those engendered by fanaticism. Of all the human family, there is not one so malevolent and so fiendish as the sour and self-sufficient bigot, who,

catching a brand from the altar of Moloch, lights the fires of persecution, and perverting, with infamous audacity, the mild breathings of the sacred volume into lessons of cruelty and proscription, becomes the foe of his fellow-man and the mocker of his august Creator. The persecuted have our warmest sympathies.

In the afternoon, Prince Ali called upon us. He is of the family of Shad, which came in with Saladin, and is the oldest in Syria. We accompanied him to the source of the Jordan. Descending the ravine, and turning to the north, we passed through groves of olive, fig, and mulberry trees, and crossed the river over a one-arched bridge; the banks lined with willow and plane trees, and luxuriantly fertile. Thence going east, in ten minutes we came suddenly to the source, a bold, perpendicular rock, from beneath which the river gushed copious, translucent, and cool, in two rectangular streams, one to the north-east, the other to the north-west. The scarp of the rock was about forty feet high; and the north-east branch, being mere back-water, extended only a few hundred yards; but its banks were fringed with the wild rose, the white and pink oleander, and the clematis *orientalis*, or oriental virgin's bower. The north-west branch, at the distance of about a hundred yards, plunged over a dam, and went rushing through the arch of the bridge below. The hand of art could not have improved the scene. The gigantic rock, all majesty, above; its banks, enamelled with beauty and fragrance, all loveliness, beneath; render it a fitting fountain-head of a stream which was destined to lave the immaculate body of the Redeemer of the world. Mr. Dale, who had the eye of an artist, thought that the scene would make a more beautiful picture than any he had ever beheld. He sketched it, with Prince Ali in the foreground.

The costume of the prince, except in the richness of

the materials, was the same as that of the majority of the males of the upper class. He wore a low crimson tarbouch, with a flat silver button on the crown, a brown cloth embroidered jacket, with short, tight sleeves, loose white trousers gathered at the ankles, a green sash round the waist, and red boots and slippers upon the feet. The lower orders, instead of the jacket, were mostly attired in a gown of some striped pattern, with slashed sleeves, open in front, and confined by a sash. The women were adorned with ear-rings, and wore the red cloth cap with the button, and a string of gold pieces in front, spanning from ear to ear across the brow, and a white veil thrown over all. The ear-rings consist of three or four gazas (gold pieces) each, suspended from a golden loop. Like the Egyptian women, they dye their eye-lids with antimony and soot, which gives an unearthly appearance, and very much disfigures them.

While here, our observation confirmed the accounts given us of the wonderful product of terrace cultivation, but I will not cumber my already extended narrative with statistics.

There were many Druse and Christian women at work with the men in the fields. The former do not allow their faces to be seen by strangers. The other women, without being immodest, did not shun being seen.

There are supposed to be ten thousand Druses able to bear arms, which make about fifty thousand in all, living in the Lebanon, from Beirût to Tyre, along the coast, in the Hauran, and near Damascus. Their religion is little known. A catechism of it which has been published, is so ambiguous, that it throws little light upon their creed. It originated in Egypt. The tradition as related to us, is this. In the 600th year of the Hegira, or about 800 years ago, there was a tyrannical ruler of Egypt, who was persuaded by an artful Persian to declare himself a god. Shortly

after the self-constituted deity disappeared, murdered, it was supposed, by his instigator, with the connivance of the tyrant's sister. The Persian then gave out that the missing deity had left a book suspended to the door of the great mosque, where it was found. This book is revered as their bible. It inculcates the transmigration of souls, and enjoins conformity in *outward* observance with the prevailing religion of the state. They teach the Koran to their children, and recite it in their public prayers, while they are said secretly to detest it. They have houses of prayer, apart from their villages, whither they repair every Friday evening. Prayers on such occasions are first offered in open communion, but, towards the close of the exercises the great body of the people retire, and only the initiated remain. They are taught to give no direct answer to one of another persuasion. If one be asked his name, he will probably say that he does not know. Much was told us of their secret rites, which I discard as being too horrid to be true. The costume of the men is the turban, with the tarbouch beneath, Turkish trousers and slippers, and a spencer or light frock, open in front. With similar dresses, the married women wear the long hollow horn, its base resting on the head and its point protruding forwards or sideways, much in the shape of an elongated cone.

On the 17th, Mr. Dale and myself visited the valley of the Litany (ancient Leontes). Crossing a cultivated ridge, with Kūlat es Shūkif (castle Belle Forte of the crusaders) to the S. W., we came upon a ravine, with a stream running down from the south at right angles with the river. The torrent of water pouring down the ravine, rushed across the river and regurgitated loudly in a large cave on the opposite shore.

The rolling valley of the Būk'ah is hemmed in by the two parallel ridges of Lebanon and anti-Lebanon. The



latter skirts it on the east, the former upon the west. Like the waving backs of huge monsters, whose bodies are prostrate but their heads erect, their summits stretch in ascending lines to the north till they terminate in two crowning peaks, Ghebel es Sheikh and Ghebel Sūnnīn, each capped and ribbed with snow. The Litany ran here close against the Lebanon range, the stream visible here and there, far down the steep chasm.

Descending, with great difficulty, we came upon the river where it flowed impetuously beneath a natural bridge,—an arch excavated, by the water, through the opposing mass of rock. The reverberating noise beyond soon told of its reappearance; and, clambering along and down the precipice, we saw it issuing gently, at first, from its subterranean chasm, its banks fringed with the willow and the plane tree, and decked with flowers of the richest hue. The stream thence flowed with increasing velocity, for about 200 yards, between a high, naked rock on one side, and a luxuriant growth of overhanging plane-trees on the other, when, whirling suddenly to the right, and again to the left, it gathered its tumultuous waters, and, rushing in a narrow but impetuous cascade into a circular basin, it thence leaped twenty feet into a foaming caldron. The rays of the sun were reflected in rain-bow hues, as they fell upon the long line of foam, which sparkled and glittered among the trees, whose branches almost intertwined above, and nearly overshadowed the stream that rushed so madly beneath. If the site of the grove of Daphne were upon this stream instead of the Orontes, here, no doubt, would have been the favoured spot.

We here gathered the althea, the retem, or broom-plant, the dianthus, or pink, and the snap-dragon.

On our return, we had, from an elevation, a full view of the Ardh el Hûleh (Lands of Hûleh), lake Hûleh, the Jordan above and beyond, and the Sea of Galilee in the

distance. Turning aside from the road, we visited some pits of bitumen. There were five of them; two then in operation, one sixteen and the other twenty-five feet deep. The bitumen is less porous than that of the Dead Sea.

With the exception of those of the highest class among the Turks, all the females of the town came indiscriminately to the fountain in the ravine for water. Each one carried a large jar, some upon the head, but most upon the back of the neck, between the shoulders. While here, we saw the wives and daughters of Christians (Protestants and Greeks), Druses and Turks, among them the married daughter of the richest man in town, pass, at all hours of the day, to and from the fountain.

The transition from a severely active life in the plains to a wholly inactive one in an elevated region proved very trying, and we waited impatiently for intelligence from our comrade. Not hearing on Sunday, I, that evening, despatched a messenger to Beîrût.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

### FROM THE SOURCE OF THE JORDAN TO DAMASCUS, BA'ALBEK, AND BEÎRÛT.

RECEIVING, on Monday, the joyful intelligence that Homer was out of danger, and that Mr. Aulick and Mr. Bedlow were on the way to rejoin us, I determined to remain no longer inactive; and, early on the 19th, started to lead the party over the Anti-Lebanon into the plain of Damascus.

Clambering diagonally up the mountain-side, which was beautifully terraced, and clothed with vineyards and olive and mulberry orchards, we passed two Druse villages, and a silk-mill, near a cave, which was filled with water, and contained crypts and sarcophagi.

The cultivation gradually disappeared as we ascended, and was succeeded by dwarf oaks, with some large ones in the hollows, and in sheltered places; there were several streams trickling down the mountain side. Near the streams was some grass, and on their banks, and upon the mountain-slope, we observed the oleander, the convolvulus, the pink-flowered valerian, and the retem or broom-plant, the last covered with its straw-coloured and fragrant blossoms. The oak was succeeded by heath and fern, the last beautiful with its small, scarlet blossom; then succeeded lichens and moss, terminating in masses of limestone-rock, with boulders of quartz. We crossed, in a gorge (the Wistanee), between Mount Hermon and the next peak to the southward. The two crests were covered and many clefts on both sides filled with snow. From the summit, the country below, which had seemed so mountainous to the upward view, appeared an immense rolling plain. Far to the north-west, at the verge of the seeming plain, were the red sands, a dazzling line of gold separating the luxuriant green of the plain from the light azure of the far-stretching sea. Upon that line of sand, like clustering dots upon a chart, were the cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Beirût. Another plain stretched, from the opposite side, south to the Hauran, and to the east until it was lost in the great desert. On the northern margin of that plain, but yet in the far distance, lay the city of Damascus, Es Shâm (the Holy), embosomed in groves and meadows. We made an attempt to ascertain the height of Mount Hermon with our boiling-water apparatus, but the thermometer attached to it was not gra-

duated sufficiently low. The summit is estimated to be about 9000 feet above the level of the sea, which is, perhaps, but little more than the actual height. As we ascended, we suffered from a stricture about the temples, but nearer the summit, the feeling passed away, and was succeeded by great nervous exhilaration.

We found snow some distance down the eastern slope ; and the descent was gradual ; but, from the nature of the road, very slow and excessively fatiguing. As we descended, the limestone rock disappeared, giving place to sand-stone and trap ; and, lower down, serpentine occasionally cropped out. At 'Ain Ennahad (Copper Fountain), the water was deeply impregnated with iron ; the dry bed of one of its branches was coated with the yellow oxide of the same metal, and the rocks around bore marks of metallic corrosion. Near the base of the mountain, there was a profusion of wild roses.

The next day, the road led over a high, rolling plain, along the flank of the mountain, which, ribbed and capped with snow, formed a bleak barrier to the west. Ahead was a sea of verdure, which indicated the gardens around Damascus. There is an unfounded legend that Muhammed refused to enter that terrestrial paradise. Advancing into cultivation, there were patches of wheat and barley on the high ground ; and in the ravines, groves of olives, figs, apricots, English walnuts, and some melons and cucumbers. The prevailing rock, a dark granite, with metallic veins, and some quartz. As we proceeded, the number of villages increased, each with its girdle of vegetation ; an oasis in the wide-spread and arid desert. Occasionally the wind, sweeping down the gorges of the mountains, would whirl the dust of the incinerated plain in circling eddies, high in air, very much like our water-spouts at sea. There were some camels moving about in search of food ; but there were few people, and no birds

or wild animals :—a long, dreary ride over the dry plain, under a burning sun. I had brought the party down from the mountain, where the air was too keen for our debilitated condition ;—here there was a prospect of the other extreme, and that the weather would prove hot and relaxing.

In the heat of the day, the whole plain seemed to undulate, and the ascending vapour formed a perfect mirage, through which, like light-houses above the sea, the minarets of the villages were alone visible. We passed through the populous village of Kattana, and a most extensive olive orchard—and with the suburb town of Sâlihiyeh on a slope of the mountain to the left, and on the right a long line of vegetation indicating the course of the river until it was lost in the desert ; and Damascus, unseen though near, before us ; we pressed forward as rapidly as our strength and that of our steeds permitted. The road led through avenues of large English walnut trees, the blossoms nipped by frost. For miles the way was lined with walls composed of sun-dried blocks of mud, intermixed with pebbles, each about three feet high, four feet long, and one foot thick, larger, but in every other respect very much like the adobes of Mexico. This climate is said to be very cold in winter. It can only be so by contrast with the heat of summer, for much frost would crumble these walls in a single season. Within the lines of walnut trees there were orchards of olives and apricots, and patches of wheat, barley, melons, and leguminous plants. The road ran winding among these delicious gardens, with a rapid stream always on one and generally on both sides, and to which, through each garden there flowed a brawling tributary. After the poetic Lamartine and the graphic Miss Martineau, it would be folly to attempt a description of Damascus. I therefore simply transcribe what fell under our observation.

At 4 P. M., we were abreast of Bab el Karrawat (Gate of the Aqueduct), and turning to the left along the Grecian aqueduct, we came upon a beautiful green, level as a meadow, through the centre of which flows the far-famed Barada, formed by the union of two streams above, which are supposed to have been the Parphar and the Abana, rivers of Damascus, mentioned by Naaman the Syrian.

On our right was a collection of domes and minarets, and over the river on a slightly ascending slope, was the city proper of Damascus. On the high ground back of it was a suburb town, the resort of wild fanatics, with a conspicuous tomb, called the tomb of Nimrod, on a projecting promontory. To our surprise we found that Damascus was situated at almost the very base of Anti-Lebanon, instead of in the midst of an extensive plain. Crossing the bridge which spanned the Barada, we turned to the east, and skirting the northern wall, passed through a cemetery, many of the tombs in which were enclosed in wooden lattice work with bouquets of flowers suspended within, and many women moving about among them. We next passed a house enclosing the tomb of a santan, with numerous placards affixed to it, whither the afflicted or their friends come to pray for recovery from sickness. Very soon after we encountered a fellow-countryman, and our Vice-Consul, a Syrian Jew. By them we were conducted through Bab es Salem (Gate of Peace), to the quarters that had been provided for us. Before entering the city, we were advised to furl our flag, with the assurance that no foreign one had ever been tolerated within the walls; that the British Consul's had been torn down on the first attempt to raise it, and that the appearance of ours would excite commotion, and perhaps lead to serious consequences. But we had carried it to every place we had visited, and, determining to take our chances with it, we kept it flying. Many angry comments were, I

believe, made by the populace, but, as we did not understand what our toorgeman was too wary to interpret, we passed unmolested.

Our quarters consisted of a bower, about eighty by twenty feet, a small fountain at one end, and a large reservoir at the other, with a miniature canal between; a grotto-like recess, with a divan, which was assigned to the sailors, and a large room, with a dais and a jet d'eau in a circular basin—called, by the Jews, “a sea”—for ourselves. The last gave us the first correct idea of the “Brazen Sea” of Solomon.

On our way around the walls, we had seen many light-coloured pigeons, with fan-tails; and in this garden were ravens of a fawn colour, with black head, wings, tail, and feet,—which contradicts mythology; for we are there told that the plumage of this bird was originally white, but that Apollo turned it *all* black, because it misinformed him of the infidelity of Coronis.

The windows of our apartments looked upon the Barada, which flowed immediately beneath them, between two tiny cataracts. On the opposite bank, was a large rural and crowded café, perfectly embowered in a grove of magnificent plane-trees. It was a lively and most attractive sight. There were Turks, Greeks, Arabs, and Syrians, in variety of costume, supinely sipping coffee or smoking, in groups or apart, or attending to the recital of a tale; and on one side a crowd was gathered, listening to a musician, and looking upon the feats of a tight-rope dancer, whose figure was at times half concealed from us by the intervening branches. As the day waned, numerous little coloured lamps, suspended in every direction about the trees, were lighted up, which shone beautifully amid the dark green foliage.

This scene so excited our curiosity, from the idea it conveyed of a social hilarity which we had never before

witnessed in our intercourse among Asiatics, that, wearied as we were, we determined to sally forth. On our way, through the dark, narrow, and crooked streets, we frequently stumbled over sleeping dogs. These animals were by no means vicious, but would howl when trodden upon, and lazily get out of the way. They were more numerous than in Constantinople; and we were told that they perform the office of scavengers, and are, moreover, supported by charitable contribution.

While making our way through a crowded bazaar, a Turk, in passing, elevated his hands above his head. We did not at the time understand it, but learned afterwards, that formerly it was an enforced custom for Christians to keep the centre of the street, which is nothing more than a gutter, while the Muslims passed along the elevated side-walk. The Turk, on this occasion, not being so tall as the member of our party next to him, his gesture was intended as a kind of assertion of superiority.

The bazaars were covered in, and the shops in those appropriated to merchandise were closed; but there were a great many cafés, not confined to houses, but each one embracing a considerable space of the street before it. There were lines drawn across, some ten feet above the pavement, to which were suspended hundreds of little lamps, under which, on broad benches and low stools, squatted and sat, those visitors who preferred the sensual indulgence of coffee and the chibouque; while those whose tastes were more intellectual, listened silently within, as one read or related some tale of the East. The scene brought the days of our boyhood back, and we remembered the Arabian Nights,—Haroun al Raschid, and his excursions in disguise.

Early the next morning, went to a bath, passing on the way the court of the great mosque, once the Christian church of St. John. Many of the streets were so narrow,



that the projecting balconies often touched the walls of the houses opposite. The bath was very much like those of Constantinople, but more elaborate in its decorations, and the process of ablution was more prolonged and complex. The building was ornamented in the Chinese style. The interior of the dome-roof was painted sky-blue, and the walls were in fresco, of Chinese scenery. There were pagodas six stories high, with grotesque ornaments on the top, and trees and flowers nearly as high as the pagodas. There were elevated divans around the rotunda, and two recesses, fitted in like manner, sufficiently large to accommodate about sixty people. These recesses led off to apartments with dome-roofs, studded with circular glass-lights, and having marble floors and fountains, and alabaster reservoirs. We were led into one upon wooden clogs, three or four inches high,—for the floors were heated from beneath,—and made to sit down by one of the fountains which supplied hot and cold water in unlimited profusion, and the whole apartment was filled with a hot and almost stifling vapour. After being parboiled, the scarf-skin of the whole body was scraped off with horse-hair gloves, by yellow imps with shaven crowns, nearly as naked as ourselves. We were afterwards conducted into a room of yet higher temperature, where we were boiled a little more, lathered, and thoroughly washed off. We were then enveloped in napkins, a capacious turban was wreathed around our heads, and, almost exhausted and panting for a less rarefied air, were slowly supported to the outer room, where we reclined upon luxurious couches, and, at will, sipped coffee or sherbet, or smoked the aromatic chibouque.

Friday, June 23. A close, warm day, but the air was much refreshed by the play of the fountains, which sounded like gentle rain, and mingling with the gush of the river, lulled us to sleep at night.

In the course of the day we visited the bazaars, which are larger, loftier, and cleaner; but the shops, even in Persian goods, were not so well supplied as those of Constantinople. The silk for this market is brought from the Anti-Lebanon, and is now about 110,000 lbs. per annum, one-half of the amount brought in formerly. The demand, which regulates the supply, has decreased, in consequence of the general introduction of cotton goods, mostly from England. There were a great many pieces of muslin with *American stamps*, but they were the counterfeits of English manufacturers. One of the khans was finer than any we had seen in Constantinople.

The population of Damascus was estimated by Dr. Mashâka, an intelligent Syrian and member of the Asiatic Historical Society of Beirût, at 115,000, and he thinks it is upon the increase. This increase, however, is anything but an evidence of the prosperity of the country, for he attributes it to the desertion of the villages, caused by the frequent forays of the wandering Bedawin. He considers that the deaths are fewer even with the increased population, which he ascribes to the more frequent inoculation of children:—for the small-pox has been at times a devastating scourge.

In the evening we dined with Dr. Paulding, who with his brother-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Barnet, belong to the American Evangelical Mission in Syria. We were handsomely entertained, and in many other respects indebted to their kindness. In this land of mental indolence and sensual enjoyment, it was gratifying to converse with our countrymen, and to look upon books, maps, and other marks of western civilization. We heard to-day a singular but well authenticated history of a ruling family, which is indicative alike of the political features and the peculiar manners of the country.

Sa'id Jumblat was the wealthiest and most powerful of

the princes of Lebanon. His younger brother, the Emir Beschir, since so well known in Syrian history, was aspiring and unprincipled, and in order to form a party of his own, professed to be a convert to Christianity, and by degrees won over the Maronites. As soon as he found himself sufficiently strong he made war upon his brother, and defeating him in a pitched battle, drove him to the Anti-Lebanon, where the fugitive was received by one of the mountain chiefs. But the treacherous host, bribed by the Emir, decoyed his guest to Damascus, where he was put to death. The widow of Sa'id Jumblat fled to the mountains of Hauran, with her three sons, but some years after being sorely pinched by want, she sent them to implore the mercy of their uncle. They suddenly and unannounced appeared before the Emir, and prostrating themselves in the humblest manner, quietly sat down upon the divan. Their uncle, not recognising them, demanded their business, when the eldest replied by asking if a child were responsible for the debts of a parent incurred before it was of age. The Emir said, certainly not. "Then," continued the eldest, "my brothers and myself are not answerable for the acts of our father," and divulged who they were. Their uncle, moved by their appeal, received them into favour, and gave them back part of their paternal inheritance. After testing the character and qualifications of the eldest, he procured him the commission of colonel in the Egyptian army. When Syria reverted to the dominion of the Porte, the Emir Beschir was deposed, and, with his family, imprisoned in Constantinople; while his nephew, the eldest son of the murdered brother, was invested with the patrimonial estates of both families. But the two younger brothers were vicious and unprincipled; and, combining together, drove the elder away, and seized upon all his property. They had two cousins, the friends of that

brother of whom they were jealous and fearful. Coming unexpectedly, one day, to the house of their kinsmen, they asked for a draught of water, but declined the invitation to enter. One of the cousins brought the water, and the other, equally unsuspecting, came forth to speak to them, when, without the slightest warning, they were both shot down. The second brother has since driven the younger one away, and offers 100,000 piastres for his head. This, better than a thousand comments, will give an idea of the insecurity of life and property in this region.

In the cool of the evening, we went without the walls. Passing through the east gate, consisting of a large central one, and two side ones now blocked up, we had, from without, a fine view of the city and its suburbs.

The walls are not strong, the towers having been levelled by Ibrahim Pasha, and the materials used in the construction of a large caserne, or infantry barracks, which, a monument of Turkish indolence, is unroofed and falling rapidly to decay. We saw the old Roman foundations of the walls, the ancient arches, the fosse, and evidences of a wall of cement between the outer and the inner one. Near the Jerusalem gate, we were shown the place where St. Paul was let down in a basket, and, on the road beyond, the spot of his conversion; and, on our return, we passed through "the street which is called Straight."

This country is the cradle of the human race; and Damascus is certainly one of the oldest cities in the world. Its name is said to imply "the blood of the righteous;" derived, it is supposed, from the death of Abel. Eleazar, the steward of Abraham, was from Damascus: and about half an hour beyond it, is Hobah of the Old Testament, whither the patriarch followed, to rescue Lot from his captors.

The history of this city teems with vicissitudes. Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Saracens, have been here; and there are ruins, and vestiges of ruins, which would delight an antiquarian.

On Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, we were taken to some houses of wealthy Jews. The exteriors of the dwellings were unpretending and semi-dilapidated; and the entrances were uncleanly, and, in some instances, almost filthy. A narrow, crooked way led to an open court, paved with marble, with a marble fountain and shrubs and flowering plants in the centre, and lofty, spacious, and elaborately-decorated rooms and alcoves around it. At the farther end of each room, was the elevated dais, with divans of costliest silk cushions on the three sides, and Persian carpets between them. From the dais to the opposite end of the room, was a floor of tessellated marble, with an overflowing reservoir, or "sea," supplied by a jet d'eau. The door and windows opened upon the court; and the walls, wainscoting, door and window-frames, and the lofty ceiling, were of mosaic, of different kinds of costly wood, with rich gilt edgings and arabesque figures.

There were neither tables nor chairs; and, in the sleeping apartments, the beds consisted of thick cushions piled upon each other. The men were dressed in black turbans and gaberdines; the wives and daughters, in narrow-skirted gowns, usually of English printed muslin; and a silk boddice, generally yellow, fitting closely to the form—except that, opening and diverging in front, they displayed a thin, white gauze across the breast; which, in consequence of the pressure beneath, protruded forth and presented a most disgusting appearance. The married women sedulously concealed their own, but wore a quantity of artificial hair, confined by a net-work cap, ornamented with gold coins, pearls, and precious stones.

The unmarried wore their own hair, uncovered and undorned. The eye-brows were shaved; and over each eye was a black, curved line, extending from the outer corner and meeting in the centre, at the bridge of the nose. The lower eye-lid, beneath the lash, was also blackened, and gave to the whole countenance a fierce and repulsive aspect, and the nails were stained with henna. They wore white stockings and loose, thin, yellow, morocco slippers, which, when they left the dais, were thrust into wooden clogs, and in which they moved about with perfect ease. These clogs were of wood, inlaid with pearl, consisting of one horizontal piece, shaped like the sole of a shoe, supported on two upright ones, eight inches high. They slipped their feet into them without stooping, merely half turning round in the evolution; and they always left them at the foot of the dais when they came upon it. Their appearance and their movements were unbecoming and ungraceful.

In the evening, the Great Sheikh of the 'Anazeh tribe (the ruler of the desert) came to see us; and, also, the Sherîf of Damascus. The former is a fine, mild-looking man; but his character belies the expression of his features, for he was recently concerned in an outrage upon some English travellers. He is the Sheikh with whom those who wish to visit the ruins of Palmyra, or cross the great desert, must make their contract.

The Sherîf was a venerable-looking old man, with a magnificent turban, of a fine, white material, intertwined with gold thread. He came in imposing state, with numerous attendants; while the powerful sheikh, who holds life and death at his disposal, announced himself.

Sunday, June 25. The weather oppressively hot, and many complaining; which determined me to remain no longer in the city, but to lead the party again across the mountains.

Starting a little before sunset, and passing through the suburb and a gorge in the hills, we had, from an elevation just above where the Barada bursts through the mountain, a full view of the city and the surrounding country. There were the mountains, the desert, and the forest of gardens; the last intermingled with walls, and domes, and minarets, and untold roofs, and the tops of trees, and the glittering sheen of running water, all forming a scene of beauty unparalleled and indescribable. Damascus, with its gardens, is a city in a grove; and conveys the idea of art seated in the lap of nature,—an island of architecture in the midst of a sea of verdure. A little after 7 P. M., we encamped, for the night, by the village of Dāmūr, on the right bank of the Barada.

On the 26th our course led along the right bank of the river, now an impetuous stream, winding frequently, with many graceful curves from side to side of a narrow and luxuriant valley. The country was highly cultivated, with barley, dhoura, the walnut (which is an article of food), the olive, fig, apricot, and mulberry, the pea, and the castor bean. As we advanced, the olive was succeeded by the mulberry and the vine. The rocks were limestone, conglomerate, quartz, and concretions, and in one place there were scattered fragments of marble columns on the plain; and just below a Roman bridge a thick stratum of incrustations of roots of trees and other vegetable matter. The prevailing flowers were the wild white rose; a vine resembling the morning-glory, and a beautiful pink flower. It is strange that with a climate so similar to this, South America does not produce the white rose. High up on the eastern bank, over the bridge, are tombs excavated in the rock, and the ruins of a Roman aqueduct, and a tablet over it with an inscription in Roman characters.

Just before opening the plain of Zebdâny, the Barada



GREAT SHEIKH OF THE ANAZÉE TRIBE.





turns suddenly from west to south in its course, and is joined by a smaller but an impetuous stream from the north, and the two united leap a cataract of twenty, and thence rush foaming down a cascade of thirty feet. Where the plain of Zebdâny opens, the two ranges of mountains nearly meet, leaving but a passage to the great plain.

The road, heretofore, had been winding within a narrow valley, with mountains on each side, and the river rushing and tumbling through; and wherever joined by a tributary there was a village, and around each, in proportion to the size of the stream, were irrigated fields and luxuriant gardens. But, soon after entering the wide plain, the vegetation began to spread from the centre, where ran the river, towards the brown and parched mountains, which, with their sharp and rugged outlines, bounded the horizon on either side.

As we approached the village of Zebdâny, the winding road was shaded by the willow, and confined between hedges of the wild rose and a fragrant but unknown shrub. We camped early just without the village, which is embosomed amid luxuriant gardens enclosed by wattled hedges with rude gates, and beautiful, shaded walks between. The enclosures, like those of Damascus, were a combination of patches of grain, orchards, and gardens, with a running stream through each. Among the fruit trees we gladly recognized the apple and the quince. The apples are celebrated in the market of Damascus.

Among these gardens, in the opinion of some writers, was the paradise of our first parents; and tradition denominates a spot within it the tomb of Adam.

In the evening, visited a holy spring above the town. It was a rill of water trickling from the hill-side and falling into a rude stone trough, with a banner on each side, containing an inscription from the Koran, praying God to

bless all *Muslims* who drank at that sacred fountain. Upon the left was a lamp in a recess, which is lighted after nightfall. We found there a poor old Christian woman from Mesopotamia beyond the Euphrates. She had accompanied her husband on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he died, and she had only been able to get thus far towards her native country. While conversing with her, a proud Kurd, one of the princes of the district, rode up, and made her stop filling her jar and step aside for his horse to drink. It was a splendid chesnut mare, for which, he told us, he had refused 12,000 piastres. A few moments after him, a fellah came up, bearing something in his bosom. The prince demanded to see what it was, and the fellah exhibited a quantity of houma or pea of the country — of which the former, without leave or apology, took as much as he wanted.

We had reason to believe that inebriety prevailed among the Turks in Constantinople, but while in Syria saw only one intoxicated Arab — our muleteer on the present journey — who was rarely sober. On reaching Zebdâny, he had deceived me about the best camping-place, and on my return from the fountain, I said to him, threateningly, as he laid beneath a tree, "I have a great mind to pour a pint of arrack down your throat for telling me an untruth;" when springing up, he exclaimed, "do, Howajeh, and I will kiss your feet!"

Tuesday, June 27. The nature of the country before us rendered a long ride necessary to-day. We therefore rose at 3.45 A. M., the moon just peering over the eastern mountains, and started at 4.50, just as the first beams of the sun tinged the snowy peak of Hermon. At early daylight a great many goats were driven out to pasture, by herdsmen dressed in goat-skin jackets. We soon passed a holy well, enclosed, on the left; with sixteen banners, bearing inscriptions, around it, and one sus-

pended from an adjoining tree; the road running parallel with the brawling stream;—terraced gardens below, on one hand, and barren mountains above us on the other; with conglomerate rock cropping out, and huge boulders of it on the mountain-side and in the valley.

Passing a small encampment of black tents, we ascended a hill-side, and skirted along a beautiful ravine, with a village at its head, surrounded by orchards. Here we entered upon an elevated plateau, three-fourths of a mile wide and five miles long, narrowing to the north, where a depression in the ridge leads to the great plain of Bük'ah. We then came upon a narrow, but highly cultivated valley, with a stream running through it. There were quantities of grain just reaped, and much of it ready for the sickle. A village, through which we passed, was embowered in the luxuriant foliage of the mulberry and the walnut. The houses were mud-plastered, stone huts; the people uncleanly in their persons and attire,—the women and children particularly so. The latter were mostly employed in bearing bundles of mulberry twigs, with the leaves on, to feed the silk-worms in their dwelling-houses.

Until we came upon this valley, the prevailing rock was a coarse conglomerate; but here, the blue limestone, which yesterday dipped, again cropped out, and was succeeded by white calcareous limestone, with some quartz.

The stream widened, and increased in velocity, as we descended, and the strata of the cliffs above us were nearly at right angles to each other,—some horizontal, others perpendicular, and a rock upon the summit looked like a fortification in ruins. The willow, which early in the morning was occasional, became afterwards frequent; and on the brink of the stream were plane-trees, large in girth, but stunted and gnarled. Below them were wild roses, the yellow honeysuckle, and other flowers: we here saw a beautiful bird, resembling the oriole.

Passing by several villages, and a deep ravine with large blocks of conglomerate in its bed, we rode over the rolling, but parched and dreary plain of Būk'ah, with Ghebel Sünnîn, crowned with snow, on our left. The Arabs hold that the ark rested on Sünnîn after the flood, and that Noah lived, and was buried, in this plain. Of the last, which was part of the Coelosyria of the Romans, we know that it was the high road along which Egyptian, Syrian, and Roman hosts have passed, in devastating progress.

Early in the afternoon, we came in sight of the ruins of Heliopolis, or the Great Temple of the Sun, at Ba'albek. While our eyes were riveted upon the colossal mass of architecture, we were startled by a reverberating sound, the echo of our horses' tread, as if there were caverns or excavations beneath. We camped without the village, on the banks of the small, but rapid and clear stream, dignified with the name of the "river of Ba'albek."

Thoroughly conscious of inability to convey an idea of these ruins, even if our exhausted condition had permitted sufficient notes to have been taken for the purpose, and as we possess an excellent sketch of them, taken by Mr. Aulick, I will select, from the description of Lamartine, some passages which are not exaggerated, and correspond with our own observation.

After describing a small octagonal temple, with a dome-roof, supported on granite columns, which is about half a mile distant from the great temple, he says of the last:—"Mingled in confusion around it were shafts of columns, sculptured capitals, architraves, cornices, entablatures, and pedestals. Beyond, rose the hill of Ba'albek, a platform 1000 feet long and 700 feet broad, built entirely by the hands of men, of hewn stones, some of which are from fifty to sixty feet long, and fifteen to sixteen high, and the greatest part from fifteen to thirty above the ground.

Three pieces of stone give a horizontal line of 180 feet, and near 4000 feet of superficies. On this prodigious platform the temple stood; and the six gigantic columns, bearing majestically their rich and colossal entablature, soared above the scene.

“We skirted one of the sides of this hill of ruins, on which rose a multitude of graceful columns of a smaller temple. There were some having their capitals untouched and their cornices richly sculptured; and others were leaning, entire, against the walls which sustained them. But the greatest number were scattered in immense heaps of marble or stone upon the slopes of the hill, in the deep ditches which surround it, and even in the bed of the river flowing at its foot. There were prodigious walls, built of enormous stones, and almost all bearing traces of sculpture; the relics of another era, which were made use of at the remote epoch when they reared the temples which are now in ruins. From the summit of the breach, all around, were seen marble doorways of a prodigious height and breadth; windows or niches bordered with most admirable sculpture, arches, pieces of cornices, entablatures and capitals. We were still separated from the second scene of the ruins by the interior buildings, which intercepted the view of the temples. According to all appearance, we were but in the abodes of the priests, or on the sites of some chapels, consecrated to unknown peculiar rites. We cleared these monumental constructions, much more richly worked than the outer wall, and the second scene of the ruins was before our eyes. Much wider and longer, more decorated still than the one we had left, it presented an immense platform, in the form of an oblong square, the level being often broken by the remains of a raised pavement, which appeared to have belonged to temples utterly destroyed. All around this platform extended a series of chapels,

decorated with niches admirably sculptured, with friezes, cornices, and the most finished workmanship. The only failing, is a superabundant richness; the stone is crushed beneath its own weight of luxury. Eight or ten of these chapels still remain almost uninjured, and they seem to have always existed thus open to the square they are built around, for the mysteries of the worship of Ba'al were doubtless celebrated in the open air.

"We then proceeded south, where the six gigantic columns reared their heads above the ruins. They are each seven feet in diameter and more than seventy high; they are composed of only two or three blocks, so perfectly joined together that it is scarcely possible to distinguish the lines of junction; their material is a stone of a colour between marble and sand-stone. These columns were either the remains of an avenue, or of an exterior decoration of the temple.

"Opposite, on the south, was the smaller temple, on the edge of the platform, about forty paces distant. It is of inferior proportions to that which the six colossal columns recall. It is surrounded by a portico, sustained by columns of the Corinthian order, each of them being five feet in diameter and forty-five feet in shaft, and composed of three cemented blocks. They are nine feet distant from each other, and the same space from the wall of the temple. A rich architrave and a beautifully sculptured cornice run around their capitals. The roof of this peristyle is formed of large blocks of stone, cut by the chisel into concave hollows, in each of which is represented the figure of a god, a goddess, or a hero. Some of these blocks had fallen; they were sixteen feet wide and nearly five feet thick. Not far from the entrance of the temple were large openings and subterranean stairs, which led to lower constructions, the use of which cannot be assigned with certainty. They seemed to extend through



RUINS OF BAALBEC.





the whole space of the hill. The pedestals of this group of monuments are constructed of stones of prodigious dimensions. They are of hewn granite, some of them fifty-six feet long, fifteen or sixteen broad, and of an unknown thickness, and are raised one upon the other, twenty or thirty feet above the ground. They are evidently of a different date from the temple, and belong to an unknown era; and have, probably, borne a variety of temples, sacred to a successive variety of creeds. There are arched passages, about thirty feet high, beneath the platform, running its whole length and breadth.

“The other ancient edifices of Ba'albek, scattered before us on the plain, had no power to interest us after what we had just inspected. We threw a superficial glance, as we passed, upon temples which would be considered wonders at Rome, but which are here like the works of dwarfs. One of them had served as a church, and the Christian symbols still remain. It is now uncovered and in ruins. The Arabs despoil it as they have occasion for a stone to support their roofs, or of a trough to water their camels.”

Wednesday, June 28. Weather, warm and calm;—at mid-day, the heat oppressive, many of the party complaining, and some seriously indisposed. I determined, therefore, to forego a thorough examination of the ruins; and, abandoning the contemplated journey to the cedars of Lebanon, to hasten, with all practicable speed, to Beirût, in the hope of meeting our ship. We found here a very beautiful species of the pink lark-spur, and also a pale, yellow honeysuckle, a native of the south of Europe, and naturalized as far north as Scotland, but which has not, before, been recognised so far to the East.

At 3.45 P. M., started, and passed a quarry where a huge block of granite lay ready, as it appeared, for transportation. We only stopped a sufficient time to measure

it. It proved longer than any in the ruins of the temple. An intelligent gentleman, whom we afterwards met, informed us that, on digging down, he discovered that its bottom was not detached from the rock beneath it.

Crossing the plain towards the Lebanon range, in an hour we passed a fountain near an artificial Roman mound. At the first were three fellâhas, who expressed great fear of the 'Anazeh Arabs. Two of them were young, and one unmarried: their faces were uncovered, and their lips stained blue. They were timid, but not uncourteous. Crossing the head-waters of the Litany, we were compelled to continue on for some time after dark. The mountains in solemn gloom, and lights here and there on the plain, indicated a distant village; the silence unbroken, but by the tramp of the animals and the tinkling bells of the caravan. At length we heard the welcome sound of dogs barking, succeeded by the voices of men; and at 9.45, camped, by starlight, near a village, where three snow-capped mountains overlooked the plain.

Thursday, June 29. Two of the men sick last night, one of them very much so. We seemed to have imbibed the disease which has heretofore prostrated all who have ventured upon the Dead Sea, and were about to pass the ordeal. As I looked upon my companions drooping around me, many and bitter were my self-reproaches for having ever proposed the undertaking.

Started at 7.10 A. M., our course north-west for the first half hour, to regain the high road, from which we last night diverged in search of water. Our route then led along the flank of Lebanon towards the south-west. Here and there upon the plain on one side, and in every nook of the mountain on the other, was a village, through or beside which flowed a rivulet, bordered with trees and shrubbery, the only lines of vegetation above the plain.

The cultivation was the same as we have heretofore seen, with the addition of the kersenna, a round pea with a hard shell, growing two or three in a pod, and resembling very large radish seeds in appearance. The kernel is saffron-coloured, sweet to the taste, and it is an article of food for oxen and camels, the last particularly. It is broken and given in moistened balls. We saw very few birds in these mountains. We then traversed a well-watered and highly cultivated country, and passed through the village of Ma'alakah and the town of Zahley; the first seated on a slope, the last in a beautiful hollow of the mountain; the borders of the streams, tributaries of the Litany, in sight below, lined with willow and a profusion of the silver-leaved poplar. Near the town, we met a fellah on a donkey, travelling with all his effects; they consisted of a mat, two cushions, a pipe and an āba. This is considered the most flourishing town in the Lebanon, if not in all Syria. It has four Christian churches, each with its bell, which formerly was not permitted in the Turkish dominions. The houses present a neat appearance, and many of them were whitewashed. The people courteously saluted us as we passed. There are said to be some gipsies here.

From this place I sent the interpreter ahead to engage quarters for us in the vicinity of Beirût, if the ship were not there, as medical attendance would be required immediately upon our arrival. The horse he rode, the best traveller we had, died upon the way. Descending and skirting along the root of Lebanon, we turned and clambered up again, and stopped to rest at noon upon a terrace overlooking the whole plain of Būk'ah—a glorious sight—but we were too sick to enjoy it.

At 3.50 P. M., started again—two of the party scarce able to sit upon their horses—but we were obliged to proceed for want of accommodation. The road was a most

execrable one, leading over the summit ridges of the Lebanon—a keen, cold wind blowing from south-west. From the highest summit we could see the mist above the sea, but not the sea itself. At 6.40 P. M., we were compelled to stop, and camped near a dirty khan, on a little platform overlooking the lovely valley of Emanâ, one thousand feet below. It was a cold night, during which Mr. Dale was attacked with the same symptoms as the other sick. One of the party, going out of the tent in the dark, nearly fell over the ledge down the precipice.

Friday, June 30. A chilly morning—misty clouds sweeping over the mountain-tops and resting in the chasms. We were 4000 feet above the level of the sea. The two first taken sick were better, but Mr. Dale was worse. In company with Mr. Bedlow, I sent him ahead, that he might obtain the best medical advice as soon as possible.

Started at 7.2 A. M., the road winding over almost impassable mountain ridges, in some places by steps cut in the rock, and yet it is the high road from Beïrût to Damascus—one, the principal sea-port, and the other, the capital of all Syria. In our weak condition, we travelled slowly; the way grew longer and longer as the day wore on, and the coolness of the morning was succeeded by the scorching heat of noon.

For a short distance we travelled along an old Roman road, the curb-stones distinctly perceptible; and at 10.30, saw the ruins of an aqueduct over the river of Beïrût. There was a single tier of arches on the north, and a double tier on the south side of the stream. At 11, Beïrût and the sea in sight, but the sick scarce able to keep their saddles, when fortunately we met our countryman, Dr. De Forest, of the Evangelical Mission, who prescribed some medicine to be administered as soon as possible. At 11.20, stopped at a khan for that purpose. In

an hour started again, and near the village of Bhamdûn passed some deposits of petrified clam and oyster shells, with some ammonites. Just below was ferruginous sandstone, which dipped towards the west, next carbonate of lime and calcareous limestone. At one place the crumbling sandstone presented a variety of hues, light brown, dark brown, maroon, purple, yellow, and pink. Two miles below, the sandstone descended to the plain, and vegetation increased. The wheat which grew so sparsely up the mountains as to be plucked up by the roots, was succeeded by the fig, the apricot, the vine, dhoura, beans, cucumbers and melons, while three-fourths of the space was covered with the mulberry. Along the road, just where the mountain sinks into the plain, were many carob trees, resembling the cherry in its trunk and limbs, and the colour of its bark, the apple tree in its leaves, and the catalpa in its fruit—a long narrow bean of an insipid sweet taste. As we opened the harbour of Beîrût, our strained eyes sought in vain for the ship we so longed to see. My heart sank within me, as, after many alternations of hope and fear, the only three-masted vessel in the port proved not to be the Supply. The end who could foresee!

The luxuriant foliage of the plain intercepted the light breeze we had felt in the mountains, and it was excessively sultry; but, we at length came to the groves of pine planted to arrest the encroachments of sand from the sea-shore, and thence riding through gardens that seemed interminable, we at length reached our quarters upon the sea-shore. Some of us were unable to dismount, from sheer exhaustion; Mr. Dale, two of the seamen, and myself, requiring immediate medical attendance.

Saturday, July 1. All hands, nearly, sick. Dr. Suquet, a French physician, sent by his government to study the diseases of Syria, in attendance; but, feeling uneasy

about two cases, I sent an express for Dr. De Forest. The weather warm and relaxing.

Sunday, July 2. The sick mostly better. Dr. De Forest arrived. He said that much care was required; but that with care no danger was to be apprehended. He declined compensation. Weather warm but not oppressive.

Monday, July 3. The sick much better, except one new case. Our wounded man came to see us. We were ever scanning the horizon for the expected ship.

Tuesday, July 4. Sick convalescent with the exception of one of the seamen, attacked early in the morning. At noon, fired twenty-one guns in honour of the day. Weather warm.

On Monday, the 10th, Mr. Dale, in the hope of being more speedily invigorated by the mountain air, rode to Bhamdûn, a village about twelve miles distant up the mountain. It was the dreadful Damascus road, which we had travelled eleven days before. He arrived thoroughly exhausted, but was the next day much recruited. On the second day, however, a sirocco set in, which lasted three days, and completely prostrated him. On the 17th I received intelligence that he was very ill, and immediately hastened up, and found him partially delirious. He laboured under a low, nervous fever, the same which had carried off Costigan and Molyneaux. He was in the house of the Rev. Mr. Smith, of the American Presbyterian Mission, and received from all its members there the kindest and most assiduous nursing. Dr. De Forest was in constant attendance day and night, and his wife was as a ministering angel to the invalid. Dr. Vandyke came some distance to see him, and his case received every alleviation that the warmest sympathy could afford.

The exhibition of this sympathy for a stranger, was strikingly contrasted by a case of unfeeling selfishness in the village. It is a custom among the villagers,

the Druses excepted, to fly from any one supposed to be attacked with a contagious disease. A woman, who washed for Dr. De Forest, being taken sick, her family believing that it was fever, contracted from his clothes, in consequence of his attendance on Mr. Dale, they all, her husband and her children, immediately fled, leaving beside her a cucumber and a piece of bread. The Doctor could only prevail on the daughter to place medicine within her mother's reach. And they are as ignorant and superstitious as they are selfish. On occasion of a solar eclipse not long since, they beat upon tin pans, &c., to frighten away the serpents which they imagined were eating up the sun and moon.

My poor friend lingered until the evening of the 24th, when he expired so gently, that it was difficult to tell the moment of dissolution. Determined to take his remains home, if possible, I started immediately with them for Beirût. It was a slow, dreary ride down the rugged mountain by torchlight. As I followed the body of my late companion, accompanied only by swarthy Arabs, and thought of his young and helpless children, I could scarce repress the wish that I had been taken, and he been spared. At times, the wind, sweeping in fitful gusts, nearly extinguished the torches; and again their blaze would stream up with a lurid glare, as we made our way through chasms and hollows, enveloped in a dense and palpable mist. We reached the neighbourhood of the town at daylight, and the body was immediately placed in three coffins, (one metallic, and two wooden ones,) and laid in a vacant building.

In the gloom, consequent on our loss, we waited impatiently for the Supply; but in vain we hourly scanned the horizon. On the 30th, one month after our return, the physicians advised us to leave at once, as there could be no hope of the recovery of the sick at Beirût. I therefore chartered a small French brig, to take our boats and



effects, the body of our friend, and ourselves, to Malta. An unhappy accident in the transportation of the remains from the shore to the vessel, and the superstitious fears of the French captain and his crew, compelled me most reluctantly to land them. About sunset, as the Turkish batteries were saluting the first night of the Ramedan, we escorted the body to the Frank cemetery, and laid it beneath a Pride of India tree. A few most appropriate chapters in the Bible were read, and some affecting remarks made by the Rev. Mr. Thompson; after which, the sailors advanced, and fired three volleys over the grave; and thus, amid unbidden tears and stifled sobs, closed the obsequies of our lamented companion and friend.

At 9 P. M., we embarked on board of *La Perle d'Orient*; and, after a tedious passage of thirty-eight days, during which we suffered much from sickness, debility, and scarcity of food and water, we reached Malta, and received every possible attention from our Consul, Mr. Winthrop. Coming from a sickly climate, we were not permitted to enter the town, or to associate with any one, but were confined in a building apart.

On the 12th of September, the Supply having arrived, I had the satisfaction of reëmbarking the Expedition, with only three of its members on the sick-report.

Sailing thence, we touched at Naples, Marseilles, and Gibraltar, in the hope of procuring supplies; but, in the two first places, we were refused pratique, and from the third, we were peremptorily ordered away. Like the dove that could find no resting-place, our weary ship then winged her way for home; and, early in December, we were greeted with the heart-cheering sight of our native land.

THE END.

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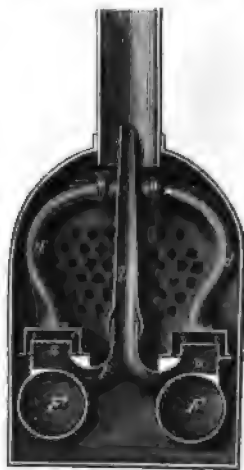
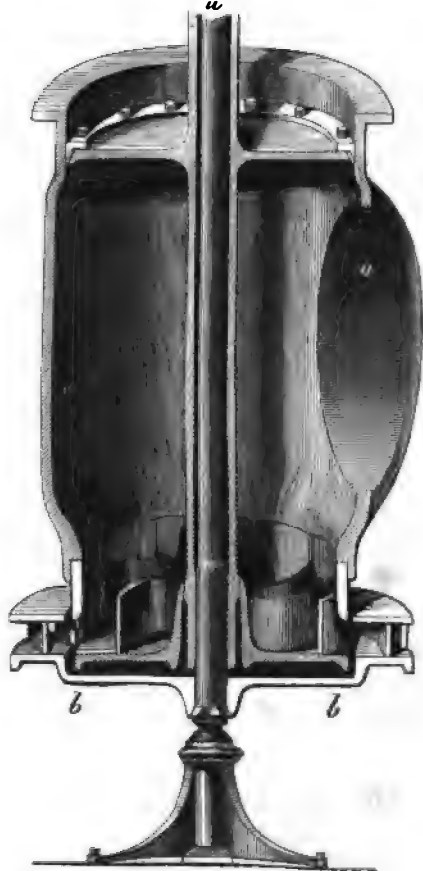
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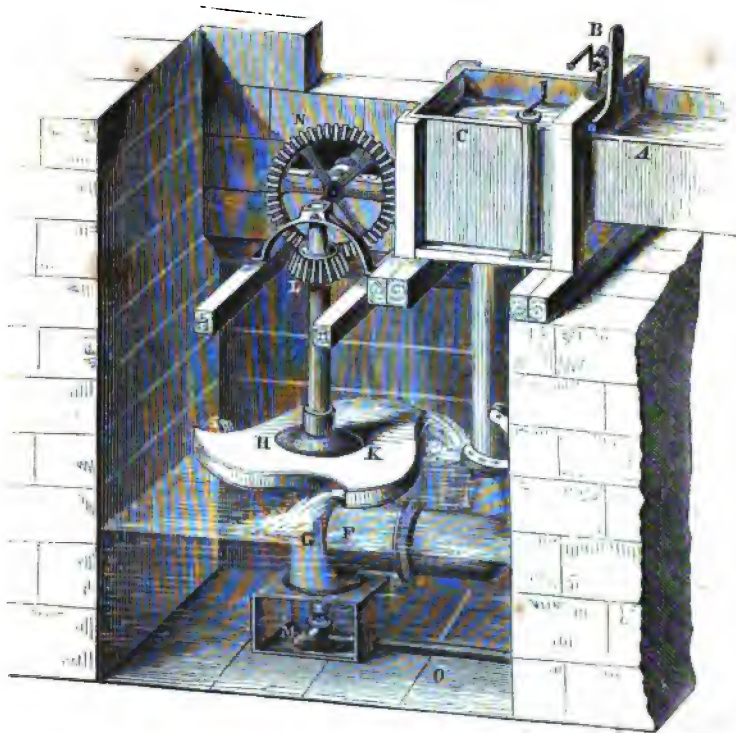
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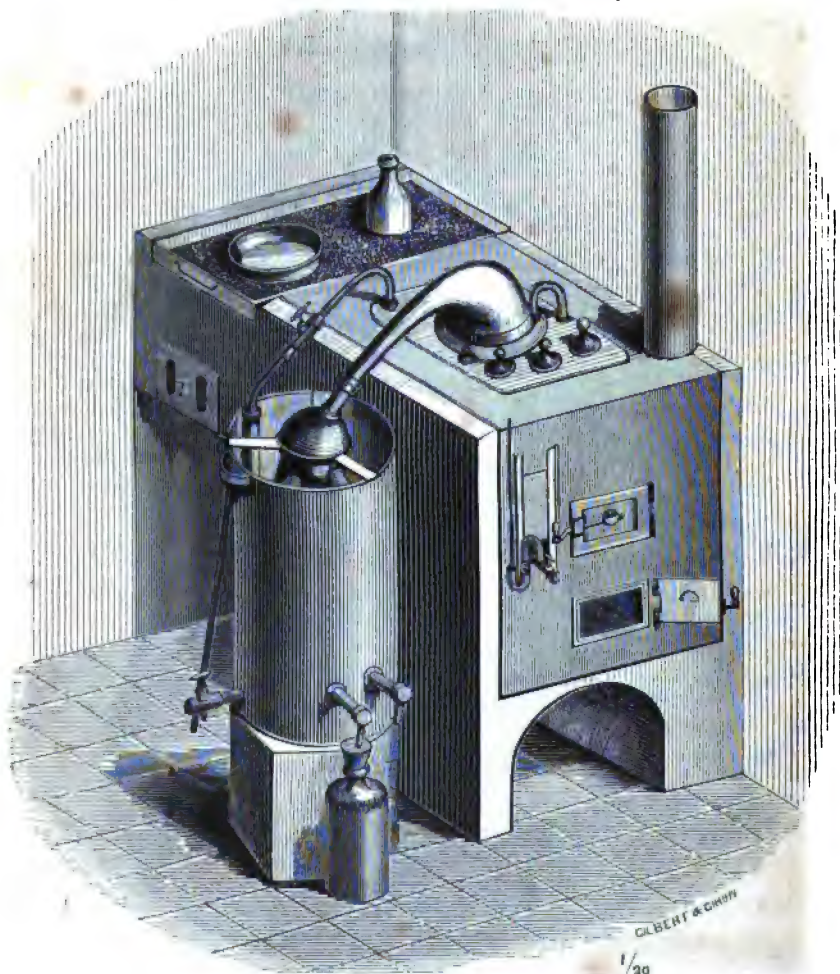
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PREFACE.

It has been found necessary, on account of its disproportionate bulk, to divide the last volume of the first edition of this work. The question may be asked, why I have not rather retrenched and curtailed it; and my reply is, that I did not think myself justified in dealing thus with a book which already belongs to the public, and has been blessed to the public good;—that the words of the Passion and the Resurrection demand the most careful and elaborate treatment, being of all our Lord's discourses the most weighty, the most profound, and the most unlimited in their consequences;—and, moreover, that they involve more than ordinary exposition of the historical narrative with which they are so wonderfully interwoven. As to the most diffuse of the treatises contained in these volumes—those on Baptism and the Lord's Supper—the necessity of our own times has required that they should be rather enlarged than compressed.

May the Lord open for this exposition of His word, based upon a penetrating contemplation of His life, a still more extended path of usefulness and blessing! May it especially be the means of convincing many that "the abstract principle of an authoritative Scripture," even without the strict obligations of Confessions, can offer something positive enough for a genuine faith in Christ; and of proving to others that even a "more rigorous idea of inspiration" may be consistently and intelligently carried out into the details of interpretation, to the satisfaction of every reasonable mind.

We have heard lately many protests against both these things, with direct reference to this book. As to my work, it

must continue to defend itself and assert its own claims; but I may be permitted, by way of preface, to say a few words in reply more especially to the review of Weizsacker in Reuter's Repertorium (March 1854). I am thankful to this generally friendly critic for giving me this opportunity; and cannot deny that I feel more sympathy with *his* scientific freedom than with the ecclesiastical narrowness of my former critic Münchmeyer:—whose exhortations to submit myself to his so-called Church were utterly lost upon me, but whose objections and misunderstandings have been referred to, wheresoever expedient, in this second edition. Weizsacker also adopts a fundamental position quite different from mine; and the consequence is much misapprehension and much stricture and condemnation which I must altogether repudiate. Not that I refuse to submit to correction: God knows how gladly I would learn from any one who should convince my judgment. My critic's review very closely and carefully pursues the first four volumes of the work; but I cannot of course trouble the public with specific reply to all his individual criticisms. After all, when each has said all that he has to say, the reader must judge and decide. As to the charge, which, with all its severity, is urged with brotherly kindness, that my book occasionally deals in sweeping condemnation of those who are otherwise minded, I can only say that every man has a right to use his literary prerogative according to his conviction; and certainly my critic has unsparingly used *his* in regard to my unworthy self. Let us take care to avoid such smooth courtliness as would imperil the sharp expression of our honest convictions! On the other hand, let us beware of being needlessly offended by every sharp expression of contrary judgment! My book will be found, however, to abound in conciliatory words which prove that, while I wage vehement warfare against everything that opposes my convictions, my blame is directed only against unbelief, half-belief, and the human element which violates my understanding of the Divine Word: moreover, that I do not make *faith* in this word and the person of Christ unconditionally dependent upon individual apprehensions of individual truths, but recognise it everywhere as the faith of the heart, whatever form or direction it may take.

The remarks which I purpose to make upon Weizsacker's criticism may be advantageously limited to the four main points which lie at the foundation of all his objections and censures: to wit, that there is contradiction in my fundamental principles themselves—that I touch the subordinate historical problem unskilfully—that my harmonistic system is unscientific and forced—that, finally, the exegesis is far from giving the true and unprejudiced meaning.

The objection that there are contradictions, still unremoved, in my theory and system, is one to which every system in theology as well as in philosophy is exposed at the hands of every other system. The perpetual conflict of my exegesis with that of the predominant school has given me abundant incentive thoroughly to test my fundamental principles, in order to find out what might be wanting to their unity and consistency; but the most conscientious revision of the work for this second edition has detected nothing in them fundamentally contradictory. On the contrary, I have become more livingly conscious of the internal truth and harmony of my views; while only in a few places it has seemed prudent to render the *expression* a little plainer, and less open to misunderstanding. Would that the critic above-named had pointed out to me what those contradictions are, with the same diffuseness which he has expended upon individual questions of exegesis! I seek that information in vain throughout his Review, and am therefore referred to the "orthodox theology" of the Universities, which his criticism rests upon as a presupposed and unquestioned foundation.

The question of historical criticism and Harmony comes next; but it is primarily in my "tolerably rigid, though not mechanical idea of inspiration" that I am challenged to admit my self-contradiction. That *my* idea of inspiration—to use these words in passing, although it is not properly speaking mine—contradicts "the methods not only of *most* modern critics, but of the apologists also," is neither to be denied nor altered by me; the question is whether, as I have many times asserted and proved, these methods themselves are not to be charged with vagueness and inconsistency, if not with an utter want of any theory of inspiration whatever. Do I understand it to be a fundamental contradiction in me, that I would join the newer

theology, against the old orthodoxy, in giving its full right to the human side, while the Divine is not forgotten and denied? My critic can scarcely mean this, for he himself reckons "the pervading reference of the word to the *Divine-human* person of Jesus" among the "excellencies" of the work. Yes, verily, the inspired word also claims to be Divine-human in its character. To carry through this supreme fundamental principle consistently, without ever giving undue preponderance to the Divine or the human element, is the great problem of our limited knowledge and skill. It is a problem never to be fully solved; I aim at it everywhere, but think that neither myself nor any other expositor has ever fully reached it yet. But the principle in itself is no self-contradiction; it is the sole mediating principle of all contradictions.

The Excursus on Inspiration (on Matt. xxii. 34-46, Vol. iii.) "is so indistinct and contradictory that however anxious one may be to find a firm and definite principle, he must entirely fail." This "rough judgment" I must assent to, without the opportunity of defending myself against any more specific argument; so that I might justly reply that the indistinctness is chargeable to the critic's eye, and the want of firm and definite principle is only in the relation of my theory to his system or no-system! I have only further to declare that I cannot express myself more clearly and precisely than I have done, there and elsewhere, upon the great miracle of Inspiration which our Lord's immoveable *ἡ γέγραπται* ascribes to the sacred Scriptures and every part of them. I have looked everywhere for specific refutation of my contradictions, but meet only vague and general censures. Yet not absolutely so, for Weizsacker gives me at least one specific hint: "The expression *ἐν πνεύματι* would rather support the opposite conclusion, than that there is an *inspiration* distinguished from *revelation*." But here I can only utter my simple protest, which rests upon plain and definite grounds; for here there is an essential difference of "views." As if *ἐν πνεύματι*—to abide by the text in hand—were connected as an epithet with the person of *David*, and did not belong rather to *καλεῖ*, to the word and expression of the Psalm; just as in Mark xii. 36 it belongs to *εἶπεν*, and in St Peter the *φερόμενοι* belongs to the *ἐλάλησαν*—they *spoke* as they *were moved*—and as in Lu. xx. 42 the

"book of Psalms" takes the place of "*in Spirit!*" As if we must form to ourselves the airy notion of a *πνεῦμα* of personal *revelatio* for the writers of the old Scriptures, whose entire personality, however, certainly did not live and walk and speak every word *in the Spirit*—instead of understanding the expression, sanctioned by Jesus, to apply to the *Scripture* and not to the persons, according to the uncontested meaning of *בְּרוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ* as held in common by the Pharisees and our Lord! This was so plainly stated in the Excursus that I can do no more than repeat it. My New-Testament exegesis is derived from the *Old Testament*; my theory of Inspiration rests upon that orthodox Judaism which was confirmed and established by our Lord and His Apostles. That theology, on the other hand, which my critic represents, seeks its principle independently of this strict connection, without any respect to this Old-Testament school of instruction for the New Testament; as long, therefore, as it declines to hold by the *γραφῇ* which originated there, it will never be able to free itself from its necessary opposition to the miracle of Inspiration as testified by Christ.

There is another hint given to me, but in the same tone of dogmatic counter-assertion. As it respects the *type* specifically, I am taught that "I should not have entered the lists for the *unknown* in itself, but for the *transformation* of the literal idea of the type into a conscious and designed typical form of speaking." This expression certainly gives me no model of clearness; for I am altogether in embarrassment how to understand it. My whole theory maintains most emphatically the conscious design of typical sayings; but it is the consciousness and design of the inspiring Spirit, and not always of the human writer: only thus can I reconcile the grammatical and historical sense of many passages with the prophetic meaning disclosed in them by the New Testament. That, without any necessity for transformation, is my notion of a *type*, which is therefore distinguished from a *prophecy* in the stricter sense. When the critic speaks of a "use" of the Old Testament in the New, and of a "*freer* use of the prophetic word by Jesus Himself," and terms the "authentic interpretation of Old-Testament passages" by Christ and His Apostles an "extreme view"—it is plain that he is in utter contradiction to my principle, and no less opposed,

I believe, to Christ and His Apostles. True consistency must always be extreme—mine, therefore, has nothing to fear. Where can there be found any other key which shall worthily and consistently open all these “uses” of the Old Testament in the New, but that rigorous doctrine of Inspiration, which in the conscious and designed words of the Holy Ghost recognises finally all type to be prophecy, and all prophecy to be typically mediated!

The critic charges me with “*most forced exposition of Old Testament passages and sections of the prophets;*” he terms the typical exposition of the eschatological discourse of our Lord “a psychological and christological impossibility, which contradicts itself at every step;” but these are dogmatic assertions from *his own* point of view simply, and the only reply is a recommendation to a thoroughly penetrating study of the Old Testament. But when it is alleged against me that I represent the Lord as ascribing to the Old Testament the full *doctrine* of immortality, it is merely a misunderstanding of my words; for it is expressly stated in Vol. iii. that the faith in a future life, which was necessarily involved in a faith in the living God, comes forward but seldom, and “never as a doctrine.”

The critic almost *laments* “that the exegetical task was not the only one which the book aimed to accomplish, and that it should intrude so much into the *historical problem!*” This briefer objection may be met by a briefer reply. And that may be put in the self-answering question—Can a real exposition of the words of our Lord be imagined, which should leave out the historical problem, that is, not enter into the exposition and arrangement of the life and works of the Lord? Is there such a thing possible as a separation of the words from the narrative? The one almost everywhere illustrates the other; it sometimes happens that the word is to be understood only as the luminous centre of an entire transaction, and the transaction again only to be perfectly understood by the help of the word:—of this, the remainder of our work will give continual and decisive examples. Consequently, that a book such as mine should “aspire to give at the same time the materials for an evangelical Harmony, as well as for a life of Jesus,” is quite consistent with propriety; for the rightly understood *discourses* of

Jesus *are* themselves by far the largest and most distinctive portion of these materials, without the thorough consideration of which, criticism, with all its apparatus of learning, is in continual danger of going astray. As to my furnishing these materials for the life of Jesus "by the way," and therefore unsatisfactorily, my readers must decide; but I confess that I cannot understand the assertion. The critic bewails the labour of gathering from "scattered, occasional remarks" (what else could they be, occurring upon these several passages!) my views upon this and that part of evangelical history—but it should be remembered that the title is not "the Life of Jesus" but His "Discourses." The nature of the case required that these remarks, aiming to adjust the words to the narrative, should be fragmentary and occasional. To deal with occurrences as they are brought forward by the Lord's discourses, is certainly the only order that an exposition of these discourses could adopt; he who writes the life of Jesus must of course order and combine events differently. Would to God that this was never done prematurely, without having first considered these scattered data in the place assigned to them in the text of the Gospels, and in the light of the discourses with which they are inseparably connected! I could wish that whoever may use this book as furnishing materials to that end, would not seek simply *the author's* "views" or "fundamental principles," but observe carefully the data themselves which, by his aid, have been pointed out and demonstrated. If, then, a different view suggests itself—which, unhappily, often occurs in spite of clear and concrete data, through the influence of preconceived principles—the reader is free, of course, to deal in his own way with what the author furnishes according to the light of his own best understanding.

This leads to the dissatisfaction of Weizsacker specifically with my *Harmony*. And, first, it is not true that in this department of my labour I am guided by an altogether different canon from that of inspiration, namely, the *historical*. No, both canons in their unity are my guide, the inspiration-canon having, indeed, the first authority, inasmuch as the historical must not contradict that:—my tenacity on this point is reproached even by the reviewer himself. The pre-eminent place

which is accorded to St Matthew, St Luke yielding to him, if need be, as being a reporter at one remove, is rightly understood; but what are the arguments brought against this? They are brought from the new theology, and alleged without proof—though my book everywhere contends earnestly, perhaps too earnestly, against that theology, by diligent argument. My error is not “preference” for St Matthew; all I do is to represent, as a *witness* against modern criticism, the immoveable fact that “St Matthew is actually an Apostle and eyewitness, while St Luke is a witness only in the second degree.” In this case, also, it was no more than right that the protest should have been more specific than a mere statement of the hostile attitude in which I stand to current views. Here it is impossible for me to admit the blank declaration that—according to a very miserable idea of Inspiration, not mine!—“Inspiration, as it regards anything in the gospels, can assuredly have no other meaning than this, that the historical truth of what is recorded is secured by it.” Oh no, it must, in order that this may be the case in the fullest sense, certainly also secure the full truth of the words recorded as belonging to the matter recorded; *consequently*, neither the essential matter of these discourses, nor as far as they are essential their verbal expressions, can have been transposed, changed, worked up, or arranged by any “tradition.” The transposition of the *verba ipsissima* is everywhere the *confirming* and *illustrative* work of the Holy Spirit Himself. *Consequently* we can admit no grouping of discourses gathered from various places, when the historically sure St Matthew simply records that “He opened His mouth” on this mountain; and, again, that “it came to pass when Jesus made an end of these words,” etc. All this I have so often and so clearly said, that I can only repeat my own words.

To follow this out into its application to my individual expositions and analytical arrangements would be inappropriate here. But on the general question, I may remark that I do admit, not as under constraint but consciously and freely, the principle that a constituent element of the text may, in certain few cases, have been erroneously placed in the position it occupies. When the critic charges me with “fighting on behalf of a Harmonist idol,” he proves that he has neglected to read *all*

that I have said upon the subject. For he would have found it often and strongly maintained, that the order of time is not regarded by the Evangelists as the first point; that it is impossible for us to construct a perfect Harmony; and that I present my own as no more than an attempt, which may be compared to advantage with others. I fight not for this or any view of mine, as such; but for the fundamental principle that there is a fixed limit where the sacred letter of historically-recording Scripture commands all arbitrary license to pause, and rejects all Harmonistic systems which would transgress it.

I find it very difficult, on the fourth and last point, which is however in reality the first and most important, to avoid expatiating in anti-criticism and exegetical disquisition. My respected critic declares it to be a doubtful question whether my explanation of the discourses themselves, with all frank admission of its excellencies, satisfies its design and furthers an "unprejudiced and true understanding" of the Lord's words. Now, this is what I have aimed at with a sincere intention, and I could have wished that at least to be conceded to me. Of course I can give only *my* apprehension of the word, and must leave every one to form his own. This is answer enough; but I may be permitted—not so much for my critic, as for the benefit of some of my readers—to add a few brief remarks. My inmost consciousness acquits me of the charge—strange charge for one whose emancipation from all authority is so strongly condemned by others—that I never, or but little, deviate "from the older traditional exposition and view of Scripture." I know of no absolute authority but the Scripture itself, as far as I can understand it; the traditional interpretation, old or new, has no fetters for me, save where the tradition of my exegesis approves itself to my mind. Even where that exegesis seems to be at one with the old tradition, a close inspection will very frequently at least detect something different and new. Have I not, on the other hand, everywhere received, acknowledged, and worked in, the new and most recent exposition, as far as I could honestly do so? I may be bold enough to assert that there is scarcely another exegete now living who with equally unprejudiced all-sidedness connects the old with the new. From all "painful seeking out of a deep meaning" I

feel myself perfectly absolved;—if by this is meant a human and arbitrary pursuit of it, and not that commanded *ἐπευνῶν* to which the finding is promised. If, as it respects many, this deeper penetration “sacrifices clearness”—yet only sometimes, and not throughout?—there are others who desire and cordially welcome the depth of exposition; and who know that in Divine truth, consequently in the Divine word too, there are some things which cannot be so “clearly” as others presented to every one. As to the old and persistent complaint of the mingling of exegesis and application, I must vindicate this right for myself as a practical expositor, whose aim is to be helpful to the preacher, too often left unaided by other expositions; especially as my critic admits that the scientific element is not wanting. After admitting that I have some perception of “the living character of the word, with the depth and riches of its references to the life”—it is scarcely ingenuous to cavil about the uncertain boundary between exposition and application. Where the word itself leads the thoughtful meditation from some single utterance into the “general system of dogmatics”—and how often is this the case!—let it not be charged upon the expositor as a fault that he does the same, and traces the connection between the individual saying and the whole body of truth. He has scriptural justification for this; and no other interpretation of the word is at once scientific and theological. If there should be found, as is alleged, any such vacillation of exposition as hinders the simplicity of interpretation in any particular passage, I must crave excuse for it. It has been my desire rather to give too much than too little; though this is not of such frequent occurrence as the critic maintains. My “allegorising”—which has been set down as “trifling” by those who have no organ for it—springs not from any constraint put upon me by my adherence to old tradition; nor does my “assumption of a manifold meaning in the Word.” This last principle was first commended to me by a reverend master of Scripture, who has brought to it much that is *new*; but my subsequent study of holy writ combined with the older tradition to confirm me in this fundamental principle of Hermeneutical science. If Weizsacker is at one with me in the “admission of an infinite meaning” in the Divine Word, he must certainly be

brought to the conclusion that this infinite meaning can be unfolded and won only by seeking what is too often called the manifold sense of the Word, but what should be termed its *fulness of meaning*.

Thus I once more avow the position which I still continue to hold in relation to the objections of that Theology with which I can have no sympathy. May this avowal, demanded of me on the issue of a second edition of the present work, commend itself to my readers of whatever bias! But may the Lord, in whose presence we all learn and commit our errors, give us His Spirit, who guides His people by degrees into all truth, and by that truth overcomes one after another His people's errors. He guides us into this truth by the path of life, if we walk in His word and bear witness out of its fulness for His kingdom:—not by the path of study alone; not by the path of science separated from the life, in which the schools too often walk, and too many, alas, engaged in the offices of the Church, walk with them.

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Parting of His Raiment,	xxvii. 33, 34, 38	xv. 22, 23, 27, 28	xxiii. 27—31
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Superscription, Mockery, Blasphemy, . . .	xxvii. 37, 39—44	xv. 26, 29—32	xxiii. 35—39	xix. 19—22
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connected: It is finished! Father, into Thine
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 Women, . . .
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 the Disciples going to Emmaus, . . .
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 Thomas, . . .
Eight days afterwards, His Sixth Appearance:
 to the Apostles with Thomas, . . .
 (Many other Signs for Faith), . . .
 Indefinite period later, His seventh Appear-
 ance: on the Sea of Tiberias, . . .
 His Eighth Appearance: on the Mountain in
 Galilee (to the five hundred?), . . .
 Ten days before Pentecost: His last (and penul-
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 the Mount of Olives; His Ascension, . . .

THE WORDS OF THE PASSION.

MOST IMMEDIATE FORE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE PASSION.

(Matt. xxvi. 2.)

AFTER many intimations to His disciples of His coming sufferings and death, beginning with Jno. ii. 19, iii. 14, and increasing in clearness down to the express and thrice-repeated declarations of Matt. xvi. 21, xvii. 22, xx. 18, *the Lord once more, two days before it comes to pass, announces what should befall Him.* This saying of Jesus, preserved by St Matthew alone, is the commencement of the history of the Passion.

The first Evangelist introduces it by a remarkable break in the connection, which impressively indicates the great beginning of the final catastrophe. *All these sayings*, ver. 1, is ordinarily referred only to chs. xxiv., xxv.; and, allowing that allusion to be included, it presents us with a highly significant contrast between the dread announcement of judgment which preceded, and the present announcement of His own humiliation. "I will sit upon the throne of My glory, dispensing eternal woe and eternal life:—Now I give Myself up to be crucified!" But if this was the case alone, it would appear that *after two days* was really spoken on the same day, Tuesday, or in the evening of it—but that, as we shall see, cannot be allowed. Moreover, the lofty words πάντας and ἐτέλεσεν point to a higher and more comprehensive meaning of this crisis of transition. The Lord had closed all His words—especially His public discourses before

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His enemies, but also the teaching and prophesying words which He spoke to the disciples¹—when He went forward to the consummation of the final judgment. He now passes from the prophetic office to the high-priestly²—for this reason, that the *discourses* themselves have not yet *fulfilled* anything. Such an impression must be produced in this place upon the mind of every simple and devout reader of the Gospel (and for such it was written !); and every one who reads it with the Church, or preaches from it to the Church, must feel disposed, with Dräseke, to ask—"What were the words which He had finished?"

This Son of man, who testified of Himself as the Son of God, had given the sublimest and purest witness to the truth of God, in unison with a holy life and mighty wonders; and, as the Saviour come into the world, He had uttered, moreover, the most urgent invitations to all convinced sinners to enter the kingdom of grace. "Never man *had spoken* like this man"—and as far as by word alone spiritual influence could be exerted upon man, should there not have been corresponding fruit? But here it was effectually shown that for man's deliverance something more was wanting than *words*, albeit the perfect words of the eternal *Word*; that these could only work preparatorily, and that indeed (as the whole plan of St John's Gospel shows) in no other way than by *evoking that enmity* against God, which rejected and gave over to a shameful death His Son, the Witness to the truth. Once more, in this same way the enmity was abolished, the curse was removed, and the way of the Spirit prepared into the hearts of reconciled men; so that He may now unfold the words of the Word down to the end of time, and carry them with power to human hearts. Thus not till after the *discourses* were finished, did the proper accomplishment and *fulfilment* of all come, in the facts of redeeming sufferings and death. And then the discourses become

¹ For Jno. xiii.-xvii. has a perfectly distinct and peculiar character, belonging to the testimonies given during the Passion itself. Merely external considerations have induced us to exclude that whole section from the present volume, and to anticipate by placing it in its connection in St John's Gospel.

² As Grötius remarked: "The office of Teacher and Prophet being fulfilled, Christ enters upon the priestly office."

naturally and necessarily fewer and fewer, while the passion of the silent Lamb itself speaks forth all the more impressively its own meaning; not, however, that there are no accompanying and explanatory utterances, for even here the Evangelist, after the finishing of the discourses, proceeds to give some further words of Christ.

And here a very few words, containing apparently nothing new or of special moment, disclose to us as it were the scene of the Passion, before we come to the Last Supper and Gethsemane; they are generally passed over by expositors as mere repetition of previous predictions, and sometimes as if under suspicion of being spurious. But the repetition derives from the time and hour, as connected with the narrative, the utmost significance, as the Holy Ghost in St Matthew gives us to understand. *God's counsel* and *Christ's obedience*—are its two critical points.

The former St Matthew indicates by the *Then* which he appends to the *It came to pass when*. The fruit of all our Lord's previous discourse and active energy is—the conclusive and final determination to put Him to death at all costs! But this counsel of men against God, although it had been foreseen from the beginning and permissively confirmed in the counsel of God, must nevertheless, as man's evil device, be in some sense brought to contempt. Before they say, "*Not on the feast day!*"¹ the Lord had fore-announced that *on the feast day* it should and it must come to pass; and this serene, sublime assurance, with which the Lord anticipates and meets the well-known design of His enemies, cannot be too deeply pondered and felt. As in the history of mankind generally, which is the struggle of man to be reconciled to God and reunited with Him, God's counsel and man's are perpetually striving *against* each other, so is it in this great centre and solution of human history, in the death of the God-man for the life of the world. *Another* purpose of man, devised in hell and suggested to Judas exasperated at

¹ These words certainly show (if the New Testament is to have as much weight as the Talmud) that there was no *statute* against executions and processes at law during the feast. It cannot be proved that their *not* refers merely to the *taking*, and not also to the *killing* as soon as possible afterwards.

Bethany (hence in ver. 14 another *Then* in conclusion), must bring it about that what was to be done should be done, according to the word of Jesus, in opposition to the decree of the Sanhedrim. And the same Judas must hear with the rest what Jesus said *unto His disciples*; in order that he may know now at the commencement (as afterwards ver. 24) that even as Satan's instrument he is no other than the executor of the Divine purpose. For we find not in St Matthew's account the slightest reason for doubting whether Judas was or was not present; on the contrary, we agree with Pfenninger's representation of the imaginary scene,—that the Lord expressly gathered the Twelve around Him, in order that in their full assembly He might solemnly utter this declaration.

The *time* is measured to our Lord, even down to the day and the hour; and this, with every the slightest detail, He shows more and more clearly that He knows. His own simple word bears impressive witness to that which was generally hinted in Lu. xiii. 32, and most plainly declared in Lu. xxii. 53. Not one utterance of His lips, which was yet to be spoken, should be restrained or suppressed; not until He had made a full end of *all His words*, had those days and hours come which the Gospels more and more definitely mark off, until they begin to reckon from hour to hour. "*Ye know that after two days is the feast of the Passover.*"—The Lord thus begins with what was *known to every one*, but goes on immediately to add the *most concealed and hidden* purpose of God concerning *this* Passover. "The Jews were well aware of the day in their kalendar; but Christ would have them inscribe this, that God's Son was now to be the paschal Lamb." (Berl. Bib.) One might suppose, as the words stand, that the betrayal of the Son of man was as much part of what they knew, as the coming of the feast was; and certainly the Apostles might be supposed to have at least a general knowledge of the former, having been so repeatedly forewarned of our Lord's sufferings and death. But they had never understood His words, all His former sayings were still hidden from them; the Lord knew this, and His *ye know* had no such comprehensive meaning. He rather gives a revelation, connecting the most known and the most secret things together:—As *ye know* that in two days will be the feast of the

Passover, so *I know* and now tell you, that *in this Passover* I shall be crucified! "*Is betrayed*" brings the future into the present, just like "*is the feast*;" and is to be explained by the celerity of the action, as Grotius says; Alford is wrong, therefore, in thinking that the separation of the latter clause from the former does violence to the construction, and would require to be introduced by *and then*. We doubt very much whether the Lord had "joined these two events (the Passover and His own sufferings) in His announcements to His disciples"—for there is no trace of this throughout the Gospels. He might, indeed, have connected His approaching sufferings with the journey to the feast, and the course of His proceedings; but this present indication of the day itself is something very different.

The Passover—τὸ πάσχα—must evidently denote the first day of the feast; not the first great day according to the usage which reckoned only the seven days after the עֶרֶב הַפֶּסַח, the evening of the Passover, but the (natural) day of the Jews' official eating of the paschal lamb:—the day on the evening of which *is* the Passover, and simultaneously (properly speaking, already before) the betrayal and crucifixion takes place. For in this coincidence of the typical day with the historical fulfilment of its meaning, lies the emphasis of the entire assurance¹—in which the continuous *And* is the expression of a necessary consequence, just as on other occasions our Lord's *must*. The word, therefore, which spoke of *after two days* could not have been spoken so soon as the Tuesday, but on the Wednesday. And most important in this is the notification of the Divine counsel that the death of Christ should take place at the Passover:—not merely, that is, that many subordinate circumstances in it would concur to make the feast an appropriate time, but because of the signification of the day itself. The Lord's trial

¹ See the remarks upon this contested point, John xiii., in Vol. vi. That τὸ πάσχα γίνεσθαι here means the Friday after *His* eating the paschal lamb, appears to us certain;—the *being crucified*, with the final delivering up to that end to the *Gentiles*, must form the point of coincidence in the time. This general designation, according to the predominant custom, is open to no objection: it is as if He had said, "The passover of the Jews, My enemies." In the other case the emphasis would have to be placed upon the *delivering up*; but this would not agree with the relation of the killing to the slaying of the Lamb.

and judgment was to be conducted publicly in the presence of the multitudes of the Dispersion then assembled in Jerusalem: He was not to fall under popular frenzy, like Stephen; nor to be destroyed by arbitrary violence in secret, like the Baptist. Public proof was thereby to be given that the people were not instigated by Him as His dependents, as the false accusation ran—with whatever else of the same kind may be soberly thought of. But the distinctively critical point of the connection between the *time* of the feast and His being *betrayed* is this, that here where the Old Testament finds its consummation and end in the New, God's counsel itself *preserves the sanctified Old-Testament times and seasons*, in fact *sanctifying them anew* in their New-Testament meaning. Inasmuch as the Lord died at the Passover, and the Holy Ghost came down at the Pentecost, the *Passover* and the *Pentecost* are given and appointed by God Himself as the central periods of the new Christian year, of a cycle of ecclesiastical festivals animated by the spirit of reality.¹ And this will modify, against spiritualist misapprehension, St Paul's doctrine in Rom. xiv. 5; Col. ii. 16, 17.

We have already, on Matt. xvii. 22, 23, shown in what sense we are to understand the *delivering up* or the betrayal; and why it is here the fact prominently mentioned. It is far from being enough to interpret it—"delivered up, rejected by the *Jews* that the *Gentiles* may crucify Him;" but, as Judas the traitor had previously given Him up to the Jews, so it was the hand and counsel of *God* under which the counsel and will of these *men* betrayed and *delivered* Him from one to another (Acts ii. 23 ἐκδοτον). The whole proceeds to all appearance humanly and naturally, as if men did to Him whatsoever *they* listed (Matt. xvii. 12)—but it is not so, nevertheless. All is pure injustice and guilt from the highest crime of the betraying disciple down to the most venial acts of the crucifying soldiers—but in all this, and above it all, is the Father's good and gracious will. Therefore, before the Jews take counsel, and Judas comes to them, the Lord had already spoken these words. Finally, the crown of the Divine counsel is to be sought in εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι—in order to be crucified—which needs

¹ O Abolisher of the law, who desiredst even to keep the Passover! See Tertull. in Ebrard vom Abendm. i. S. 289.

not now to be again specifically interpreted. Not beheaded, not stoned, but *crucified*: a Gentile punishment, and yet the fulfilment of a Jewish type; the realising exhibition of all the mystery which lay in this hanging upon the wood of the curse—as going back to the forbidden tree. And the Son of God, as the Son of man, gives Himself up to this counsel of God, in conscious voluntary *obedience*:—this is the *second* critical point in His word, which in the mere announcement of what was coming expressed at the same time, with the utmost simplicity and lowliness, His own obedience—as if self-understood. This testimony to His own voluntary self-devotion was included in all His fore-announcements, but here most simply and impressively. The Lord does not say, The Son of man will deliver Himself up—although that also was true—but He speaks in a purely passive manner of His Passion. Nor does He *now* add any reference to a resurrection on the third day; He goes not beyond the *being crucified*, connecting this, however, straitly with the *being betrayed* by the *εἰς τὸ*, in order to intimate how swiftly the whole will pass through all the forms of judgment to the execution of the sentence. Swift in succession were the *taking and killing*: in *this* the counsel of the enemies was to hold good, still more than they thought. With all the calmness with which both voice and countenance of Jesus spoke, His words derived thence a tone of disquietude and even fearfulness, for the disciples: After two days, at the *Passover*, our Lord will be—*crucified*! The immediate result was scarcely other than what Pfenninger describes—a general stupefaction and silence; until their minds, altogether unfit to look into such darkness, gathered confidence again by turning from the subject.

PROVISION OF THE PASCHAL LAMB.

(Matt. xxvi. 18; Mark xiv. 13–15; Luke xxii. 8–12.)

As it respects the chronology, we must once more refer to the *sixth* volume, in the observations preliminary to ch. xiii. 7–20. *To the Holy Ghost* in the Evangelists (for this we must hold fast,

despite the present fashion of speaking) all things were perfectly plain in the peculiar relations of the twofold paschal solemnity; and the two great events retained their distinctive significance in regard to the typical time:—the Lord's Supper, as the most direct fulfilment of the type, was instituted on the legally correct day, while the crucifixion took place on the Jewish Passover-day, which had now lost its validity and already become a mere shadow. Hence as Jesus in His previous announcement to a certain extent acknowledged this Passover of the Jews, so now on the other hand the Spirit in the Evangelist speaks more precisely, since in St Matthew and St Mark the Thursday, on which Jesus with a certain number of the Jews, however small, ate the lamb, is rightly denominated the *first of the feast of unleavened bread*. It is not necessary (with the Peshito) to supply the *Jews* in St Mark's *when they killed the Passover*, and to explain it as intimating a universal custom; it should be understood thus—The first or preparatory day of the feast, in which *they*, that is, the *disciples*, were wont with their Lord to slay the Passover-lamb. On this supposition, St Luke's *ἔδει*—*must be killed*—has the emphasis upon it which we have already discovered: containing a *hint* where more precise information was not to be given—that something might remain to be sought and to be found in the Scripture.

Suffice it that this *day came*, as St Luke expresses it, that is, it dawned; and during its morning or forenoon it was *necessary* that provision should be made for the legal celebration of the Passover. According to the two other Evangelists, the disciples *first* remind the Lord by a question as to the *where*, a critical matter; but we would not have this twofold authority so pressed *against* St Luke as to oppose their easy reconciliation. It seems more natural that the Lord Himself should begin with words, now as ever graciously communicative, touching matters external, "Go and prepare *for us* the paschal lamb, that *we* may eat of it together!" (Luke xxii. 15.) I cannot understand, at least, Lange's notion of our Lord's design to wait until "the disciples, in their Jewish sense of propriety, should think the time come for thinking of the Passover." Their feeling of anxiety about the feast must have been kept somewhat in abeyance by the Lord's announcement of His coming death; that

is, they were altogether confused as to *this present* Passover, not knowing how to understand its relation to what the Lord predicted. Certainly, there is no sense in that which many allege, "that they had quickly fallen into *externality* again;"—the commanded feast was neither for them nor for the Lord a matter merely external. But the Lord Himself well knows that His enemies must leave Him time and opportunity for this holy meal (Ps. xxiii. 5).—He knows moreover what He will do at the feast, and in sublime self-possession follows the announcement of His death by a direction concerning the customary festival. Even after His final severance from the people and the temple, He adheres still to the ancient ordinance; not merely for the sake of the institution of the Supper, but because He will be subject to the law down to the last. The disciples know now from His own lips, despite their own fears, that He will uninterruptedly, as aforetime, keep the feast; they know also, from past experience, on what day He will keep it; there remains only the anxious question—Where shall we keep it, in peace and security? Such would have been its meaning, even if they had spontaneously uttered it; but if it was only a *reply* to His first *go and prepare*, it has the tone of an objection, a slight remembrancer that it would not be advisable or possible to go "into the *city*"—from Bethany, where they then abode, into *Jerusalem*. At any rate, they say what they say in great obscurity as to the counsel of God; they have but little presentiment of the great importance and necessity of the last Passover: *They* would provide for *Him* to eat it—no more. But He, whose design was to make ready for them and for us all the Sacramental Feast of the New Covenant, speaks with all the fuller assurance, sublimely elevated above all their confusion.

We have already in Vol. iii. brought the sending for the ass into comparison with this provision for the Passover; the parallel is as obvious as it is instructive. In the former instance He would present Himself before the people of the Old Testament, and of the first calling, as the King Messiah;—in the present case He exhibits Himself to the disciples, and in them to the new Church, as the true Paschal, sacrificial Lamb. It was His design not merely to reassure them beforehand in the

institution of the Sacrament, and comfort them concerning His certain death; but to promise them, and by anticipation give them in it superabundant salvation and life. And if anywhere, it was here appropriate, that the provision for it should be accompanied by evidence of His dignity, and testimony of His Divine authority. We would not say with Bengel (in his Germ. N. T. on Mark), "It was a deep humiliation that Christ ate the paschal lamb, like a common Israelite; therefore He lets His glory shine forth in the provision for it;" for the humiliation of His obedience was not always connected with *such* signs of His dignity, nor do we find anything similar in connection with those earlier Passovers, which the Scripture silently relates or assumes. But this *last* feast derived from the fore-announcement of Matt. xxvi. 2 an element of such anxiety, uncertainty, and fear—for the *disciples*—that for their sake and on that account a testimony of the sublime security of the Lord was given.

Orthodox expositors should leave to such men as Gabler, Stolz, Paulus, and Kuinoel the supposition of a preconcerted arrangement with the householder in Jerusalem. Equally unworthy is such a notion in relation to the sending for the ass—as we have already shown. Yet Braune, alas, speaks of a preconcerted sign—"Jesus had beforehand made this sure with the master of the house!" The altogether mysterious form *δεῖνα*—*such a man*—with the prediction of the meeting him under such circumstances, must have produced in the minds of the disciples a very different impression from—"I have arranged it thus already!" Rather did it mean, in a much higher sense,— "All this has been appointed, nothing can fail, as I now predict to you!" But another circumstance arises, as giving a reason for the form of the direction,—the keeping the place secret from the betrayer. There is some truth in the almost universal remark of the expositors, who make this design prominent; for our Lord's lowliness, as blended with His dignity, required that He, whom all things served, should observe the ordinary precautions of human prudence. The one, here as everywhere, qualifies the other, in a marvellous manner. Judas, who, on other occasions, took charge of the purchase and provision of all things, is not sent; and then the commission, given in his presence, is expressed in so mysterious a manner, that he knows

not before the time either the place or the *name*. And this made it manifest to him, the hypocritical enemy among the Apostles, that the Lord had likewise concealed disciples among His enemies in Jerusalem.¹

St Matthew speaks indefinitely of "the disciples" as sent; St Mark notes "two of them;" St Luke, finally, names them, Peter and John, the two most eminent and confidential disciples, the same two who, at the Supper, sat one on each side of the Redeemer. The first Evangelist presents the Lord's word briefly, as preserved in the more general tradition, until the Holy Ghost took care for the addition of the supplementary detail which gave prominence to the main point. St Matthew and St Mark place first the significant and decisive "*Go into the city*," which was, indeed, included in the "*Go and prepare*" of St Luke. But if we read St Matthew, without comparing the others, it might appear as if the Lord had actually mentioned the name of the householder, which however the Evangelist could not, or would not, repeat after Him.² But it is as impossible that he was ignorant of the name, as it is that he concealed it for the sake of not "*compromising the man*;"—surely after so long an interval this paschal hospitality could not be still reckoned to his disadvantage. It is better, therefore, to say that his *πρὸς τὸν δέσπνα*, "*such an one*," expresses concisely that which the others express more in detail; he thereby intimates that the Lord, without naming the man, *marked him out in some manner*. They were to say, *The Master saith* (in St Luke, more expressly, *Saith unto thee*); and this describes the man as a disciple of Jesus, for the obedience which our Lord predicts takes it for granted that the receiver of the message would interpret those words—Our Master and thine!³ so that he would acknowledge the disciples at once, and recognise Him who sent them as his

¹ "As there was among His friends a secret enemy, so was there among His enemies a secret friend." Braune.

² For *ὁ δέσπνα* stands for the name, just as our N.N. Stolz translated "to the well-known man"—and certainly the Lord *might* have so used the expression—To a certain man, well-known to Me, whom I name not now, but will point out more specifically thus, etc. But this is a too mechanical combination of the several texts.

³ Hence in the Heb. N.T. it is well translated *רַבִּי*.

Master and Teacher. The Master bids us tell thee—that is enough here, as in the parallel case, the sending for the ass—The Lord hath need of it. Thus does our Lord go on His way, everything ministering to His foreseen need; with childlike serenity and ease (as Lange says) providing for every earthly want. The stater in the fish's mouth is a remarkable parallel.

My time is at hand—this word in St Matthew does not refer to the time of the Passover, the period of which all Jews well *knew*; there might, indeed, be in it some such meaning as this—I keep it with those who keep it this day and not to-morrow—were it not that the words must have the same significant reference to His suffering and death which they have elsewhere. The Lord never has any other meaning than this, when He speaks of *His* time or hour—as we have seen on Jno. vii. 8, and elsewhere. In this Grotius is right, who reminds us of the *before I suffer*, Lu. xxii. 15; but his opinion that the Lord thus gives a reason why He was constrained to anticipate His Passover (to-morrow I shall be able no longer to eat it!), cannot be sustained, as we have seen before.¹ This presupposes a very near and confidential relation to the unknown man, since it is understood that he would know the meaning of *My time*, and be at once moved by it to provide the guest-chamber for our Lord's final Passover.² It is as if the Lord told him thus, what He had already disclosed to the disciples in Matt. xxvi. 2. We would observe one thing more; and that is, that the Lord here declares once more His willingness to encounter His death, terming the time appointed in the counsel of God *His* time.

What follows in St Matthew is a more concise expression of the sense, and cannot be made verbally to agree with the more detailed account of the two other Evangelists; but the meaning is the same in all. In the *πρός σε*—*at thy house*—which comes first, it is shown to be an expression of love and a signal honour, that the Lord should once more invite Himself to this man's

¹ So Neander: "Because the time of My departure from the world is nigh, I will *to-day* eat the Passover by anticipation!"

² Kahnis: "Thus He named to them a man whom He knew to be devoted to Himself, and acquainted with His coming departure." (Lehre vom Abendm. S. 5.) "Named to them," however, is inexact; it should be "described to them."

house. In *ποιεῖν τὸ πάσχα* we hear the expression of a legal obedience, according to the customary formula (חֲסֵדָה עֲשֵׂה, Ex. xii. 48; Numb. ix. 4; Jos. v. 10). And *with My disciples*: for, they are His family, and thus He speaks as one Master of a house to another!

But now let us look closely at the prediction of the circumstances which the two other Evangelists add. Ebrard, with the ancients, says at once, "in virtue of His omniscience"—but we cannot agree with him; neither, however, can we, like Ols-hausen, deny the indication of a miraculous foreknowledge, or the worthiness of the end in such a miracle. As it respects the former, it must be undeniably plain to every simple reader that the Evangelists record the Lord's saying as uttered in supernatural foreknowledge, seeing afar, as it were, the course of the most fortuitous circumstances. The predicted meeting with a man bearing a pitcher of water, supposed to be a servant fetching it at the usual (or unusual?) time, thus indicated with the most exact specification of time and place,¹ is evidently a *sign* given in supreme authority to the unbelieving anxiety of the questioning disciples. And in this we have an answer to the second point. Jesus might have been, in His state of humiliation as the Son of man, no more omniscient than almighty or omnipresent; but the evangelical narrative so constantly attributes to Him a miraculous knowledge of earthly circumstances entirely transcending human sensible limitations, that it is ridiculous to enter into petty questioning, about this or that particular example. Further, we shrink from the most distant approximation to the old habit of inquiring into the "purpose" of every "miracle" which is introduced. One of our preachers says, with a good intention, "Jesus had here a reason for making use of His omniscience"—but we recognise neither the occasional making use of an otherwise restrained omniscience or omnipotence, nor His conscious reflection upon the reason or

¹ In St Luke, "*Behold, when ye are entered into the city*"—thus, at the very entrance, so that the disciples had no need to think much which way to take. The vessel is expressly described as *κεράμιον*, and then the water-carrier goes into the right house;—who can understand this otherwise than according to the words of the *Seer*, 1 Sam. x. 2-7, which we therefore brought into comparison already on Matt. xxi. 2?

usefulness of His acts. But that the Spirit dwelling in the Lord might elevate Him into the miraculous region of action or insight in the power and light of God, when it should be for His own dignity and the salvation of others,—we cannot but admit, and the present instance gives us an example. It was quite consistent that, in addition to this, the Lord should have a design—if such must be sought—to encourage and strengthen the weakness of His disciples' faith. We cannot understand the excellent Olshausen's assertions. He says, first, that the disciples on this occasion betrayed no specific weakness of faith; but, apart from their habitual tendency, their question betrayed anxious care. And, secondly, that the actual sign would have had no special significance to them, familiar as they had been with so many more exalted miracles; but, nothing could surpass the majesty of the testimony, "Behold, all has been provided for!" And, thirdly, that then it would have required to be added—There had been *no* preconcerted arrangement!! But this last is the worst of all; for how could it ever have entered the minds of the disciples to think of a "concerted arrangement" on the part of Jesus with a water-carrier waiting for them at the entrance of the city, to guide them into the house? Why resort to all these bye-methods for the explanation of the provision for the feast, instead of accepting the statement of such a simple designation of the house and the host as was a sign to the disciples, while it excluded Judas from privy to this plan?

The question common to the two Evangelists—*Where is the guest-chamber, where, etc.*—would of itself, on this view, intimate that the prepared place, for which the disciples were to ask, was already *ready*, and could not fail them. Ye ask anxiously about the *where*—but I command you only to ask *where is it?* for it is already prepared! St Matthew's complementary expression—*I will keep the Passover with thee*—warrants us in regarding this question not as an allusion to anything preconcerted, but as a strongly expressed *announcement* of the Lord's coming. The reading which Lachm. leaves undecided in St Mark—τὸ κατὰλυσμά μου (Vulg. refectio mea)—appears to us a gloss, the meaning of which is otherwise in the text. But this guest-chamber, κατὰλυμα, is certainly not here

a public *ξενοδοχείον*, or inn, for such places were not used at the time of the Passover;¹ nor is it, on the other hand, "room" merely;² but the word corresponds to the Heb. *בֵּית דֵּוֹסְרוּרִים* *deversorium*, *hospitium*, lodgment. "The Jews, not resident in Jerusalem, had at the time of the Passover the right to look for gratuitous lodgment and hospitality from the dwellers in the city."³ "Unless I am mistaken, this is in the word *κατάλυμα*"—says Grotius. That the *οικοδεσπότης* of this house (mark this most precise definition!) was not to be asked first by the disciples—Wilt thou give up thy already-prepared chamber to our Master and thine? but only to be required to *show* where it was, takes two things for granted: first, that he held it already prepared, in devout hospitality, for any guests whom God might send him; and, secondly, that to none would he more gladly surrender it than to Jesus, as soon as He should announce Himself as coming to it.

The upper room—*ἀνώγειον* (more correctly, instead of *ἀνώγειον*)—is *probably* to be distinguished from the *ὑπερῶνον*, or the proper *ἑστρωμένον* of the roof (although Hesychius makes them one); but the Lord thereby intimates its suitability for a more *retired* celebration of the feast. It is, moreover, *large*; not a mean place, but providing more than enough room for His little society;⁴ and it is also even already *furnished*—*ἑστρωμένον*.⁵ This last does not intimate anything like a "stately" arrangement; but only that everything *needful* was already provided there. On that account we cannot admit the additional *ἑτοιμον* of St Mark. This is a heaping together of too many predicates; an additional *ἑτοιμον* is either superfluous, or must intimate that the sweeping out of the leaven, or whatever else the ceremonial required, was already cared for by the host. But we think such regard to the minutest speciality too petty in our Lord's mouth

¹ This meaning of the word generally is uncertain, even in Lu. ii. 7.

² Or specifically a hall of eating, as 1 Sam. ix. 22 is referred to, where *בֵּית דֵּוֹסְרוּרִים* is translated *κατάλυμα*.

³ Friedlieb, *Archæol. der Leidensgesch.*, S. 50. This was an ancient custom; but the method there quoted, of indemnifying the man by the skin of the lamb and an earthen vessel, may be referred to a later period.

⁴ In which circumstance the simplicity of our fathers saw a typical hint that many would in due time be summoned to the Supper of our Lord.

⁵ The Lord speaks as if He saw the room before Him, just as it was!

at such a time. Von Gerlach's explanation—a room in which the *feast* was already provided—forgets that there would be then nothing left for the following *there make ready* (St Mark *for us*). Thus de Wette says—There make ready (the repast). We afterwards read—And they made ready the Passover. To this preparation belonged the purchase of the lamb, its slaughter¹ and roasting, the provision of the appointed and customary concomitants, etc. All this is included by the Lord, with dignified simplicity in the *prepare*.

The disciples went in perfect confidence that they should find all this; finding it all, they did as they were commanded. In solemn and silent order and reverence, with many deep ponderings, did Peter and John perfect all the preparation for the feast. But before we proceed to the prepared feast itself, let us once more pause and weigh well the announcement which the Lord here makes. According to Rev. iii. 20 we might discern in this a type of the manner in which He would in future announce and invite *Himself* in the case of souls already devoted to Him—that He may hold the true paschal feast in the prepared guest-chamber of their hearts. Yea, the experience of those who have to accomplish this mission, concurs further with these words:—"Jesus often gives, even now, to His disciples signs by which we may know where to apply for and find places of entertainment for their Lord."

SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPUTE FOR PRE-EMINENCE.

(Lu. xxii. 25-30.)

We may assume that St Luke received his accounts of this last meal at second or third hand; and hence there are indica-

¹ Probably in the temple; not, however, that the priests alone could do it. The ritual of *that time* is very uncertain as to particulars. Friedlieb's alternative (S. 47. note), that the lamb was slain at the appropriate time in the temple or not at all—that the Passover was celebrated by Christ with the Jews, or that it was no proper passover,—is not therefore applicable; and it must be considered that if an early celebration was recognised by many, it must necessarily have been recognised in the temple.

tions of indefiniteness and inexactness, which are not to be found in the compressed exhibition of the essentials which St Matthew and even St Mark give.¹ In the record of this wonderful evening, the most prominent thing was the Sacrament, as occupying the first place in the tradition of the whole Church; the feet-washing might be reserved,—as belonging rather to the circle of the Apostles, and as being an almost esoteric mystery in comparison with the relatively exoteric mystery of the Supper—until he came to whose pen it was given to record it. But there was much else both spoken and done *over this table*; and in the selection and arrangement of the several Evangelists, the Holy Ghost, who directed them all, shows us, as in a central example, in what way He has provided for us a sure and sufficing narrative, through the agency of the free and manifold gifts of men, which we again are to arrange according to our best discrimination. St Luke is distinguished among them as the critical investigator and diligent collector of things retained in living tradition. Hence, as we shall see, he furnishes many precious supplemental details of individual matters, from the Lord's desires in ver. 15, to the misunderstood words touching the sword; hence, however, we find, as we have already said, a certain appearance of compilation which sometimes seems to forsake the exact sequence of things.

This character of his record is stamped most plainly upon the *'Εγέβετο δὲ καί*—*And there was also*—a formula indefinite in itself, with which he introduces the contention among the disciples which occurred again on this evening. We might be astonished and incredulous as to the possibility of a *strife among them* at such a time, especially after reading what has preceded in St Luke; and this very formula, entering into our astonishment, takes away our doubt by the assurance of the actual *there*

¹ We observe here, once for all, that this admission is by no means inconsistent with our constant denunciation of those by whose "unwarranted assumption of indefinite and inexact records the Scripture is constantly broken." There are limits plain enough to those who will see them. In particular, we cannot surrender the conviction that in the *first* Gospel Matthew the Apostle is the immediate reporter—despite that German criticism which seems to have exerted an evil influence on the English Alford. His condemnation of my severe dealing with other views, and his allegation of inconsistencies (on Matt. xxvi. 20), do not affect my honest convictions.

was. For the meaning of the *καί*, in close connection with the *strife*, is no other than this—*And even* on this evening, at this table (where the hand of the traitor was) took place, alas, an actual contention!¹ Our doubt may be rendered stronger by its appearing to have been *after* the institution of the Supper—but, it is not so stated; for in St Luke's habit of transposition *ἐξέτερο* may well be regarded as the later record of what had happened before. We are firmly convinced that this was his meaning; and agree with the latter part of Olshausen's words: "St Luke's account is inexact in two points; creating the impression that Judas partook of the Supper with the rest, and also that the disciples fell into a contention after its institution." As it respects Judas' undoubted participation, we shall have more to say; and as it respects the latter, it does not impeach the credit of the reporter, who might say to us—Why is my *ἐξέτερο* δὲ *καί* necessarily taken in strict order?

Neander deals far too boldly with Holy Scripture when he assumes that the thought of the feet-washing occasioned the error of placing the earlier contention of Matt. xx. in the evening of the Supper. We cannot but mourn over the fundamental principles which permit such a manner of reading what the Holy Spirit has written for the Church; on their account we have preferred to pass over in comparative silence Neander's "Life of Jesus" in the earlier volumes—but we cannot refrain from openly expressing our condemnation here. The pious Wesley's error is of a different kind, and more venial: "It is highly probable (?) this was the same dispute which is mentioned by St Matthew and St Mark, and consequently, *though it is related here, it happened some time before.*"² We think it impossible

¹ The *among them* is further removed, and the emphasis should not be laid upon it, as Bengel does—"Not only the traitor, *but also the Eleven* troubled the Lord." Considering the words as following ver. 23, some such meaning as this might be found, "Those who now so humbly asked among themselves who should betray Him, *had been* asking among themselves who was the greatest!" This parallel and antithesis may be indicated in the repetition of *τὸ, τῆς*; not, however, that ver. 24 must necessarily have been subsequent in *time*, on that account.

² Comp. Sepp to the same purpose (iii. 133), who confounds the whole in his Harmony. Braune also has made this section one with Matt. xx. and Mark x., though he speaks very indefinitely and confusedly about it.

that St Luke's δὲ καὶ and ἐν αὐτοῖς can be reconciled with a narrative of events so far back! The same and much more may be said against the modified view which identifies the contest with that resulting from the request of Zebedee's sons, and makes the Lord simply revert to it at the table. (Grotius: "Christ is mindful of their former contention; and, going away, would give them precepts of love and humility founded upon it.") Certainly, Christ would not have introduced such a reproof without an immediate occasion for it, and St Luke would not without it have written his ἐγέρετο. Schleiermacher accepts it as a correct exposition of the *narrator*, that Christ spoke these words, belonging to the feet-washing, in reference to their *earlier* contests; the *compiler*, however, misunderstood it, supposed the contest to have occurred on the same evening, and so changed the expression. But this is of itself an admission that the present text bears no other sense.

It is certain then that the contention occurred on this evening.¹ But was it, as seems to be the case in the order of narrative, after the Supper? Those who so read (after that old uncritical manner, which, however, in its simplicity of faith, should be spoken of with respect), have in some cases taken no pains, in some taken great pains, to explain and reconcile this supposition. The swiftest way of evading the difficulty, is to refer the fact to a special temptation of Satan, then more than ordinarily busy. But even Satan's suggestions must be in harmony with psychology; and our psychology, at least, protests against the possibility of such a question as, Who is the greatest among us? immediately after—Lord is it I? or, Who among us can do this?—Hence others have exhausted expedients to find in the circumstances and sayings of the meal some point of connection for it. The most improbable is that which connects it with ver. 23, and makes the questioning of the disciples turn to a protest, Certainly not I! and thence to their individual

¹ In this we agree with Alford, who well puts the reason for it; summing all up thus: "The diction is repeatedly allusive to their *then* employment: ἀνασίνετος—διωθόμενοι—ισθίειν καὶ πίνειν—in τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου—all these have reference to things present, or words spoken, during the meal." But not on that account *after* the Supper, as St Luke places it; this we gainsay on very important grounds.

boasting of fidelity and nearness to the Master.¹ Pfenninger's is a very far-fetched expedient, who derives the intention from the previous prominence of John, and limits it to the question whether John or Peter was the *greater*.² So also when Rieger says: "There must be subordination, and it was apparently quite right that they should know whom to adhere to when their Lord and Master had gone, etc." For the disciples did not send their thought forward so calmly to the time of the Lord's departure, as to be already discussing their future precedence and dignity. Finally, it is altogether inappropriate to refer the occasion of the contention to the expressions of Jesus in vers. 16 and 18—as Hess does. Because the Lord "had spoken so definitely and confidently concerning the near establishment of the *kingdom*" (was *ἔως ὅρου* really *near*!)—this excitation of their inveterate notions of the temporal kingdom made them insensible for a time to every other consideration! We have only to reply that this is unimaginable and impossible. The question with them was not about dignity and precedence in a future kingdom; but about place, pre-eminence, and service at this meal in the immediate present. *Τίς δοκεῖ εἶναι*, that is, who should appear to have the pre-eminence, to be most considerable, and have the right of priority over the others; comp. *οἱ δοκῶντες ἄρχειν*, Mark x. 42. *Μείζων* is not equivalent to *μέγιστος*; yet it is not as Bengel says—"Greater, as first, second, third, etc. The question was not about being the *greatest* solely." For we may compare Lu. ix. 46, where we have the same general expression concerning the pre-eminence of one over others.

This contest *before* the Supper finds its easy explanation, as generally in the solemn and formal arrangement of their community, which the institution of the Sacrament required, so

¹ The Hirschberg Bible, and Richter's, and Brandt's all agree on this: the last, expressly contradicting the report of the three other Evangelists (Matt. *exceeding sorrowful*; Mark, *they began to be sorrowful*; Jno., *doubting*), says—"every one began to repel the guilt, and vindicate his fidelity." In this the identity of Matt. xxvi. 22, with Lu. xxii. 23, is taken for granted, which we dispute; but, even according to our view (of which more by and by) such a connection, and such a transition from the *traitor* to—which was the *greater*, appears most unsuitable.

² This does not agree with the *τίς αὐτῶν* of St Luke.

particularly it may be in the uncertain *choice of their places*. The words of our Lord which compose the difference, form a plain parallel to the *feet-washing*; indeed ver. 27 can scarcely otherwise be understood than by referring to it the presentation of His own example. Compare with it Jno. xiii. 13-16, and the harmony will be immediately felt. Thus the third of the Evangelists seems to be already alluding to the more secret tradition of the feet-washing, which then St John made public. It is obvious, again, that *after* the Lord had washed the disciples' feet, any further contention among the disciples was impossible, and therefore that this took place when they first arranged themselves at the table.¹ But it is equally necessary to regard our Lord's words as spoken *after* the symbolical action; for, they entirely harmonise with the discourses in St John, and might easily have been joined to it. They refer in ver. 27 to the *serving* of Him who had now once more *sat down* in their midst.

We have been somewhat diffuse in justifying the position which we give to the words which are to be expounded; the reader will not take this amiss, but attribute it to our anxiety to give good reasons wherever a *non liquet* is not satisfactory. If we now turn to the *words of our Lord Jesus* which compose this strife, they fall at once into three parts. First, He reminds the disciples, to their shame, of former sayings upon this matter, which He now almost literally repeats, vers. 25, 26. He then appeals, in transition, to His own example of humility, especially that which He had purposely just given, ver. 27. In conclusion He turns His discourse, partly to raise them from their shame, and partly to deepen it, *to the high significance of the present crisis*—in which such a contention must appear to be most perverse. On the evening when the Saviour was to manifest Himself as the minister of their salvation, when He would in pure and perfect grace establish His kingdom, and make them heirs of all His gifts—they were foolishly contending about who should be *greater*! But because *grace* has chosen them,

¹ We cannot tolerate the idea of Von Gerlach and Ebrard, that the strife originated in the question who must perform the service of the feet-washing. We would, however, admit that the contest might have been the *occasion* of our Lord performing that act.

and brought them through to this hour, the *διατίθεμαι* is not revoked. The Lord looks back upon their previous fidelity, sincere though weak; and looks forward to the certainly prepared joy and honour of His kingdom. Thus the great crisis, in the greatness of which their petty contests about what they thought greatness are swallowed up, is denoted:—by the glance back to the whole time of their previous discipleship, ver. 28—by the prominence given to the present establishment of the covenant and testament, ver. 29—by the glance forward to the final and glorious consummation, ver. 30. (In which there is once more a repetition of Matt. xix. 28.)

Vers. 25, 26. The constantly-outbreaking pride of the disciples must hear—and how often still!—the same constantly-repeated reproof: thrice had it been administered before, according to St Matthew—ch. xviii. 3, 4, xx. 25–27, xxiii. 11. The record of these passages is almost verbally the same as our present text, so that we may refer to it for the exposition of its fundamental thought. It only remains to say something about single expressions which are peculiar here, and then to exhibit the whole in the new light of its present connection. The title of honour and flattery, *εὐεργέτης*,¹ which was not peculiar to the third Egyptian Ptolemy, but in general use, is perfectly suitable therefore to the *kings of the Gentiles*. And this word, moreover, had passed from the Greeks to the Jews; Jewish Ethnarchs (Simon, to wit) were so called; and the praise of Onias, 2 Macc. iv. 2, has some allusion to it, at least in the choice of the expression. Does the Lord, however, blame or forbid this *being called*, as such? Certainly not, as we have remarked upon St Matthew; for, *kings* and *rulers* (*ἐξουσιάζοντες*, here not *κατεξουσιάζειν* and *κατακυριεύειν*, in an evil sense) there must be; and rank and authority must be preserved down to the master of the house who sits at table, and has servants to serve him (ver. 27); consequently, *rulers* must be called what they are and must be, in order to the due adjustment of society in this world. Nothing more than this fact lies *primarily* in

¹ See Grotius on Matt. xx. 25, and what he adduces on this passage from Philo, Josephus, etc.; also the collection in Wetstein. The name had come to be used in a lofty meaning for eminent persons, as the *σωτήρ καὶ εὐεργέτης* applied to Caligula shows.

the *are called*, in as far as it is parallel with *they that exercise authority*. It is alas true that in fact a mere *being called* often is put instead of the true, internal, moral worthiness (Isa. xxxii. 5); this the Lord does not deny, when He now exhibits the humble form of His externally powerless kingdom, to its servants and subjects. In this view, the simple *are called* assumes the character of reproving irony: they would be called *great* and *greatest* without diligently attending to the practice of *benevolence* in their office and function.¹ Thus arises the meaning: *καλοῦνται*, they would be called, they arrogate this title to themselves; or, as Grotius sets it forth still more strongly, "Christ signifies that such titles are often *affected* by those who in reality care more for themselves than for others' good. They see what is excellent (else they would not affect the name), but they neglect to act accordingly." We might observe, as lying not far from the range of our Lord's hints, that the best titles of honour are always those which remind the exalted of their duties; those which, to speak after the Hebrew manner, show that the *בְּרִיָּה* should be *בְּרִיָּה*—which almost corresponds with the Greek *εὐεργέτας*. Von Gerlach's notion is too rigorous: "In his evil aim to be like God, man would rather be *gracious* and *benevolent* than *righteous*, or a servant of others." For, *grace* and *benefaction* are real and honourable obligations of the typical gods upon earth; and, on the other hand, *servus servorum* may be perverted into a title of the utmost pride.

Thus the *οὐκ οὕτως*—*not so*—does not touch the rank or the name in itself, but the whole state of the case as intimated in ver. 25. Without, in the region of heathenism, the great object is to *exercise lordship and authority*; and many an *ἐξουσιάζων* contents himself with no more than the *being called a benefactor*. But ye shall not be so; when ye bear rule and guide, and must needs receive the appropriate name—the empty name itself must never *please* you; but your *rule* should ever approve itself more and more in the spirit and power of *service*.²

¹ Aristot. Eth. viii. 13: βασιλεῖ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλευμένους Φιλία ἐν ὑπεροχῇ εὐεργεσίας.

² This warning, reproving *Not so!* confutes the strange notion of Menken's that the quarrel was a contest of humility, no man willing to be the greatest! St Luke would not have called that *Φιλονεικία* (ἀπάξ λεγ. in

As the disciples' desire for distinction of rank "might take refuge in the universal appointment of gradation in the world" (as Rieger says), that is, make that its pretext, it was necessary that the Lord should definitely lay down the *opposite* fundamental law of *His* kingdom. In placing *But ye* emphatically at the commencement, He acknowledges those whom He blames as His disciples and Apostles, not at once rejecting them on account of their worldliness of mind. He is far from saying, with condemning severity—Do so if you will! But then ye are no longer My disciples!

In *he that is great among you* and *he that is chief*—*ἡγούμενος*, a precedence is acknowledged and confirmed;¹ but its reality is to be striven for, deserved, and approved by an entire denial of any such distinction in thought and act. There must be among the disciples, in the Church of Christ, those who are relatively *οἱ νεώτεροι*, there must ever be *ἡγούμενοι* and *διακονοῦντες*, those who bear rule, and those who serve. When the Lord mentions these names, He at the same time confirms them; but a serving, humble love will put all ambition and pride far from *those who are greater*. The two clauses indicate the two degrees of our Lord's evangelical requirement. The former (and apparently also the latter) says—Let him that is great be and comport himself *as* he that is less: obviously, not that a Christian who is a king should lay aside his crown received from God; not that a Christian bishop, elder, or householder, should decline to use the prerogative and authority given him in his office; but he is to know himself and evidence to others, that *as a Christian*, before the Lord and in his brethren's service, he is not greater than those whom he serves while he rules them. But, secondly, and it is still more emphatically intimated by "*as he that doth serve*,"—Let him that is exalted be all the more anxious, on that account, both for his own safety and in service to others, to *condescend to acts of service*; and thus manifest his greatness by *acts of lowliness* which maintain while they seem to renounce his dignity—according to the example which our Lord Himself

N. T.), nor have spoken of it just as in ch. ix. 46. Nor would the Lord's reply be suitable.

¹ As Molitor in Part IV. of his "*Philosophie der Geschichte*" does not forget to observe.

presented in His own person, as we shall see. The Apostle afterwards exhibited this most clearly, in 1 Pet. v. 3, 5. Such a ruler serves, and in fact is the genuine type of a servant; such a servant rules in the spirit and name of Christ, even without title. The self-exaltation which opposes this is cured only through self-humiliation in penitence, the perpetual principle of which for us disciples should be—*abasement* before the awful example of our most high Master. Or we might say, that our first repentance brings the former, the descent from our false elevation in a natural sense; while the example and effectual grace of Christ produces the latter, the positive zeal of active humble service.

Ver. 27. Gfrörer, going to one extreme, maintains that these words would have *no meaning*, apart from a reference to the symbolical feet-washing.¹ This is an error; but so also is that which goes to the other extreme, and takes *διακονεῖν* here merely in the general sense of Matt. xx. 28, as referring to the whole life of Christ. The expression *I am as he that serveth*, points, especially in its connection with ver. 26, to specific, external acts of condescension, in which the Lord had placed Himself on a level with His disciples. This is the sense in which the Lord spoke the word, and St Luke might well leave the matter open, with this *hint*, that something corresponding to this had been done by our Lord on the present occasion. The saying connects itself with household relations generally, and Luke xvii. 7, 8 may serve for an explanatory parallel. *He that sitteth* is the master of the house, who with perfect propriety places himself at the table, and is ministered to by his servants; the *question* to the disciples intimates that He as the *greater* might properly lay claim to this. The repetition in—*Is not he that sitteth at meat?* refers the application manifestly to Jesus Himself; as if He had proceeded—Is it not true that I as your *pater familias* and the *Master of the house*, as I am now and ever, might have your service and nothing else? But the

¹ This word is of course implied as the opposite—"the less;" without requiring us to ask whether age, dignity, or time of conversion is referred to. We may, with Grotius, compare 1 Tim. v. 1; and even Acts v. 6, though here probably the later usage supplied St Luke with the term, in the sense of *יָסַד* or *רָאָה*.

Lord had certainly, many times during His life, assumed the place and function of a servant; we might assume that this had been the case, and was well known, and that His appeal refers to all such acts collectively. But the emphatic *I am*, especially with *among you*, seems best to correspond with a reference to an example then and there given; and, having St John's narrative, we may thus explain our Lord's words:—Behold I sit now *in your midst*, in the seat of *pre-eminence* which for you is always *where I sit*¹—being the same who as a servant washed your feet! Mark, however, how this *in the midst* seems to abolish precedence; and that (according to Bengel's subtle remark), the Lord speaks in the third person of Himself as the Master, but in the first person when He speaks of Himself as a servant.

Ver. 28. This reproach, coinciding with Jno. xiii. 13–17, put them to the deepest shame; and their condescending Master will again lift them up—before He proceeds afterwards to inflict upon them a painless humiliation again, by overpowering them, despite the unworthiness they have shown, with the promise of the full grace and honour of His kingdom. The first *But ye* contained in itself a full acknowledgment of them; but it is followed by something still more emphatically consoling. It is not now the time for reproaches—He had been constrained to reprove them slightly—His whole purpose now is to bless His disciples and load His faithful ones with His gifts. Yes, His *faithful ones* they are, with all their infirmity and folly; else would He be now sitting thus in their midst, and they thus surrounding Him? He looks back upon the whole term of their pupilage and probation; they have been preserved in it until this day; and on the evening of His new covenant with His people, He can speak to them as He now speaks. The *διαμένειν* is certainly something less than *ὑπομένειν*, and was therefore well chosen by St Luke; this He can impute to them in His grace, though in a sense which excludes the hypocritical traitor. (So that St John's "*but not all*" is again to be understood.) And in *My temptations*: the constant use of this word in Scripture teaches us that this does not mean simply in His

¹ So that you measure the degree of honour by proximity to Me!

rebus adversis, His conflicts and perils, but during the tests of His fidelity, and temptations to decline from His work. This is a solitary and most weighty declaration of our Lord Himself, that His whole life had been even for Himself full of temptations; especially since that first temptation of the enemy, after which He entered upon His conflict with the wicked world, and called His disciples to be His companions in it. *My temptations*—thus humbly does He place Himself in the midst of the children of men, before He proceeds to apportion the kingdom and distribute the thrones; for He knows it well and they should know it, that for Him as for them the way to glory is the way of victorious fidelity. His temptations were already in some sense theirs also, even as we all under the discipline of the Spirit are to be in all points tempted as He was. They had actually withstood the enmity and temptation of the world; they had not been offended in Him as others had who left Him; they could say in truth, Behold we have followed Thee! He graciously gives its full weight to this; and thus elevates His weak but beloved disciples, knitting them firmly to Himself. On the other hand, He knew that the time of *their* temptations would not really come until His personal temptations were completed; yea, that in an hour close at hand, they would all forsake Him and flee; that at the outset of His second, decisive, and great temptation even His nearest disciples would not watch with Him one hour. When the power of darkness came upon the Shepherd, Satan would likewise scatter the sheep and sift them like wheat. But, as He afterwards assured Peter, His intercession and preserving care would interpose; consequently, the truth is that here in ver. 28 He already looks upon their entire probation. He regards the slight measure of their weak, preliminary fidelity as the *type* of their future fidelity, and speaks in *proleptic promise*, in *typical prophecy* of the future, even when literally speaking of the past. And this relation of the saying corresponds best with the significance of the evening of the Sacrament, in which the covenant was ratified for the whole time to come, and the testament of future grace and gift was sealed. Their *task*—to abide with Him—lay yet wholly in the future, but their calling thereto was now confirmed, and the full realisation of it *assured to them now* by anticipation.

Ver. 29. An orthodox exegesis should never have failed to observe how closely this carefully chosen διατίθεμαι—I appoint—is connected with the institution of the Sacrament, which is now about to be entered upon, and spoken of or fore-announced as if it were already taking place. Διατίθεσθαι belongs of course to διαθήκη—see Acts iii. 25; Heb. viii. 10, ix. 16; and is used for כָּרַת בְּרִית Gen. xv. 18; Deut. vii. 2; Ps. lxxxix. 4, etc. But as, since the καινή διαθήκη of the Lord's Supper, this expression always suggests, in the New-Testament phraseology, the concomitant idea of a legacy or testament, of a provision made firm by His death for the future inheritance of His disciples, so also this meaning must be regarded as already passing over into the corresponding διατίθεμαι of this text. It is, consequently, no mere “investing with”¹—no mere “promising” or assuring; but, as Luther well expresses it, an actual *apportioning*, giving over, bequeathing in an institution,—in short, a testament. The “*paciscor*” of Beza and Flacius is also insufficient; Lange, however, says more accurately—“through an institution, the Sacrament.” Olshausen remarks, with perfect propriety: “The comparison here with the transfer of dominion from the *Father* to the *Son*, directly leads to the idea of a *κληρονομία*, which the Lord again at His departure bequeathed to His own as a sacred legacy”—although this καθὼς δέδοτε μοι is not the only proof of such a meaning in the word; it is involved in the expression itself, as used on the evening of the Supper. The objection of Grotius, that a testamentary investing or bestowment would not suit the Father's appointment to the Son—the opposite of Olshausen's remark—makes no difference in the argument; for, the figure, even as it respects Jesus, is not to be pressed so far as to make Him die, and dying bequeath an inheritance, like dying men:—but we shall see something more in the καθὼς presently. First, it is safe and scriptural to say, that Christ gives us the kingdom and the power, even as He received from the Father—Rev. ii. 28 being a plain parallel; and, then, Christ's own portion is regarded in prophecy as being an inheritance coming to Him from God.

Theophylact construed *I appoint* immediately and only with

¹ As the Heb. N.T. inadequately translates יָצַק; instead of which יָצַק might have been used, without יָצַק, as in 2 Chron. vii. 18, Sept. διεδίμην.

that ye may eat, etc.—as the Father hath appointed unto Me a kingdom, being the intermediate clause. But the *kingdom* is the fundamental idea here, the object to which the minds of the disciples are pointed, as the exposition in ver. 30 shows. It is more important to leave, first, and in the transitional application, βασιλείαν without the article, the sense then being:—Your striving is for dominion and power, after the manner of the world; behold I give you *a kingdom*, an infinitely higher authority than the *kings of the Gentiles* have, no other than that which the Father hath given Me. I lift you up into *co-regents* with Me! As it is afterwards—In My kingdom ye shall eat and drink and judge with Me. And all of them alike, without distinction in equal dignity, so that no envious contention could find place there:—Judas, the unfaithful one, however, was already excluded by ver. 28, similarly to Matt. xix. 28. This kingdom of the Lord is now for the present *over* and *within* all the kingdoms of the world—that kingdom, viz., in which, having become members of His body through the participation of His flesh and blood, His disciples in the power of His spirit and of His love serve while they rule. But *one day* it will alone remain, after the fall of all other thrones and dignities.

Let it not be overlooked that this *I appoint* in its first and general meaning applies to the whole congregation of believers, as they are represented by the Apostles, the entire little flock of ch. xii. 32. Let us drive out, by a true homœopathy, all unholy ambition, by a sacred aspiration to *these* high things here promised by our Lord; for we cannot aim too loftily for the Spirit's power and the glory of heaven.¹ But we cannot too humbly ponder the truth, that the Son Himself in His humanity received the kingdom from the Father only on the terms of faithful obedience in suffering, and a preparatory self-renunciation. This is in fact the deep meaning of *καθώς*—*as My Father*; and this the Holy Sacrament, instituted for our fellowship with Him in His *death* and life, testifies likewise, 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12. Again, we cannot with too much confidence of faith look at Him who here as our Forerunner, our king and our servant, the Beginner and Finisher of our faith, looks with steady composure through

¹ As Rieger's N.T. characteristically remarks. And Col. iii. 2 tells us in a good sense τὰ ὑψηλὰ φρονεῖν.

all His way of sufferings forward to His and to our *kingdom*—comp. vers. 16, 18. As *One that serveth* even unto death, He at the table where He must previously fore-announce the breaking of His body and the shedding of His blood, appoints that body and blood to be our future meat and drink, and distributes His crowns and thrones for time and for eternity.

Ver. 30. The thrones promised already, Matt. xix. 28, are here preceded or accompanied by an eating and drinking—How are these to be understood and harmonised? A superficial method of interpreting all into figures, finds here two marks of co-dominion—*honour*, the symbol of which is participation at the royal table; and *power*, in the sharing of judgment. Whatever truth there may be in this, we cannot but feel that eating and drinking in itself must first signify *enjoyment* and *satisfaction*—the honour of being present at His table being added to that. Others distinguish thus—Now in the kingdom of *grace*, we are fed and given to drink by Him at His *table*; hereafter in the kingdom of *glory*, we shall sit and rule upon thrones. There is truth too in this, *so far as* it includes the kingdom of *grace* in the promise; but the *separation* between things promised alike for this kingdom and the other, seems to us to be wrong. Let us ask first, what that means—at *My table*! Here there is a slight and affectionate allusion to the circumstance that the Son of man, who had not where to lay His head, now sits with His disciples in the *guest-chamber* of a friendly host:—in opposition to this He speaks of *His own* table, which He is now preparing to arrange, the spiritual, royal table of *grace*, at which He Himself is the master and host, the meat and the drink. The interpretation, therefore—“Ye shall eat and drink what I also eat and drink, partake in the blessedness of My glory”—is tame, has no correspondence with the Supper, does not bring out the *I appoint*, and is altogether unworthy. The *eating and drinking* must primarily refer, as it regards the beginning and continuance of His kingdom, to the sacramental *eat and drink* which He is now on the point of instituting for them, and therefore means something far more specific than the Jewish figurative social feast in the kingdom of heaven. Thus far the promise is universal, and embraces the whole time from the *I appoint unto you* onward. But then follows something

higher, and evidently not vouchsafed to all ; for the twelve tribes of Israel are here, as in Matt. xix., the New-Testament and true people of God in their manifoldness and in their unity :¹—this last clause, consequently, applies specifically to the *Apostles*. This is indicated in the change of the construction; *καθίσεσθε* being the right reading, *καθίσθησθε* having been introduced, by those who marked not this critical point, for the sake of uniformity. In Matt. xix. *twelve* thrones were spoken of, notwithstanding the apostasy of Judas ; the number is here, with evident design, omitted, although we know that it cannot be broken, and find it recurring in Rev. xxi. 12–14. These *apostolical thrones* contain, as our exposition must admit, a mystery of the future manifestation. The Apostles indeed even now exercise dominion through the authority of their writings. But only certain of them ; and it would be wrong to limit so massive a promise to a particular number of them. The “sitting upon thrones” is not spoken as if for children, who must have figures for everything ; but when once “the twelve Apostles of the Lamb” (not “of Israel”) “in the kingdom of reality rule over glorified humanity with Christ as spiritual powers”—the *thrones* also, according to the relations of the glorified state, will be real enough. Much may be asked upon this point, as, for example, by Bengel, *Judicantes duodecim tribus—singuline singulas?* In any case there remains something reserved in the background for the future of the glorified, revealed kingdom, for the glory of the *regeneration* (Matt. xix. 28), which is not yet clearly displayed to us ; and we cannot but think that there is something similar contained in the former clause, which embraces the whole period of the gradual fulfilment of Christ’s kingdom. But we do not pretend fully to understand how it will be with the *eating* and *drinking* of the *glorified*, when they shall no longer partake of Christ’s body and blood, but sit down in the new world at the Lord’s table, where He Himself will again eat and drink with them. We can only point to the fact that according to Matt.

¹ “Formed according to the type of those twelve tribes”—we said before, and now add that probably in the rehabilitation of Israel there may be an actual reference to the twelve tribes ; though the Gentile world introduced into it must be included of course in it.

xxvi. 29 *this* fruit of the vine will be drunk, by the Lord with us, *new* in His Father's kingdom.

INTRODUCTORY WORDS AT THE LORD'S PASSOVER.

(Lu. xxii. 15-18.)

The hour, the legal hour for the Passover, had come; the Lord and His twelve Apostles with Him, have sat down. With this St Luke immediately connects the words introductory to the feast; and this is consistent with his peculiar selection of its proceedings. But it is obvious that the feet-washing, and all the words pertaining to it, must be interposed as having preceded. And it is equally certain that this introductory declaration must come *before* the *One of you shall betray Me!* The second portion of the words, vers. 17, 18, introduces a difficulty; since, according to the other Evangelists, Jesus spoke a similar word concerning the "no more *drinking*" at the conclusion, after the Sacrament. To many it seems in the highest degree improbable that Jesus should have repeated *such* a mysterious word; and, looking at the general freedom of St Luke as it respects time and order, they incline to think that he anticipated the second saying on account of the similarity of its thought. But the accompanying *cup*, unless St Luke adds this circumstance simply as an invention, allows us no alternative but to hold fast the historical truth of his account as we have it.

Ver. 15. All those who cling to the opinion that the time of the Passover was anticipated on this special occasion on account of circumstances, rest their cause mainly upon this verse (Grotius: "He gives a reason of the anticipation of the paschal meal"); but we cannot see how such a notion can be based upon the *desiring* of this passage, since it presupposes a necessity to wait for the true "hour" of *this Passover*. Moreover, the *must* of ver. 7 in this chapter expressly testifies against such a view. The fundamental idea and substance of this familiar and heartfelt word of Jesus is its affecting expression of His *human feeling*. The whole life, indeed, of our Lord is that of the God-man, and His Divine-human character becomes more and more

wonderfully evident down to His death; yet His perfect and full humanity appears throughout. His heart is a human heart with all its sensibility, impulses, and emotions; with all the sympathies pertaining to this life in the body, so far as they belong to the sinless condition of earthly humanity. The remembrance of what He felt when below, with us and for us, remains with Him still in the unity of His Divine-human personality, so that it may be said concerning the High Priest sitting upon the throne of God—*He is able to feel with us in our infirmities*, Heb. iv. 15.

The strength of the emotion which He here confidentially exhibits, is shown by the *desiring with desire*, which corresponds to the Hebrew intensification by means of the infin. abs. (בְּכִפְּיָהּ),¹ comp. Gen. xxxi. 30; Numb. xi. 4, Sept. For what then did He so sorely long? Was it not for the sufferings which should redeem the world? Yes, verily, this desire was present to Him even in the midst of His perturbation at the contemplation of them. But it is not of *this* that He now speaks; the last *meal* is the specific object of His *desire*. First, inasmuch as this paschal feast was itself, and as such, the pre-festival of His passion and death, and to be glorified to that end in the sacramental institution; but more especially, as the words plainly show, as it was to be the *farewell-feast* of His love, the final enjoyment of His disciples' society before the separation. This latter is made prominent in the "*with you*," and "*before I suffer*," and finally in the declaration, "I will *not any more* eat (and drink) thereof." That His resolute and straitened soul longed *with pain* for this festival, we admit, with Lange; but not that "what here chiefly moved His spirit was the anticipation of His victory and glory." The look forward to the fruit of His sufferings, even to its final consummation in the kingdom of God, follows afterwards; but what moved His spirit first was the *suffering* and the *not any more*!² Even for Him, endowed with human feeling, there is a painful *separation*, the sense of which must be soothed, both in Him and in His disciples, by the consolations of farewell love—and thus divinely to sanctify the human was the

¹ And there is much force in His reference to the mournful desire with which on each Passover, year after year, He would look forward to the last.

² Which is very emphatically expressed by οὐκέτι οὐ μᾶλλον.

deep desire of His heart. For, with all His anticipation of the compensating Future, He humanly clings to this life in the body, this confidential fellowship with His disciples upon earth, this lifetime never to return :—even as, on the other hand, He humanly shrinks from His sufferings, and therefore seizes the final consolation of this *once more before I suffer*. With you! He says as the Father of the house to His children, with whom He is about to leave His testament; joyful that He has some who have continued with Him so long that He can see and address in them the future Church, the recompense of His griefs (comp. Matt. xxvi. 18—with My disciples! spoken in the same meaning). Alas, even among them there is a Judas, and this will soon appear: for the present He seeks, as it were, to forget that, and to surrender Himself to the joy of His love.

This is the purely *human* side of our incarnate Lord's relation to this occasion, as *man* generally; but we must remember that the first words in the sentence were—*This Passover!* and upon this the emphasis must be placed. As an *Israelite* He had, with the best of His people, taken pure delight in all the statutes and ordinances appointed of God; in His obedience to them He had found a living, pure, and child-like joy, so that He might well declare the celebration of this festival *once more* to be an object of deep desire. But more than this: as the perfect Representative of the *longing spirit of Prophecy*, who looks through all these things into their deepest meaning, and perpetually longs for their *fulfilment*; and, further, as the Messiah and Son of God who is Himself, and who brings, that fulfilment, He had eaten every *Passover* from the beginning with the most internal realisation of its profound significance: but how much more momentous is this *last one* to His mind, when He thus speaks of it with deepest emphasis! Here, verily, may it be said with still more truth than was testified in 2 Chron. xxxv. 18—There was no Passover like to this kept in Israel; neither did any king of Israel ever keep such a Passover. Certainly, “the Priests, and Levites, and all Judah, and Israel that were present, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem” are not with Him; but the Lord, who is Himself the lamb, keeps it with His disciples before His suffering, and founds for them at the end of the type the new and essential

feast.¹ Thus at His farewell He pays all their due to human life and to Israelite life ; before He leaves the family and table-fellowship, He consecrates it into a symbol of spiritual communion ; when He the last time celebrates the shadowy rite He glorifies it into its fulfilling reality. And with this the word which now follows obviously and necessarily connects itself.

Ver. 16. The first word spoke of His immediately impending *sufferings*, and renewed in the disciples' hearts the terror of this oft-repeated word, the reality of which came more and more near ; but the second word comforts them again, and speaks, as it were, by way of compensation, concerning the all-restoring future of the *kingdom of God*. Here for the first time the simple and absolute *παθεῖν*:² that was a hint at the outset, which said—I Myself am the Lamb ! But now comes forthwith a clear and bright glance forwards to the consummate, final *fulfilment* of that *typical* eating which was now celebrated for the last time. In this *be fulfilled*—*πληρωθῇ*³—the Lord gives in a certain sense the programme of a *new institution*, without the substitution of which the old might not be done away with ; but He at the same time penetrates into the distant future, when He will again eat with His own. And *ἐξ αὐτοῦ*—*thereof*—is this again of the Passover ? Many have referred it to *bread*, which would correspond with the cup, ver. 17 ; but this is no more than an inexact and gratuitous assumption. The words themselves as they stand must be understood to mean—of the *Passover*. This of course does not imply that Jesus would finally partake in any such sense as we now partake of Him in the Sacrament ; but the type of the Passover extends

¹ That *this* was the final scope of His desire, is proved by the sequel. That He instituted the Sacrament “ from the impulse of the moment, without any predetermined plan ”—needs no refutation ; though Lindner lays too much stress upon the design of our Lord being the emphasis of His desire.

² Lu. ix. 22, xvii. 25, comp. Matt. xvi. 21, Mark viii. 31, *suffer many things*—Matt. xvii. 12, *suffer of them*—Lu. xxiv. 26, *suffer these things*—in Lu. xxiv. 46 comes forward again the simple and strong *suffer*, *παθεῖν*, involving the whole counsel of God. (For the *οὕτως* which precedes does not properly belong to it.) Schulthess forgot this when he declared “ the absolute *πάσχειν* to be a too modern Gospel.”

³ Instead of which, a strange reading has an explanatory—*καὶ αὐτὸν βρῶθῃ*.

even beyond the Sacrament itself. *Until it be fulfilled* must be understood to mean—Until *it*, this Passover, be fulfilled (not, indefinitely,—all that is to be fulfilled). But, because the *kingdom of God* in the fullest, most absolute sense of the word, is the end and consummation of the entire Old Testament, all its types must still go forward, beyond their immediately corresponding antitypes, into the blessedness and glory of the final fulfilment. To that the Lord now looks onward, comprehending all in one glance, while He is experiencing the deep sorrow of the “*Henceforth no more.*” This “joy in grief,” this combination of the sadness of separation with the glad anticipation of a reunion to be provided for and pledged by that separation itself, constituted the attraction of this last meal, standing as it did between symbol and fulfilment. And it was for that reason our Lord so earnestly desired it.

The eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of Jesus, as it takes the place of the Passover in the kingdom of God now existing upon earth,—the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, that is—is its most obvious and direct *antitype*, but not its full *πλήρωσις* or *fulfilment*. “It had not its full realisation even in the essential blessings of grace which the New Covenant introduced.” (Von Gerlach.) But the real and eternal antitype, to which Christ pointed, was “the *everlasting feast of the kingdom* for His glorified Church, and the *anticipatory festival* our Lord was now about to establish in the Sacrament of the New-Testament covenant.”¹ For as yet we eat and drink of Him; but finally, as it is here (and Matt. xxvi. 29) said, He will eat and drink with us—in a different manner. How then are we to understand this? That feast of sparing or passing over, celebrated in Egypt, was, at the distant commencement of the typical economy, no other than *a feast of a redeemed and delivered people*—that was really intimated, though in an Old-Testament and negative manner, in its name פסח. In the last and most realising fulfilment of this name, the identity of the repast to be en-

¹ So Lange; but he spoils it by a far-fetched distinction between the eating and the drinking:—making the enjoyment of the heavenly manifestation of Christ correspond to the eating; and the manifestation of the glory of the Church—for the joy of its Lord, especially—correspond to the cup of thanksgiving.

joyed with the body of the Lamb through whose blood and death our redemption and deliverance comes, will disappear; and the new world will offer to glorified humanity, to the Head as well as to the members, a new feast, with new food and new drink, corresponding with that which was afterwards appended to the original ceremony. For when not merely all the wicked are cast out like the Egyptians, and all the good *accepted and spared* like the Israelites, but also the whole fulness of God's gifts are poured out for the saints in the new creation, for "the free enjoyment and glory of the children of God"—then will Christ keep the *Passover* in the highest sense with His own, and eat with them as before, but in a transcendently different sense.¹ He longed for the Passover of that evening; but His deep desire went forward to a perfected friendship and fellowship in the heavenly-earthly gratifications and joys of the kingdom of God. Until this last most blessed reunion and full reinstatement of fellowship, He takes farewell; looking forward through all intervening time, *just as* in St John He looks through His death and resurrection to His ascension into heaven and return to His people. It is not enough to say, with Tholuck: "If the Head could thus long for consummate communion with His members, should not *they* long for consummate fellowship with each other and with their Head?" But we make bold to understand this *ὡς θρου*, as spoken by our Lord here in the flesh, to mean that He Himself even in His glory retains a Divine-human longing for the *consummation* of fellowship with His own, and for the eating and drinking with them in the kingdom of God at *that* table which He called *His own* in Lu. xxii. 30, when He spake in overwhelming majesty of their thrones by the side of His throne.

Vers. 17, 18. Whether the Lord,—after He had thus embraced in *φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα*, "eating the *Passover*," the full typical meaning of this feast of redemption, freedom, and victory,—included also the cup which belonged to it, and spoke the words with which St Luke proceeds; or whether *this* word is the same with that which is recorded afterwards by St Matthew and St Mark, is a question which need not be left undecided.

¹ Compare the allegorising passages in Philo, concerning the *ψυχὴν πάσχα*, which Grotius adduces.

For, the *cup* which He receives in order to offer it round¹ was an integral part of the Passover ritual itself, and is to be distinguished from the Sacramental cup *after supper*, ver. 20. The other two Evangelists have a similar *saying* only, and that after the Sacrament. Consequently, it is not the *last* cup, after which, as still belonging to the paschal meal, the Sacrament was instituted; but the *first* cup with which the meal was *commenced*. It is evident that our Lord observed in general all the ordinances and rites of the typical ceremony, giving it all its rights before it was abolished; however doubtful we may be as to the petty and multiplied observances which were introduced later. Those who desire may see all these described in the Commentators, especially in Friedlieb's "Archæology of the history of the Passion," where the whole series is described—the washing of the hands, the prayers or thanksgivings for the fruit of the vine and the fruit of the earth, the dipping into the dish, the eating, the distribution, the moving of the table, the questioning and the declaration, with "elevation" of the bitter herbs and the unleavened bread, the singing of psalms, the eating of the peace-offering and the paschal lamb itself to the last morsel, the four or even the five cups, each to be mingled and drunk at the prescribed place, from the first at the commencement to the last which was allowed. But Ben-Maimon's Commentary, and the statements of the Talmud, the Mishna, and Gemara, do not entirely agree in these points. Who, however, can suppose that all this was rigorously established so early as the time of our Lord? The Evangelists give us several hints which certainly coincide with many particulars of this ritual (as "the fruit of the vine," the song of praise, the distribution of the first cup of Benediction); but they do not mention the other cups, and we may conclude that the Lord did not observe every petty ordinance which was current at the time. We must remember that while, on the one hand, the Lord recognised such usages as were appended to the Divine law with a sound meaning, He, on the other hand, designedly neglected the prescriptions of the Pharisees. Finally, the *transition* from the type to its fulfilment made a certain freedom appropriate; and we shall see that the new Institution,

¹ Διξάμενος, other than λαβών afterwards.

taking the place of the old one, commenced before that was fully ended.

What further may be said concerning the drinking of the great future, we will reserve for the saying which St Matthew and St Mark repeat more definitely at the close. It must, however, be observed, that "*until the kingdom of God shall come*" refers to the consummate kingdom of glory, the same as in ver. 16. (Afterwards, *My Father's kingdom.*) Thus we must not be misled, by the generality of the expression, into anticipating the term specified for this drinking again, and placing it in the Forty Days. It is also an idle question, whether the Lord did or did not drink of this cup which He gave to the disciples. The word itself decides nothing, even if the unsupported reading *ἐν τῷ κύπῳ* is accepted; the saying "Take this, and *divide it among yourselves*" might be understood to mean, "Divide it entirely, keep it *for yourselves alone*—for I shall drink no more with you." But it might also be regarded as testifying that He had already drunk, just as He certainly *ate with them the Passover*. For when Sepp understands ver. 16 to mean that He would not even this time eat the paschal lamb with them, he forgets the desire to *eat* it, expressed in ver. 15. If the cup which as the Master of the household He received, that He might mix it and hand it round, was the cup usually drunk at the beginning, He may be supposed to have drunk it according to custom, and then to have declared this to be the last act of His fellowship in drinking. For as the *eating*, which was now at hand, was not excluded but presupposed in the *Henceforth no more*; so now the general assurance, that He would no more drink *wine*, definitely connected as it is with *this cup*, must have a similar specific meaning (and this of itself proves that with regard to the subsequent cups He did not rigorously adhere to the usage). Or, the words must be understood, that the Lord for a special reason abstained from all *drinking at this Passover*. This is possible, but not probable; for it was the last celebration of His human and Israelite fellowship; as such it was the object of His desire, and His final refreshment. Let all that has been said serve as an example of the importance which should be attached to a careful considera-

¹ The reference to such in connection with the feast of Tabernacles may be alluded to—Jno. vii. 37, and viii. 12.

tion of all such words as these, in order to find their deeper meaning. The too common method is to pass superficially over the sense, and hasten to critical contention about lesser matters, instead of thoughtfully pondering every letter as it stands recorded.

FIRST INDICATION OF THE BETRAYER.

(Matt. xxvi. 21-25 ; Mark xiv. 18-21 [Lu. xxii. 22] ;
Jno. xiii. 21).

"I will eat this Passover *with you*"—thus had the Lord spoken at the beginning, with the same meaning and the same feeling with which He had said, in His message to that unknown one, to Him well known, in the city—"with My disciples!" Judas, nevertheless, was among them; and saddens this last Passover before His Passion, even more than he had saddened that feast of love in Bethany. Although the Lord would now refresh and strengthen His spirit in this final human and Israelite fellowship with His disciples—in whom He beheld the germ of the new Church to be established for the earthly-heavenly, all-fulfilling kingdom of God—that end cannot be obtained, inasmuch as the sorrow of suffering and death, by which alone this new covenant can be ratified, presses more and more closely upon His soul. After the feet-washing and the accompanying sayings had repelled their *old* notions of His kingdom, after the sayings of Luke xxii. 15-18, which vibrated between the sorrow of separation and the joy of the final reunion—the lips of the disciples, waiting in anxious solemnity, were no more opened in any familiar words; even the Master kept silence for a space; and nothing remained but the silent observance of the paschal meal, celebrated in mysterious and appropriate twilight. Luke xxii. 17 defines, as far as we can understand, the beginning of its ritual; but it intimates at the same time that all its detail would not be observed, for the Lord makes an end for Himself with the first cup. *And as they were eating*—is St Matthew's opening of the scene which followed. *And as they sat and did eat*—is St Mark's more definite language. Thus we have nothing here of

the standing, according to the prescript of Ex. xii. 11 (which Aben Esra allows to have referred only to the first meal in Egypt). They *sat* or reclined at the table, and—*ate*, almost in silence; but little, and that only what was absolutely necessary, was spoken; scarcely a word which belonged not to the ceremony.

In this position of the begun and proceeding meal, we hear that fearful word, which descends from the most distant future of glory to the deepest ignominy of the present, *One of you shall betray Me!*¹ While this refers back to the intimation long ago given in Jno. vi. 70, and was prepared for in Jno. xiii. 18, it is manifestly the *first* indication of the traitor during this meal; and it coincides historically, doubtless, with Jno. xiii. 21. How it is related to Jno. xiii. 22 we shall see; as far as the uncertainty which undeniably rests upon the insertion of the sacramental institution in St John's closely connected narration will admit. When we examine the Synoptical account, we find three distinctive sayings of our Lord:—A word of *sorrow* to humble the Eleven together with the One; a word of *solemn declaration*, which instructs, and at the same time vindicates them, while it is a preliminary condemnation for the traitor; finally, a most *sublimely fearful* word for the traitor alone, in which now for the first time the *judgment of his reprobation* is complete—even as the Lord had given Himself up to His own destiny to be betrayed by him. But here we only say, *for the first time*—because the final utterance follows in a second, and more intense expression (Jno. xiii. 27).

Matt. xxvi. 21; Mark xiv. 18; Jno. xiii. 21. *He was troubled in spirit* (as Jno. xii. 27)—indicates certainly a disturbed and painful emotion; and it is not without meaning that there is added—and *testified*. The former shows the motive of our Lord's utterance as it regards Himself, the latter as it regards the disciples; His own grief will not suffer Him to restrain it, while He speaks for a salutary *testimony* to them, as also to the future Church which they represented. The disciples also were *exceeding sorrowful*, but their emotion was far from reaching the depth and strength of His *trouble in spirit*. The tribulation and suffering of our Lord is always and essentially a *sorrow of soul*; and

¹ How often does the thought, and view, and word of the Lord bring into close conjunction the widest contrasts!

in that domain where *the spirit* possesses, inhabits, and pervades with its energy the soul, and is consequently affected by it in return. Still more specifically is it everywhere as here a sorrow on account of *sin*, and even in its highest intensity a Divine-human sorrow. For, His spirit in the unity of the Eternal Spirit *knoweth* the abomination of sin, as it appears in God's sight; His soul *feels* it also, in this clear and full knowledge, even as men feel,—or rather, as no sinful man as such can feel it. Thus had He from the beginning already suffered much through sin; but now, the sin of men confronts Him in its direst, severest form, and is most bitter to Him, as exhibited in Judas. More severe and bitter was not in this sense even the conflict in Gethsemane and upon Golgotha—the *laying upon Him the iniquity of us all*. Here in His *spirit*, most internally afflicted by sin, *that Passion* begins and has its root which issues through Judas (as we shall see) in His victoriously emerging from temptation:—in Gethsemane again His *soul* is included; upon Golgotha finally His *body*, soul, and spirit.¹ All the contradiction of frenzy and hatred, of hypocrisy and malice, of ingratitude and every other bad passion, which, distributed among individuals, had fallen upon or should fall upon Him—was condensed and consummated in this one sinner against Him, this unhappy traitor. He breaks in upon the narrowest circle of His won and beloved souls; he defiles and disgraces, in a sense, the apostolical foundation of His future Church here at its very commencement; and brings to nought an election which had its origin in His love, by an actual though partial victory of hell! Thus, alas, this *son of perdition*—and this is His deepest grief—*compels* Him, even now when He would refresh His soul by nought but love and blessing, when He was about to establish the seal and the pledge of an accomplished redemption and forgiveness of sins, to retain by anticipation the sin of one awful Exception, condemning him eternally. But we observed upon Jno. xiii., with reference to Mark iii. 5, that the Son of man could not otherwise manifest His *wrath* against evil than in connection with the *perturbation* of His sympathising, redeeming heart; here, however, we see

¹ It is to be understood, as we have said, that His soul also suffered the sorrow of His spirit from the beginning; and the perturbation of His soul was strongly shared in by His body.

that the converse of this proposition does not hold good—for Jesus is only troubled about Judas, without wrath. So far we can appropriate Tholuck's word, on St John: "It is not the feeling of provoked indignation which goes out toward the delinquent, but that of compassionate sorrow;" though we cannot adopt the words which follow, as applicable to the present conjuncture,—“which always seeks anew to produce in the perverted mind an influence of compunction.” *This was now over, as the will betray already testifies.* Where there is *human* anger¹ in the God-man as the reaction of love, there is the hope of love which takes this method to accomplish its purpose; but where that is gone, the wrath of the Lamb also *for the present ceases*, and the love is turned into pure lamenting *suffering* of the sin. That the traitor had experienced no wrath beforehand from his Lord, on whom he inflicted the deepest grief—is the cause of the wrath of God which now rests upon him, and which will fall upon him one day as the wrath of the Lamb, of that same Incarnate Judge of men who in Gethsemane still called him His friend.

Why then does the Lord utter that as a testimony which moves His spirit? The testimony as such applies indeed to the disciples; but not exclusively, as is generally thought, to shame and humble them, and excite their true repentance. In this utterance of the deepest feeling, there is *primarily* no consideration of the influence which it ought to exert and must exert upon others; but it is no other than a *lamentation* of the Troubled One, who pours out His complaint not merely before God, but also before man in a human manner. Assuredly, there is something of human “infirmity” also in it, and the Lord cannot restrain within Himself the sorrow of His soul, nor retain it within His spirit before God, but must speak of it before His own as afterwards in Gethsemane. We must know for our own consolation and instruction that so it was with His spirit; and therefore He *bears this witness* to all times in His word—as it is also expressed in St John's *ἐμαρτυρήσε*—*He testified*. But *then*, there is another element which is never wanting in His self-testimony; the wisdom of love which regulates all His speaking and not keeping silence approves itself decisively here

¹ Not, of course, in the sense of Jas. i. 20, which contrast of the human and the Divine has no application to the God-man.

as it does to the last, seeking always our salvation. And we justly said at the outset that this first word concerning the traitor had an especial reference to the others. The doom and woe of the traitor is intimated more plainly to himself in the second word, and most expressly in the third; but now the Eleven are to know and feel, as far as it lies in them, what the Lord knows and feels. They are to be fortified against the awful event, when it should take place, by the testimony to their Lord's fore-knowledge of it and submission to it—as we have seen on Jno. xiii. 19. But, finally—and *this* comes into special prominence *for us*—*they*, as being of the same sinful nature, and, even under grace capable of like sin, are to be humbled into deeper self-knowledge and penitence by seeing how profoundly the sin of *one among* them bows down their Lord. This is the just interpretation and application of the word which the Church has always held fast. It views the Lord as in this word exhorting to contrition before He celebrates His sacrament; moving the disciples' hearts to humiliation before He institutes His holy Supper. And there is profound truth in the observation which has been made:—that St Paul derived from this *One among you* his impressive rule, *But let a man examine himself!*

It is indeed only *one*, who will commit this fearful sin; but it is still one of *them*; and what that means, we have sufficiently shown upon Jno. vi. 70. When *one* sins with fearful, yea the most fearful aggravation—the rest of us must not wholly acquit ourselves; the Lord's one word is most grievous to Him, to us full of shame and humiliation—*One among you!* Whatever differences there are between the several eleven disciples in disposition and feeling, the Lord embraces them altogether, and in one with Judas; He still more emphatically and comprehensively refers its most evil fruit in the one to the root of sin in all, when He afterwards cries—Woe to *that man!* The sin of the One, most ripe for condemnation, is in a certain relation the common sin of humanity, a fruit which grew on that tree. Further: Is this Judas actually isolated and alone in his sin? Is he not rather the type and forerunner of many, found in the discipleship and external fellowship of Jesus, as he was then? Hence his warning figure stands at the introduction of every

celebration of the Sacrament—"In the night in which the Lord *was betrayed*!" The lesson taught by Judas may well intermingle its wholesome bitterness with all our Passion-devotions. Woe also to him who, otherwise than the beloved disciples, is disposed to reply—Such can I and will I never be! The proper reflection is—Am not I also a man, like this man of sin? Is not my human heart by nature likewise evil and unbelieving? Do I submit to reproof? Has the love of the Lord entrance in me, and His truth? Am not I treacherous to Him in heart; am not I resting secure in external fellowship alone with Him and His; is there no Judas-way in me?

All this is not "homiletic application" and "edifying remark," learned readers, but actual exposition of the mind and feeling with which the Lord uttered this ἐξ ὑμῶν. "One¹ of you"—He adds now decisively—*will betray Me*; in which, as in the following words, the ὁρισμένον—*appointed*—begins already to appear. He speaks still in the Future; since Judas' offer already made to the Pharisees (παράδωσα) was not the consummated betrayal itself. But He speaks in the Future absolute; for, the black counsel of Judas' heart stood fast, *his* heart was no more to be humbled and shamed—otherwise the Lord would not have thus spoken.

And they were exceedingly troubled, and began every man to say—*Lord is it I?* Judas is obviously not included, because the Spirit designs to give the Lord's word as pre-eminently directed to the Eleven, and their reply to it. Judas delayed till the last his similar question. The first influence of the word upon *him* is not recorded; but, like the design of his heart throughout, is veiled in a night of fearful mystery. Lücke remarks on the apparent parallel, Lu. xxii. 23, quite correctly: "St Luke reports like St John;" but we accept this on a very different supposition from his, to wit, that they both relate another circumstance, the *second* indication of the traitor which took place after the Supper. For it is plain to all who will not break the Scripture by assuming incorrectness in the narrators, that on the first occasion the disciples say what they say *to Jesus*,

¹ St Matt. ἕνατος; (another reading εἷς)—St Mark εἷς καθείς, not καθεὶς or καὶ εἷς (καὶ εἷς) εἷς, but instead of καθ' ἑνα, as in Jno. viii. 9, Rom. xii. 5. The second καὶ ἄλλος; Μῆτις ἐγώ; in St Mark is probably an addition.

the second time they speak *among themselves* (πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, εἰς ἀλλήλους). The first time, each asks, *Is it I?* the second time, they inquire among themselves *which of them it was that should do this thing*. Lücke thinks it "scarcely credible," as recorded in St Matthew and St Mark, that each of the disciples asked aloud if it was himself:—but it is literally so recorded in these Evangelists; and no man has a right to mix up with exposition his own notion of what is or is not credible. The simple and plain narrative has in various ways been most unexegetically dealt with. Some have thought that each put the question, but each with his own individual meaning; Olshausen supposes that Peter and John, in their more highly developed consciousness, would not ask—*Is it I?* but only—*Who is it?* (This gratuitous assertion rests upon the identification of the two questions and the two accounts.) Others, as Ebrard, change the recorded question into "an anxious appeal"—It is *not I?* On the other hand, Winer classes this question with *Μήτις* among those in which, according to the decision of the context, an affirmative answer must be supposed possible. We perfectly agree with him; and appeal to the feeling of every simple reader, and to the predominant, living tradition of the Church. If the context allowed the assumption that some meant no more than "*assuredly not I?*" we would rather join Nathanael with John, than Peter—and so on with all the rest. The emphasis of this most significant word would be lost; and the subsequent question of Judas, the affirmative answer to which our Lord's reply confirms, would be deprived of its similarity to the previous questions. Judas assuredly asked because he was constrained to do so, *because and in the same sense as* the others asked.

For our own part we regard that as *credible* in the highest degree which Matthew the Apostle, one present at the transaction, plainly records; and, moreover, we can render it perfectly intelligible and probable to our own minds. The truth in the arbitrary addition to the narrative which we have just noticed is this, that each one may have thought first of the others around him; but then, when he saw not the slightest ground for the supposition in the case of any other, he would naturally direct the inquiry to himself. "Of whom can I suppose that

he would do this thing? Most fitly should I ask myself the question!" Such is the course of true humbleness of mind in its pure simplicity in all similar cases. This preparation and reason for the startling question—*Is it I (no other than myself)?* the Evangelists have left unexpressed, but it is not the less obvious to every psychological reflection: they simply record the result which, in the swift succession of emotion which went round the circle, was not long in finding utterance. We are not to think of clear consciousness and calm pondering of what they say, on an occasion like this, when their word was extorted, *enforced* from the disciples by the warning *spirit* of the word of Jesus, for a *typical* application in the future. We must not coldly discuss it in its antecedents and consequences, but take it as it stands—the uncalculated expression of the effect which the Lord's disclosure had upon their consciousness of sin. When they thus suddenly heard the Lord's earnest "*one of you,*" every one, even the most consciously sincere, must have thought himself for one moment capable of the most fearful sin.¹ This meaning alone gives a sufficing reason for the *exceeding sorrowful* of St Matthew, which is essentially different from the subsequent *doubting of whom He spake* in St John. After the more rigorous "Woe" pronounced upon the One, which must have given every innocent one to feel that this did not touch *his* conscience, yea, after the atoning "for you" of the Supper,—their position and feeling with regard to it became different; and the uncertain anxious inquiry of every one as to which of the rest could do this, *was then* quite in keeping. The blending of the two situations and states of mind into one incident, is to be excused only by the fact that St John's Gospel gives that theory an *apparent* sanction, unless his Gospel be very carefully read and compared with the others. For certainly, just at this point, between vers. 21 and 22, or vers. 22 and 23 of ch. xiii.,

¹ Hiller's reflection therefore is beside the mark: "and if He named one, it was the thought of each that *that one might change his mind.*" For the *will betray* had been announced by *Verily, Verily*. Krummacher more correctly paraphrases the sense of the word: "Yea, Lord, so corrupt is my heart that I am capable of any evil; and, if the wind of temptation blow that way, I might by possibility betray Thee, the Highest Good, even as Thou hast said. Left unguarded to myself, I cannot stand."

St John passes over the Supper, and inseparably joins what passed subsequently with the first word which gave occasion to it. But he wrote thus only that our investigation might be stimulated to careful arrangement of the whole.

It was necessary thus carefully to observe the word of the disciples, and assert its only true meaning; for this alone will enable us fully to understand the design of the preceding word of our Lord, as well as to trace the progress to what follows. When He expressed Himself in such a manner as to involve their whole circle *in a certain sense* in the guilt, His sole purpose—a purpose which most blessedly succeeded—was that the beloved disciples should be profoundly abased in the consciousness of their general, human, capability of sin; and that they should be entirely divested of all wrathful, loveless, unjustified rejoicing in the sentence of condemnation pronounced upon a fellow-man, the traitor who now went forth from their midst;—in short, that they should be brought to such a state of mind as to put the question which they did put.¹ This question of the disciples, which was a perfect expression of individual sincerity, while it on that very account proclaimed all the more feelingly their deep sense of sinfulness, was to Him a consolation in the midst of His distress. He who so asks, judges himself fully—that he may not be judged—as to his part in the awful guilt, so far as it is a collective guilt; but he who can thus ask, has thereby cleared himself, and shown that *he cannot* be the one intended, nor fall under the terrific *woe*. And now, after this disburdening of His own heart and cleansing of the hearts of His disciples, Jesus is free to proceed with the second word, which with wonderful sublimity embraces the whole of this *Satanic sin of an Apostle*:—which unites in itself a serene tes-

¹ This, and nothing else, as we think. Not specifically, as Lange prefers, in order that they might be led to repent of that spirit of carnal ambition which had so long troubled them, and which had nourished among them the serpent of treachery, and that traitor himself whom they had brought to Him!—There is no trace of this last in all the narrative; our Lord's *I have chosen*, Jno. vi. 70, is a strong protest against any such introduction of one Apostle by others. That they trusted Judas and did not see through him, was in them a relative virtue, though springing from their sin; and the Lord was infinitely better satisfied with their *Is it I?* than He would have been with any unbecoming "*Is it he?*"

timony of His own obedience to the counsel of God; an instructing assertion of the guilt which nevertheless was incurred; a most internal cry of anguish uttered by love which mourns over one who cannot be saved. This *second* word is, to wit, a declaration as to the self-sacrifice of the Son of man, and the doom of the man who betrayed Him; but, for the sake of the transitional *connection*, an answer to the Apostles' question yet precedes, which however is no new answer, but only repeats and confirms the first.

Matt. xxvi. 23; Mark xiv. 20. The supposition that *this* answer of our Lord is the same which John xiii. 26, under another presentation and more specifically, records—is one of the most marvellous and perverse misunderstandings which have sprung from a lax notion of the so-called inspiration of the Gospels—notwithstanding that it is the predominant opinion, and now almost traditionally accepted. We have shown upon St John, and now more emphatically repeat it, that we have in these two records two quite different occasions and words. Here the Eleven ask, each for himself, *Is it I?* There John at Peter's request put the question, *Lord who is it?* Here Judas, like the others, dips with the Lord in the dish; but there the Lord dipped the sop, and gave it to Judas. If the word intimated a specific and instant dipping on the part of Judas, he must have been at once detected before the eyes of all;¹ consequently, the subsequent "woe to *that man*" must have pointed him out as if by name; then his *Is it I?* which followed afterwards, showed senseless boldness in this detected and condemned man; and, lastly, the ignorance of the disciples as recorded in St John, vers. 27–29, becomes inexplicable—and an absolute contradiction between the two eye-witnesses must remain. All those subtle suppositions, therefore, which are based upon his dipping in the confusion, with affected candour—and so forth—must be renounced, as confusing the scene. 'Ο ἐμβάψας—he that dippeth—in St Matthew is not, as De

¹ For *this* answer to the question of all was not given softly by Jesus, and it was given only to One! If he received the sop "before all eyes," and dipped his hand into the dish, he must have been pointed out and revealed to them all. The impossibility and contradiction of this is well put by Krummacher.

Wette's translation gives it, He that *hath* dipped (that is, just now); but it is aoristical, and equivalent to ἐμβαπτόμενος in St Mark.

The Lord does not and cannot intend to give a new and distinctive answer to the *Is it I?* of the several disciples. It was not necessary. The silent answer was *now*, after this cleansing of their heart, understood of itself—"Not ye, My faithful ones, who have been with Me in My temptations, and whose are still the thrones; but *one* among you." Thus the Lord merely *repeats*, before He proceeds further, the former word in a more plainly intelligible form; using an expression which is parallel, on the one hand, with the earlier-cited passage of the Psalms, Jno. xiii. 18, and, on the other, with the subsequent word which St Luke gives—"The *hand* of the traitor is with Me *on the table*." Nothing can be clearer than this relation of the circumstances, if we only abandon the attempt to make different accounts one, and assume such a *repetition* of similar transactions as the recurrence of this dark element in the meal rendered necessary. The "dipping in the dish" was by no means (as Lange maintains) "an *irregularity* which their *excitement* explains:" there is no ground for this, when we set the common meal plainly before our imagination. Henneberg is quite right in defending the general signification of the *dippeth with Me*—"one of My household, who daily eateth and drinketh with Me." Olshausen is altogether wrong when he asserts in opposition, that "this was applicable to all the disciples, and was therefore no answer at all"—for it was not to be an answer, but only a re-assertion of the *one among you*. St Mark gives us the plainest evidence of the identity of the two sayings; for in the second he has "one of the Twelve," and adds to the first "*one of you—which eateth with Me*." (And this we now first mention, because here its significance comes out.) Thus the Lord meant the first time—One of My *companions at table*; and the second time again—One, who eateth at My table, *like you Twelve collectively*. The number *twelve*, still mentioned—we cannot but think of the throne lacking for one of the twelve tribes of Israel, Luke xxii. 30—designs to say that the Lord reckons the fallen one still, in *testimony* of His previous election (Jno. vi. 70, *you Twelve*), in order then to supplant him, comp. Acts i. 17. Thus

the several passages of Scripture profoundly coincide in their one meaning.

The Lord's silence presupposes—"No, not ye, who so *anxiously* ask!" But *who* then? He declines any more definite intimation, and adheres to His first word. St Matthew's specific *the same* (οὗτός) *shall betray* does not constrain us to suppose here a direct indication of the man, for it does not outweigh the *one of the Twelve* in St Mark; this οὗτος, rather, is spoken concerning that *one* in the same tone of lamentation and reproach as afterwards ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος—that man. One *among you*:—in this there has been from the beginning a contrast with the remainder of the disciples, who were not so near and not in so *confidential a relation*. It is in correspondence with the word of the Psalm, "as it was written," that the *especial nearness of the Twelve* is represented here as a *fellowship at the table*; it further shows, according to the meaning of that Psalm, the greatness of the guilt in which this trusted one becomes a traitor—thus preparing for the *woe*. Finally, the form of the expression, which makes the dipping into the dish a specific and most concrete designation, refers of course directly to the present paschal meal. For, the declaration would run thus:—*That one of the Twelve* (he will soon be revealed in his act!) who, like the other Eleven, has been My habitual companion at the table, *and is so this day*, who still for a while has the character of an Apostle, is still shameless and eats with Me (My bread),—embitters to Me this farewell feast, enforces from Me this complaint and condemnation, etc. Τὴν χεῖρα—the hand—has the same most concrete vividness in St Matthew which the impious *hand* has in St Luke:—that hand which no protest of conscience could restrain.

Did Judas at this moment dip his hand into the dish, and thus make the generally-proverbial word a specific sign *for himself*? If that be supposed, it must also be assumed that the disciples did not remark or understand the significance of the act. In such a case, this word would occupy a middle position between the altogether general reference which preceded, and the specific sign given to John; and, further, it might be thought that this connection would show why Judas, thus partially marked out, asked also his question. But this coincidence of

the immediate act with the Lord's very general indication appears to us altogether unimaginable; the disciples' not perceiving it (and they might be supposed to have instantly looked at the dish, under a misapprehension) being in the highest degree improbable.—The definite article before *τρυβλιον* shows that there was not more than one dish at the table.¹

Matt. xxvi. 24; Mark xiv. 21; (Luke xxii. 22.) We must firmly hold that St Luke does not introduce ver. 21 supplementarily, thus placing it incorrectly in the midst of the words of the sacramental institution; and it further seems *probable* to us that ver. 22 also was (in its simple reference to the contrast of the Divine counsel and human guilt) thus repeated. Yet we admit that the historically correct "*But, behold*" may have led to the introduction of ver. 22 as related to it; and the expression being the same (in all but one word) we shall include it in the text here.—How Judas comes against Jesus, and Jesus endures His temptation, in it victoriously separating Himself from him—we see now exhibited before us in a spiritually decisive and internal process, before the betrayal itself is accomplished as an external act. We may regard this conflict of Jesus with the traitor among the Twelve as a *temptation* in regard to Himself; as even the beginning of the last, greater, and greatest temptation, in which His *Passion* consists. Now at the last Satan comes again to Him immediately, as in the desert; and even more directly near, though by the agency and in the form of man, his instrument. And here in Judas the sin of men is concentrated, or rather he is the concentrated *man of sin*; and in this, that He has to do with such an one, we mark the greatest temptation to the Holy One of God to depart from the rigorously-defined path of His holiness. But the patient Endurer, when He suffers this, is only bruised on the heel by the heel of this Satan-man lifted up against Him; over him who would tread Him under his feet in his impious course, the self-sacrificing Redeemer remains exalted in His unbroken victory. How

¹ Hence we cannot accept Bengel's strange view, that there was a nearer circle around the Lord, within the Twelve. (Judas *opposite*, as Peter and John one on each side? But this does not suit the manner in which they reclined.) Bengel (not in the Gnomon, but in the Germ. N.T.) thinks that "this at once exonerated a large proportion of the Twelve."

this was consummated in the second conflict of this evening, we have seen already in Jno. xiii. 27; we now see it here the first time. That is, Jesus abides *exalted above Judas* not immediately as God, but in that emptied relation as the Son of man, in which He was capable of temptation; He is and abides, in opposition to this man of sin, the faithful man in God, and recedes not from God's *purpose, righteousness, and love*. Thus we seize the three critical points of this utterance, and now proceed to exhibit them more clearly.

First: Jesus remains *exalted in the purpose and will of God* above the *wicked purpose and will* of Judas; for He can, in His perfect and sure obedience, subordinate the suffering of this lot to the providential arrangements of His God and Father. He holds to the *as it is written*, or, as St Luke says afterwards, *was determined*; for prophecy and predetermination are here one. The whole counsel of God is laid down in the Scripture; the plan of the history of the kingdom and the world, which shall stand fast in spite of the counsel of the heathen and the devices of the people. Ps. xxxiii. 10, 11. *Before God*, in the book of His mutually-interacting omniscience and almightiness, all is written, down to the hair of the head which falleth not without Him:—but who knoweth the individual secret thoughts of His heart, before they are made manifest in act and history? *For us* it was enough, that that had been before announced in prophecy, which we must regard as the firm centre of all—the plan of redemption in Christ. In this “*The Son of man goeth!*” are wrapped up all those thoughts of peace and not of evil which the Most High has thought toward the children of men, to bring the good end which was expected by all who in the longing of penitence and faith waited for it. Jer. xxix. 11. Hence all the main crises of that wonder of all wonders, of the redeeming passion of Christ, were written down before; and the event signified by this emphatic *as*—the betrayal by one of His most intimate chosen ones—must have been recorded too, because and as it was ordained; and here also applies what the faith of the disciples, Acts ii. 23, iv. 28, could profoundly express. Nothing can break or disturb this predetermined counsel of God; all hell, and its power in humanity, is impotent against it, even as the desperate malice of Judas fails to disturb the repose

and confidence of our Lord. He abides sublimely elevated above his evil will, for He submits to his permitted deed as obedient to the good will of God, and goes on His plainly marked out way. Certainly, this is contained in the expression *ὑπάγει*, *goeth*, which here primarily indicates the process of death as such, just as in St John's discourses it comprehends the going through death to the Father. Expositors usually content themselves with making it only the separation from the body, departure from this life, as *ἡλ* *e.g.* Gen. xv. 2; Josh. xxiii. 14; Ps. xxxix. 14 (Sept. never *ὑπάγειν*)—but the inner meaning and connection constrains us here, as almost always in St John's *ὑπάγειν*, to include a voluntary submission in the independent, obedient, going this way of death.¹ St Luke's *πορεύεται* for *goeth* is under the same condition; indeed, we might compare Jno. xiv. 2, 28 (where the *πορεύεσθαι* is distinguished from the mere going away by the blessed end of the way which is marked out) and interpret it more emphatically :—The Son of man goeth His appointed, sure, and blessed way ; He fulfilleth His course, comp. Lu. xiii. 33. This is so intimately connected with the matter itself, that it must approve its correctness.—“It *must* be so, because it is written ; not that this lays Me under constraint, I yield Myself voluntarily and confidently to the counsel of God.” Thus the holy resolution of Jesus' obedience abides exalted above the malicious purpose of Judas, even while He does not withstand it. *He knows* that even this, like all evil, will be turned to good, and that thus will be effected the saving of the world. Indeed, that which God designs for good, Judas designs for simple evil ; but the thoughts of God remain firm and will have their course. Even this most terrific delinquency must serve the accomplishment of the eternal purpose of love, even when it is afterwards carried out to its accomplishment :—just as even now the word concerning the traitor was turned into a blessing for the rest. This is here in its centre the same mystery of the Divine government of all, which meets us a thousand times, a thousand times repeated, throughout its whole procedure. We cannot grasp the full meaning of what we say, when we speak of *Providence* ; but the simplicity of our faith in the living God in thus speaking is

¹ In Josh xxiii. 14, and still more plainly, 1 Kings ii. 2, something of the same self-devotement is involved.

amply justified. But that the holy Son of man thus simply subjects Himself to this Providence, when the greatness of this devilish wickedness might bring the temptation to doubt whether this also could have been foredetermined—is His first victory. He does not for one moment think—Can it be that I shall suffer this from such an abandoned apostate? but abides in firm *faith* in the purpose of God, and in the *obedience* of this faith. And here serves Him the prop of *Scripture*; for all that was written of Him was also written *for Him*, to be the light of His feet, the lamp and justification of His way. We do no more now than point once more—after having spoken of it at large upon Jno. xiii. 18, and xvii. 12—to Christ's own exegesis, which finds the treachery of Judas in the Old Testament, and which no scientific criticism of our day can invalidate.

It is right before God that this should be; but not the less right before God that the wicked purpose should bear its guilt. Consequently, in the second place, Jesus abides also *exalted in God's righteousness* above the imputed, retained, and *abiding guilt* of Judas. The transition to this thought cannot be better expressed than it is in the Hirschberg Bible: "However patiently I suffer this, however little God will hinder it, however certainly it was foreseen and foreannounced that I should be betrayed by My own disciple,—yet, notwithstanding, fearful is the temporal and eternal woe which will fall upon him. It was not the fore-announcement which caused him to commit this damning sin; but his own voluntary malignity, foreseen only by the all-knowing God, has driven him to this heart-breaking crime." A second temptation for the Son of man lay in this: He might have yielded—in opposition to the righteousness of God—to the false pity which should mourn over and excuse the "unhappy Judas," as being appointed to be the instrument of such a destiny. Into this temptation we, who know better, are still apt to fall:—not so the Lord, who abides firm in the testimony of the truth; and, even when He is in the deepest subjection to the most malignant wickedness, forgets not for a moment His position as the Judge over all evil and evil-doers.

Woe to that man! When the Lord thus calls him a man, He points once more, as we have said, to the general sin of mankind—which in this man of sin has only reached its full con-

summation; but the emphatic and exclusive *ἐκεῖνος*—*that man*—points to the individual character of this tremendous sin and guilt. By whom *the Son of man* is betrayed—such juxtaposition with such a man is the deepest humiliation of this name; what inexpressible condescension, to allow that He belongs to one humanity with this Judas, as one *of us*. We might be misled into regarding this as a mitigation of his guilt, as Judas did not after all do violence to and sin against the known Lord of Glory; but a profounder consideration will preserve us from that error, and leave the *woe* in all its rigour. There is ample independent reason why our Lord should here throughout call Himself the Son of man; but that Judas was not essentially ignorant as to the Divine dignity of His Master, and therefore did not as it were excusably sin, must be deduced from the irremediable doom of damnation which is so strongly pronounced upon him.

The Lord does not say, Woe unto men, all sinners, by whose hand and counsel I must suffer and be crucified! But He makes *this man* prominent, who betrayed Him to others, for special judgment. Again, He cannot now say—Woe to that one of the Twelve, or to *that Apostle* who has betrayed his Lord and Master! It is, however, still more rigorous when He brings to mind that he who had thus become a devil—is a man; for, his sin at the same time in another sense transcends the measure of *ordinary* human sin. He was *born* as *man*, that is, as no more than sinful man; sinful, indeed, but *susceptible* of truth and love, and therefore of salvation. But now he has *become* incapable of salvation, in direct opposition to truth and love itself.¹ This solitary *woe* denounced upon one only head, in the profoundest patience, the sublimest tranquillity, the keenest grief, has a far heavier weight, consequently, than the other “woes” which had issued from the same lips; heavier than that of the seven-and-eight-fold woes denounced upon the Scribes and Pharisees, which

¹ Thus we find, and we trust rightly, a different sense in the *ἀνθρωπος* here, from that which Krummacher finds, who regards it as involving “a rejecting tone”—“Judas has nothing more to do with the Redeemer! Jesus has no other name for him than the alien and cold one—*that man*!” We think of such passages as Matt. xii. 12; Mark ii. 27; Lu. ix. 56, and ask in wonder, How can the name “man” be, in the lips of the Son of man and man’s Saviour, a term of rejection and alienation?

however were dictated by the *wrath of love*; heavier even than the "woe to *that man*" by the side of "woe to *the world*," Matt. xviii. 7 (where, moreover, there is as here a *necessity for it* which does not remove the guilt).

For concerning this Judas alone the lips of truth say—It had been *good* for that man if he had *never been born*! Here Krummacher observes truly: "This inscription placed over the grave of His unhappy disciple by the Lord Himself is the most fearful and affrighting utterance of the whole Bible." This word, taken in its literal rigour, closes eternally the door of hope; it precludes all thought of an ultimate salvation, for if there might be a restoration of his soul in the distant revolutions of ages, it would be better for him to have been born:—this is so obvious, and has been so deeply felt from the beginning, that we need not spend many words in establishing it. The best argument for the irrevocableness of this sentence is found in the contrivances resorted to for its evasion: for instance, It had been better *for the Son of man* if Judas had never been born! This construction, however plausible it may seem according to the letter, is in the highest degree artificial, and therefore to be rejected. It has seemed that *καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ* must be referred still to Christ, as the *περὶ αὐτοῦ* before; partly, because *the Son of man* immediately precedes, partly because the conclusion with *that man* seems to bring in a new *subject*. But this gives to the words a tone of self-seeking and weak lamentation which is utterly unworthy of Jesus, and never heard elsewhere; and which is, moreover, so entirely unsuitable to this place, that on that account, and in spite of grammatical appearances, there have been few who have ever hesitated to admit that this sentence must be the development and explanation of the woe previously uttered. We repeat what we said on another occasion: "Such an exposition we can never assent to, because it involves such a direct contrast with the previous *submission to the counsel of God* as is quite out of the question; still more, because—to our feeling at least—the utterance of a *woe* against His enemy because he had wrought Him harm is at this sacred crisis altogether unworthy of our Lord; while, on the other hand, it was worthy of Him that He should feel sorrow for the destruction of that enemy, who had wilfully

plunged himself into ruin."¹ But we now strengthen those two feeble expressions, and maintain that it must be the feeling of *every man* who is not bent upon doing violence to his feeling, that such an exposition altogether deranges the true sense of the passage, and the entire relation of Jesus to Judas; that it is altogether contrary to the whole mind of our Lord generally, and at this conjuncture especially, when His sublime elevation above Judas must be manifested, that He should lower Himself so far as to make such a lamentation over His own lot. We cannot understand how any man can tolerate the idea of such a thought in Jesus' spirit, of such a word on Jesus' lips, as—"Had not Judas been born, it would *for Me* have been better." For does not this border on that want of resignation to the destiny of life, which in man has said—Would that I had not been born!! And here too, at the table of the Supper, after the serene self-sacrificing words—The Son of man goeth, as it is written!—The reference of the *αὐτῶ* to the more distant subject, instead of the more immediate, is sufficiently explained by this, that *this man* is the main object of the whole utterance, the *αὐτῶ* manifestly being only a repeated *ἐκεῖνω*;² and the same holds good for the explanation of the repeated *that man* which is thereby *emphatically* connected with the *been born*. Glassius observes that this repetition of the subject is according to the emphasis of the Hebrew, לְתוֹסֵפֶת הַבִּיָּאָר, *ad augendam declarationem*; appealing to several Old-Testament passages (Gen. ii. 19, xiii. 16; Ex. vii. 2, xxxv. 5; Josh. i. 2; Jer. xxxvii. 8; 2 Sam. vi. 4), and in the New Testament to Matt. xxvi. 24, and 2 Cor. iv. 3, 4 (ἐν οἷς—τῶν ἀπίστων). This emphasis in the indication of this man is a sufficient reason for the expression, is in fact the main thing in it; but with this may be connected what Bengel finds in the first *ἐκεῖνω*—illi, de quo ipso *etiam scriptum est*.³

¹ Lange: "He mourns over the eternity of this man; so much so that He forgets the sorrow which he had wrought for Himself."

² Not, therefore, according to a mediating exposition: It would be better to the Son of man; I should much rather that this unhappy man had never been born! The Lord expressly speaks not of Himself at all; but only of the condemnation of this man.

³ On the other hand, we cannot admit what Bengel has said upon the second *this man*—*videri possit prædicatum*. He corrects this *videri possit*

Thus it remains that the Lord testifies—"It would have been better for Judas never to have been born." But that is not in His lips a soft and sentimental expression concerning the traitor, any more than it is a mere sentimental lamentation over Himself. Nor is its force to be evaded or explained away by decreeing that it is only a proverbial saying; for Jesus has no mere "manner of speech" in what He says, and if He uses proverbs He uses them as truth. It is primarily a prophecy:—It will befall this man to wish that he could undo his birth and annihilate his own existence. Lu. xxiii. 29, 30; Eccus. xxiii. 14 (*καὶ θελήσεις εἰ μὴ ἐγεννήθης*). But that which is here predicted is very different from the anguish and transitory despondency which made Job and Jeremiah curse the day of their birth; for, the emphasis rests upon this, that Jesus does not merely predict a desire of Judas, but Himself by anticipation confirms and utters this *καλὸν ἦν*—*it were better*.

Here, consequently, we have in the second clause of this utterance the second mystery of the Divine government, as it appears central in the centre of that government:—the Divine counsel, which orders all things beforehand, is not disturbed by the wicked purpose which arises; so also God's justice, which condemns the sinner, is not invaded or neutralised by the permissive appointment. All that which *comes to pass* stands under and depends upon the will of God. The energies of nature, without will and without organic power of their own, work all, down to the slightest, only according to the will of the Creator, immanent in His own creation. But in the personal creature invested with free will, in humanity, we must carefully distinguish between *occurrence* and *act*, between *effect* and *will*. Whatever comes to pass, as far as it is event and result, belongs to the Divine direction, in which the Lord *turns* the thoughts of the people to such and such results, as His own thoughts

by another subtle remark (probably too subtle)—*ille*, appellatio *jam ut remoti*. But Lange asserts that we must translate—Better that he had not been born *as that man*. This, however, is dangerous; since Judas would then appear to have been born the wretch he was, and his individual progressive guilt would be carried back to his birth. Instead of laying upon his own head his guilt, it would assume a predestination to it in the mysterious counsel which decided his destiny.

will. Thus all must serve God; and thus Judas, who least of all understood the Divine purpose of redemption, is an eminent instrument in its accomplishment; a man, *by means* of whom something takes place which was to take place, and as it was to take place. His purpose, nevertheless, meant it very differently when he became the betrayer of Jesus; and this his *act* as such falls therefore as certainly under the Divine *imputation* as the *event* falls under the arrangements of Divine *providence*. Here there is no room for excuse through predestination in the pre-science. The event is so certainly defined, appointed, and interwoven with the great plan as subserving the great counsel of salvation (an *ὀρισμένον*), that the betrayal of Judas as an accomplished fact is already the foundation on which the sacramental institution is based.¹ But, at the same time, as an act this betrayal was so certainly voluntary, and independent of the will of God, that its guilt rests upon this man—certainly not born or created for damnation—unto eternal ruin. Ten thousand times does this interweaving of Divine foresight and the imputation of guilt, this combination of necessity and freedom, the one not affecting the other, recur in history; indeed, the providential government of the world is the perpetual exhibition of this deep mystery.

And now, what is the *guilt* in which this traitor has involved himself? Most assuredly, he sinned as man against the Son of man; and without that dogmatic knowledge of His being the Son of God which the Spirit afterwards gave; but this does not affect the question, for crime may be committed against God in man, with the same opposition to the truth which those manifested who crucified to themselves the Son of God afresh and put Him to shame. (Heb. vi. 6.) *God in man* had been so near and manifest to him in the person of this Son of man, that he cannot be regarded as having done evil *only* against the Son of man; that which the Lord says generally concerning the Jews in Jno. xv. 22–25 applies to him as an Apostle in the highest degree. He resisted the truth as a hypocrite; love only hardened him; from a chosen and trusted one he had become a traitor, and delivered his Lord and Master over to the enemies

¹ And probably the reason why our Lord in Luke xxii. 21 returns to it during the Supper, and testified that his guilt remained.

who sought His death—for that miserable earnest-money! He can hear the woe with which redeeming love bewails him, and yet daringly ask—*Is it I?* He can eat and drink that which the Lord presents as His body and blood for the forgiveness of sins—and then go away to accomplish his determined sin, to *do*, as the Lord had said, what he *wills* to do. Woe to *that man*—he was born a man, but he has ceased to be one, and has become a *devil*. His sin—that of man against man—is nevertheless in its kernel a participation in the presumptuous impiety of Satan against God. For, in the *holiness* of the God-man there was nothing which might furnish excuse, as in the case of man's sinning against sinful man;¹ his hatred of love thereby passes over the human limit into the devilish. He would betray his Lord, but he betrayed and sold *himself* to hell. In him Satan had his first victory over the power of the love of God in Christ; and the saying of Rom. v. 20 is reversed by a fearful exception to the rule—Where grace was mighty, sin became mightier still. It avails not to apologise for him by referring to the delusion of his covetousness, as the handle by which Satan made him his instrument; the real handle was in the depth of his wicked heart. Nor does it affect the case, if it is supposed that Judas did not really expect the condemnation and death of Jesus—that would make his daring mockery of the person of the Holy One only the more wicked, and complicate still further the many-sided falseness of his iniquity. After all, the Lord's woe denounced upon Judas, such as we have it before our eyes, is decisive evidence of the abysmal wickedness of his mind and action, for with that alone would such a judgment accord. He assuredly is the only one who received his sentence in person before the last day; who was given over to destruction before the presentation of that sin-offering which saves so many from destruction.

It had been better to *him* never to have been born—to *this man*! Note that the Lord does not say simply—It had been *better*. For, that would imply—before God better; and would border on that forbidden question, which invades the region of unexplained mystery—Why then did God permit him to be

¹ Which he himself afterwards testified in shrinking and partial expression, though plainly enough, Matt. xxvii. 4.

born? For the same reason, to obviate any semblance of imputation on the original purity and guiltlessness of all creation, He cannot say—*Better* never to have been *created*. Mark, further, it is not—Better that he should be annihilated; for while the annihilation of an intelligent creature is abstractly possible to omnipotence, so that it may be regarded as a possibility for the lost, yet on the other hand it is impossible according to *justice*. Therefore the Lord's word avoids all liability to such application, and confirms in the *αἰτῶ* the eternal continuance of this condemned one, to whom it would be better never to have been. *It would be*, that is *to him*, as he will feel and wish eternally:—thus mourns His love, but goes no further. And His righteousness proclaims—He *was* born, and *has* become what he has become, through his own guilt! Let dogmatics and speculation see to it how they deal with this utterance which exegesis hands over to them. There are but two hints in addition which we have to give. The one is thus expressed by the Berl. Bible: "We must distinguish between God's work, our own, and the devil's. Neither of these affects the other—however much they interpenetrate each other—neither abolishes the other's full significance." The other is this: Mark how even the redeeming power of the blood of Christ finds its limit where the Satanic domain begins and penetrates the human; and that there is an actual abyss, on the edge of which all sinners walk, the end of that which had its beginning in the Fall, and into which all those must fall who give no entrance to redeeming grace.

But is this judgment of the Lord upon Judas—with all the majestic *calmness* of the eternal righteousness of God in which it is spoken, and in His humanity, according to the love of God incarnate in Him—a cold and rigorous judgment of a condemned enemy, bereft of all sympathy and feeling? Far be it! Rather is it the most affecting and melting *lamentation of love*, which feels the woe as much as holiness requires or will admit. Therefore, in the third place, Jesus abides also *exalted in the love of God* over Judas' *eternal ruin*. If the second temptation, after the victory in the first (that is, after the *self-devotion* to God's will), would lead the Lord to a *weak and excusing* sentence, in misapprehension of the Divine counsel, and thus to a *false*

love—so now the third temptation, after the second victory, would lead Him to a *severely-rejecting* condemnation, in misapprehension of the Divine righteousness, and as if it was divested of all love—and thus to *false justice*. From the time when Jesus *chose* this lost one, with the design to expend upon him the strength of His goodness, patience, and long-suffering, if he might be saved from the darkness that threatened him, down to the heart-piercing appeal at the kiss in Gethsemane—from the beginning to the end He had *loved* him, for the Father's sake and in the Father's name, who would have none to perish who have ever been born. If He who gives Himself to us in Christ as a Father is still, in the midst of redeeming grace, the Righteous Father (Jno. xvii. 25), so also His righteousness, which must let the deserved Woe have its full course, is inseparable from love; but this Father-love of God manifests itself in its human immeasurable condescension in the Son of man, who is the Son of God. In Him it gives its abundant witness that God willeth not the death of a sinner; and with all the more love, in proportion as the sin more wickedly resists. As the sin of men is Christ's grief generally, so specifically is the unlimited sin of the traitor here, and his consequent unbounded condemnation, and, further, the necessity that He should testify of it:—the woe pronounced upon this man becomes the personal grief of His own High-priestly heart as the Son of man; and “this man is a sorrow to Him, back to his very birth”—(as Lange beautifully says). Yes, verily, this is the inmost meaning of the last lamentation, in which we hear the last cry of a love which goes in sympathy with the lost one to the extremest limits of mercy, where he must be abandoned for ever. It *would be* better to him—*ah that*—it were other than it is! The Lord thus speaks because He has already entered within the range of the sacred Passion; and because it is now needful for the fulfilment of the Divine counsel, that in this last heavy temptation to *invade prematurely the wrath of judgment*, He should assert in its purity and integrity the power of forbearing love.¹ And He has asserted it here, in a manner so *recon-*

¹ This most critical point in this crisis of temptation is overlooked by Lange. He speaks of a sinking back into the *Old-Testament* and legal wrath of zeal, and so forth—but this formed no element in the present

ciling (according to every sense of the term), against and upon Judas, that every heart of His true disciples which might stumble at the eternal condemnation of the lost, must be strengthened and comforted by this original lamentation over it poured out by the Son of God.

But at this fundamental crisis is fore-shadowed what will and must recur in the history and final consummation of His Church. When that second man of sin, potentiated into a whole race, when Antichrist and his hosts confront the final Church of the saints, whose victory must be patience and faith, Christ's people will have nothing to do but follow the example of their Head and Captain—to abide patiently obedient, resting on the assurance that it was so written and appointed; to maintain the testimony of truth and righteousness to the damnation of the ungodly; but while doing so, to hold fast their *love* down to the final limit of God's patience, until the day of His wrath shall come. "Fury is not in me!" So, according to Isa. xxvii. 4, speaks God's vineyard, without a hedge of briars and thorns, to its enemies. "Fury is not in Me!" So spake Jesus, now at the first, the living Vine, the root and stem of the Church. Thus did He endure, condemn, bewail, but not show wrath; in order that we may see in Him, the Son of man, how the love of God glories even against wrath, and even in judgment has its victory.

Matt. xxvi. 25. The word which we have already heard, though a cry of lamentation, might be regarded as a fearful word, on account of the *object* of its lamenting love—"Better never to have been born;" but this third word *Thou sayest it!*, spoken to the traitor himself, may be regarded as simply *sublimely-awful*. St Matthew alone has preserved this, thus approving himself like St John an eye-witness; and in regard to this low-uttered colloquy, more observing, so to speak, than he. For, when Jno. xiii. 28 records that *no man* at the table knew the meaning of the later and last word to Judas, it is obvious that, as he excepts himself, so we may except Matthew too;—or it remains to suppose that John alone observed this prior temptation of Christ. The otherwise justifiable *wrath*, which as the meek Sufferer He must now avoid, was manifestly in the future of His judicial office, not in the Old-Testament past.

word to Judas, and afterward communicated it to the Apostles. We leave all this to the free judgment of the reader for adjustment; only stipulating that the trustworthiness of each evangelical narrative must be held unimpeachable.¹ For our own part, we repose confidently upon the absolute independence of the first Gospel; and regard it as in the highest degree probable that St Matthew himself observed and heard what in ver. 25 he records to us with the same simplicity of an eye-witness which reigns everywhere else.

There has been found wanting in *St Mark* some hint as to the way in which Judas received this word of Jesus;² for the traitor cannot be included in ver. 19, on account of the *being sorrowful*. The reason is that he did not record what was not certainly known to him. But *St Matthew* gives us a brief but most pregnant intimation of the proud daring of the miserable man. The *Is it I?* of the others did not humble or agitate him, save that he had no spirit to join with them—*last* trace of a fear and concernment which was soon utterly to vanish. The terrific woe which now followed without restraint, sounds into his deaf ears without making any impression, or producing any terror. He remained cold and immovable, blind, deaf, and feelingless in his cherished purpose; or, rather, if we may dare to say so, strengthened in it by the decisive prediction of its accomplishment;—insensible to the thunders of judgment impending in the woe, and to the mercy which shone upon the cloud in the lamenting “*better would it be to him!*” “He breathed nothing but self though surrounded by the atmosphere of eternal love” (Lössel). Just as if he had not heard the sentence of woe, he acts as if it had never been spoken; and adds to the rest, with fearful desperation concealed under the perfection of hypocrisy, *his own* delayed *Is it I?* Ebrard’s solution seems to us altogether wrong; for he regards Judas as

¹ Neander forgets this when (notwithstanding the sop reached to him) he regards the *low* question of Judas as an impossibility, on account of his distance; and then allows himself to say: “This is probably a foreign (that is, untrue) particular, the origin of which is explained by the true representation in *St John*.”

² Although it is he who distinctively testifies—And they, the Twelve, drank *all* of the cup!

simply *lying*, and saying by the tone of his question—"I cannot be the person meant." The only correct explanation is, that he puts his question as much as possible like that of the others; a question which he had so asked as to wait for *no* as the answer, could scarcely have been answered by the affirmative, *Thou hast said*. The others are all still absorbed in thought, pondering the hard meaning of the word of Jesus just spoken; *on that account* they do not observe the question which Judas takes that opportunity of pronouncing half-aloud. He intended it to be, as we have said, like theirs; but there is a difference which is hardly accidental. The others uttered in most humble submission the name *Κύριε, Lord*, which was the answer to their own question:—that word does not pass the traitor's lips, but instead of it he uses the cold and ceremonious *Ἰησοῦ*.¹

Let us mark well the contrast between these two, and feel as far as we may the wilful presumption of this question! In any other saint among the children of men it would have provoked only *anger*—if we may with reverence institute any such comparison. But no temptation to *wrath*, at other times most holy and right even in Him, but now forbidden, finds access to the soul of Jesus. How can we imagine it possible that anything—that even he, whose everlasting punishment He now bewails—could move Him from the triumphant elevation of His thought and feeling? His answer to this question is like a flash from the bright heaven; but it is only the flash of absolute truth, uttered as the reply of silent majesty, and without the thunder of threatening or invective.² The Lord's wisdom of love still spares him by an answer as low in its love as his own; but the necessary, inevitable word is distinctly audible to him—*Thou sayest it*, or—*Thou hast said it (thyself)*! a form of affirmation similar to that afterwards used to Caiaphas, and at first meaning—Thou knowest it well, wherefore askest thou? So

¹ Bengel reminds us that we never read of Judas' calling Jesus *Lord*. That is plain enough, as it regards the Scripture; but we can easily suppose him to have said *Lord* to Him whom he kissed at the end.

² His love will and His truth must expressly answer such an *Is it I?* as that of Judas, although it seems needless. To the *Is it I?* of the amazed guiltless ones who question their own innocence no answer is needful; for, despite appearances, the question is its own answer.

again—Ah that thou hadst not asked! Ah that I had not to answer! Ah that thou *wast* not such! and what else the mysterious emphasis of this word may evolve to thoughtful consideration. In such words as these definite exposition ceases, and pondering reflection must take its place. Thus much we further indicate as its force to the feeling: “Thou knowest it, I also—Yea, I look through thee, and canst thou still doubt it? Thou deceivest *Me* not—thou dost not *mislead* or *move* Me! Thou dost not shake Me from My submission to the decreed purpose of God; thou dost not make Me waver in My righteous condemnation of thy sin—but neither dost thou move Me from My *love*—for thou mayest not and shall not even disturb My repose!” The *Thou* which is directly given back intimates what is more strongly expressed afterwards in St John’s *what thou doest*:—Thou *willest* it, and thy will, which hurries thee to ruin, and, executed on Me, will subserve redemption, will neither by Me nor My Father be resisted. (*Habeas tibi*—but in a tone more mournful than upbraiding.)

Woe, woe to the man, who thus questions the Lord, and must receive this answer! Such is the application with which the Spirit interlines the text, as it were, for every reader.

After this interchange of these two words, which condense into one moment the awful collision between heaven and hell, we must suppose a short pause to have ensued—a pause of anxious silence or profound pondering while the paschal meal proceeds. And as they *were eating*—is St Matthew’s new commencement; and all the three Evangelists introduce now the institution of the Sacrament. And to it, in all its immeasurable importance and inexhaustible depth of meaning, we now turn our attention.

INSTITUTION OF THE LORD’S SUPPER.

(Matt. xxvi. 26-28; Mar. xiv. 22, 24; Lu. xxi. 19, 20;
1 Cor. xi. 24, 25.)

The importance of these words, which are heard from age to age amid the most solemn of all the services of the Church, con-

sists primarily in this, that they appoint and establish a *Sacrament*. The development of the idea expressed by this word must be resigned to dogmatic theology. We have only to observe, that this idea, and likewise the word which denotes it, belongs to the *ecclesiastical* development of doctrine, and is not found immediately in *Scripture*; but that it must be classed, nevertheless, among those things which the living tradition of the Spirit in the Church presupposed and assumed from the beginning, and without the recognition of which no exposition of *Scripture* can fully accomplish its purpose. We go further, and maintain that this *ecclesiastical* idea (in the purest and most legitimate sense of the word) has its root in the *Scripture*, or may be deduced from it as a necessary consequence; and especially, that here at the *institution of the Lord's Supper* we are to seek its origin. He who would ground dogmatic theology upon exposition, will not fail to exhibit the root of all sacramental doctrine in this historical event; he who would, with a truly unprejudiced spirit, expound from the depth of the words, as well as of the history with which they are connected, must necessarily at the very threshold admit a proposition which will be a key to the interpretation, viz., that *the Lord here contemplated just such a sacramental solemnity as His Church celebrates*.¹

It is very easy to hurry on with the observation that "the words of institution can contain no dogmatic mystery; for Christ was not a man of mysteries, and of dogmatic sentences." On the contrary, it is perfectly plain, that the Man who is in His own person the mystery of all mysteries speaks in the highest degree mysteriously concerning the eating and drinking of His body and of His blood; He connects with "Do this" in incontrovertible authority "This is," which necessarily exhibits a dogmatic ordinance as contained in the institution, and offered to our spiritual understanding for its development. Or, are we at once to assume that "This is" must be interpreted in such a manner as that no mystery or Sacrament shall arise out of it? But the very Person of Him who speaks forbids this, as we have said; so does the allusion to His doctrine in Jno. vi., con-

¹ And in this we flatly contradict the position of Lutz (Bibl. Dogm. S. 445), that the full sacramental idea appears in the N. T. only in connection with the doctrine of Baptism, and not with the doctrine of the Supper.

cerning the eating and drinking of Himself; and finally and conclusively, *the connection between this Institution and the Old-Testament Passover.*

Here as everywhere it is shown that the New Testament cannot be rightly or adequately understood, unless justice is done to its connection with and derivation from the Old Testament. We have seen more and more plainly in the introductory words what importance the Lord attached to the Israelite Passover, and by what degrees He prepared His disciples to understand that at this last celebration of it a new institution would take its place, which should introduce its full realisation. After He had already in the feet-washing excited the thoughts of the disciples to discern in an *external transaction* a *symbol* of spiritual things, He speaks of His sufferings in such a manner as distinctly to indicate Himself to be the true Lamb, and then goes on at once to speak of a future *fulfilment* of the prophetic type. When in this connection He Himself appoints another external ceremony for His people during the intermediate time (after His departure, and until His return to their fellowship), it follows—if we contemplate the entire Scripture, without a regard to the whole of which there can be no exposition of its individual sayings—that *this* ceremony must correspond with that former *typical* transaction as its *fulfilment*, and bring the *reality* which was shadowed out in it:—the *Do this*, as well as *This is My body*, taking the place of the paschal ritual. For, in this way we arrive at the foundation of the ecclesiastical dogmatic idea of the Sacrament, which, though not literally expressed in Scripture, is certainly *scriptural* as involved in the thing itself:—this external transaction, appointed by the Lord Himself for the New-Testament Church, actually brings and communicates the grace and gift which was only promised in the mere rite of the Old Testament. It is thus most obvious, at the outset, that the Lord in the Supper contemplated such a mystery; and, proceeding from this, we discover the analogy of baptism likewise.

Yes, verily: “In the secret silence of the little circle of His disciples the Redeemer established an insignificant act which was to attain to a world-wide interest.” This is saying but little. In giving a morsel of bread to these Twelve, and delivering to them this farewell cup to drink—He regally appoints, and leaves

behind Him as a testament, a miracle of His power and love which should extend through all ages to the end of time; the *most gracious mystery* of His internal union with His believing people, exhibited in a *most open testimony* thereof given to the world;—in short, all that we can say concerning the blessedness of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

The Sacrament, in as far as it is an external transaction and has to do with earthly elements, takes up into itself at first the prophetic type; for while that was ordained of God for the sake of its fulfilment, it could not otherwise cease than as continuing in a changed and glorified form, one however of a strictly corresponding character. *Figure* and *similitude* therefore must obviously be retained even in the idea of Sacrament; for, it is through *this* that the connection between earthly and heavenly things is exhibited. The polemic theology which refused altogether to admit any *significat* in the interpretation of types, proved its folly, first, by renouncing the living progression and transition from the Old Testament into the New, and then by denying the fundamental principle underlying the Sacrament—the *symbolical* relation between nature and spirit which pervades the whole world, and the Scripture which interprets it to us. The ancient Church rightly termed the bread and wine in the Sacrament, *σύμβολα*, *ἀντίτυπα*, even *τύποι*, *species*. Cyril of Jerusalem, while he discerns in them the body and blood of Christ, finds them there only *ἐν τύπῳ ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου*, which must be interpreted in the sense of *mera species* into transubstantiation. Calvin is doubtless right in his position—"First, bread and wine are signs—which *represent* to us the invisible aliment which we derive from the body and blood of Christ."

But the distinctive point in the Sacrament, as in the New Testament generally, is this, that in and with the figure the *reality* also is given. It is a very improper confusion of language by which men such as Ebrard, going far beyond Zwingle, and even inconsistent Lutherans, speak of the "*Sacraments*" of the Old Covenant, which could have had no existence according to the true idea of this term. (Heb. x. 1.) We have now the *signum efficax* or more properly *exhibitivum*. A mere "propheying," or symbolising, of that which was accomplished once for all is certainly foreign to the New Testament, and its external rites

appointed of God ; even as in the Old Testament there could be only ordinances symbolical of the future reality. The living, essential centre of the New-Covenant economy is the incarnate *Person* of Christ, the Redeemer Himself ; the middlepoint of His *redeeming work*, again, is His death ; not, however, as death in itself, but as it is turned into *life*, and procures life for us. The *fruit and the influence* of this death which is our life, of this life which springs from death, is attained no otherwise than by the *self-communication of the Lord to us*, by which He who died for us implants Himself in us as living, or by which we partake of Him as our meat and drink. And, as far as our partaking of salvation comes through the living, effectual presence of the whole glorified Christ, offered to the appropriation of simple faith, the Lord's Supper has a pre-eminent significance : giving a bodily presentation to the most spiritual truth, in harmony with the corporeity of the glorified Redeemer. It is the Sacrament of the New Testament *sensu potiori* ; and as such the true realisation of that paschal sacrifice which was similarly placed at the very head, or in the very centre, of the Old Testament.¹

In the appointment of the *Passover* we have the first ordinance for Israel before the giving of the Law ; and this annual festal commemoration of their calling, redemption, and pardon, was actually, as Bähr terms it, "Israel's birth-feast and life-feast." In the solemn prediction of their deliverance, Ex. vi., we read these words of declaration and promise :—"I, the Lord, I *will* bring you out—I will rid you out of their bondage—I will redeem you—I will take you to Me for a people, and be your God!" to which fourfold annunciation the four cups at the paschal meal were thought to have reference. Thus, the Lord had heard the groaning of the children of Israel, and remembered His covenant ; but *they* heard Him not for anguish of spirit, so that Moses objected—Behold, they have not hearkened unto me. Nevertheless, that came to pass which the Lord had said ; but only in and through the faith of Moses, whose faith contended for victory with Pharaoh's wrath, could the whole of Israel be led forth :—Israel finally heard this Moses,

¹ Therefore, also, the first instituted. But not, according to that opinion of Lindner, which has passed away without leaving any trace, that it was to be received before Baptism !

kept the Passover at his command,¹ and thus was saved. But Moses was in this partly the type of the true Author and Finisher of our faith; partly, according to Heb. iii. 5, a witness and prophet of those things which were to be spoken after, as fulfilment in the New Testament. But to what did he give testimony in the appointment of that first law for Israel, which at the same time contained the first and most comprehensive prophetic type? The Lord saves, spares, and accepts Israel; but, because Israel like Egypt had fallen into peril of the Destroyer, saves them only through *blood*, the blood of the slaughtered *lamb*. Thus we have here the first legal *sacrifice* in that special Divine economy which then had its commencement; and *this lamb* is the most general representative of all the sacrificial victims which were afterwards slain. The sacred text speaks of it so often, not only by the (ambiguous) verb זָבַח, but under the express name of זֶבֶח (e.g. Ex. xii. 27 at the outset), that it ought to have been scarcely necessary for Kurtz to point to it, in opposition to the embarrassed Lutheran polemics of a former time. But it is not (as Kurtz thoughtlessly says) to be specifically classed among the זֶבֶח־שְׁלֵמִים or thank-offerings; it is at the same time, primarily rather, a true *sin-offering* or *expiatory sacrifice*:—in fact, it embraces the two species of offering in one, in harmony with its fundamental character. The predominant view, which denies this, is certainly incorrect, though it is expressed with the utmost confidence, as for example by Lindner: “We now freely admit that the paschal lamb was no expiatory sacrifice.” Ebrard, on the other hand, says, “The Israelites generally obtained a right to the covenant of grace, in circumcision; the Passover pointed to that which was the true character of the covenant of grace and salvation—an *atonement for actual death-deserving sin*.” The πρόσχυσις τοῦ αἵματος—the *sprinkling of blood*—which belonged essentially to the Passover, is illustrated by the sprinkling with hyssop (Ps. li. 7), as purifying from sin; hence Aben-Esra, for example, calls this blood simply a זֶבֶח.

We agree with Baumgarten upon Ex. xii. 13: “It is a false spiritualism, which Bähr should not have concurred in, when

¹ See Heb. xi. 27, and our exposition in the Hebräerbrief.

Bochart says that this sign was not given to God, but to the Hebrews, that they might be certified by it of their liberation. For the sign is properly for him who sees it and acts accordingly; but Jehovah seeth the blood, as He Himself says, and not the Israelites, who sit in their houses." *And when I see the blood, I will pass over you*—in which words, as in all which pertain to this matter, it is plain that the paschal lamb had the virtue of a *propitiatory sacrifice*, with the same typical reference to a real, objective propitiation, valid before God as the ground of redemption, which is exhibited in various ways throughout the whole of the Levitical economy.¹ Hence, and moreover, the wisdom of God shadowed forth in this paschal lamb many other things which had their realisation in Christ.² We may mention the prohibition to break the bones, and Jno. xix. 36—*these things were done that the Scriptures should be fulfilled*; and the separation of the lamb on the tenth day of the month, in preparation for the fourteenth, as Jesus on that day entered into Jerusalem as *εὐαγγελιστής*, for His burial—and so forth.³

Suffice it, that the paschal meal, and the whole *Passover*—

¹ Hengstenberg's views in the first edition of the Christology were erroneous, but he has since corrected them. Olshausen, on the other hand, properly maintains—that "the idea of *substitution* was evidently involved in the sprinkling of the blood upon the posts of the Israelites' dwellings, in order that the destroying angel might pass over, Ex. xii. 7. Hence it possessed a specific character entirely its own. That which was proper to the expiatory offering, and that which was proper to the thank-offering, alike entered into it; and it was this which made it so impressive a type of Christ's sacrifice.—The paschal lamb, as the *first* offering enjoined of God, combined in itself, as the germ of all the others, their collective peculiarities." This is better than what Lange says: "The proper Passover as a *feast of thank-offering* points back to a *propitiation already accomplished*, in which the sin-offering and the thank-offering were already presented." In this all-embracing type *they ate* of the same lamb which was at once a sin-offering and a thank-offering.

² Concerning which Rau, the opponent of all Typology, thus expressed himself: "I must confess that the evidence for the reality of this type had to my mind more plausibility than the evidence for any other. It made me, in fact, pause for a long time."

³ See Bengel's *Ordo temporum*, ed. ii. p. 228. We do not shrink from continuing, with Meyer's Typik—"Yea, as the great sacrifice was separated from the foundation of the world, so was He offered in death at the end of the fourth day of the world's history."

feast which began with it, had a very deep and full prophetic meaning, which no one isolated point, extracted out of it, exhausts. It was not merely a "type of the gathering out of Christ's Church from the Gentiles and Jews;" but the whole feast had a very significant double character, derived from the connection between the sin and thank-offering which we have traced in it; its two characteristics being interchangeable, the one passing into the other. The remembrance of the propitiatory offering became a *feast of joy*; the joyous paschal feast of thanksgiving, on the other hand, had in it a *dread solemnity*, derived from the remembrance of sorrow, and even pointing to trouble coming in the future. As a feast of the *sparing, passing over*, פָּסַח, it exhibited to the eyes of the people of Israel the Divine mercy, through which they had become and still were the people of God; but as a feast of *unleavened bread*, חֲמֵץ הַמַּצּוֹת it was at the same time a remembrance of sorrow, and not merely of that affliction in slavery out of which the Lord had mercifully delivered them, but of another affliction also, which began on the day of their leaving Egypt and must continue throughout the whole course of their wanderings in the desert. The *bread of affliction*, לֶחֶם עֲנִי, Deut. xvi. 3, is interpreted by Bähr in a onesided manner, as the "bread which reminded them of Egypt and the misery which they had endured there, *but only as being eaten* after their full deliverance from that misery"—so that this חֲמֵץ was by no means a solemnity of penitence and sorrow, but solely a *feast of joy*. (This latter idea is not necessarily contained in the word, for that includes sometimes even the day of atonement.) As the very significant appointment of the *מרורים*, the bitter herbs, was not merely, as a symbol of suffering survived, intended to remind them that according to Ex. i. 14, the Egyptians had made their lives bitter (such is the interpretation of Maimonides); so the very plain *כִּי בְחַפְזָךָ יָצָאתָ*—*thou camest forth in haste*—does not mean to explain the bread of affliction to be the food eaten in Egypt. There the Israelites had eaten leavened bread; but when, sanctified to God, they were separated and purified from the Egyptian leaven, and by a *hasty flight* betook themselves to the way which led to the promised land—this unleavened bread was their confession that their full salvation demanded, *in the way to the good land, hard-*

ship and self-denial still, with the continuance of affliction. As in Deut. viii. 3, we read—*He humbled thee*—*וַיִּמְדֵּךָ*—, and suffered thee to hunger (deprived of the bread of Egypt), and fed thee with *manna*; so that in this combination, in a certain sense, the unleavened bread coincides with the heavenly food for the people which was not savoury to the flesh. Hence we may with propriety adopt Meyer's words concerning the accompanying symbols of the paschal meal: "Figures, which point to sanctification from sin, swift departure from the land of uncleanness and distress, and the transitoriness of earthly life itself."

We have entered thus deeply, at the outset, into the meaning of the type, in order to prepare the reader's mind to anticipate in how profound and many-sided a manner this type is glorified in the Christian Sacrament. The paschal institution dimly symbolised that wonderful admixture of sorrow and joy, death and life, grace and correction, which stamped its character upon the great evening of the Lord's Supper first, and which still adheres to the holy Sacrament as the solemnly joyous festival of our pilgrimage *between* our accomplished redemption and the possession of the inheritance of glory.¹ We bless God in it, while we abase ourselves; we abase ourselves, while we bless God. We partake of the life of Him who died for us—that we may die in and with Him in order to live. This is now "the birth-feast and the life-feast" of the *new* Israel. As in its institution, the circle of the Apostles was the paschal family representing the *Church* which took its origin from the death of Christ; so, further, every little company of communicants (as among the Israelites every little number surrounding a paschal table) is a real and essential symbolical representation of the entire and complete Church, of *the many* who, partakers of His body and of His blood, become thereby His body.²

Finally: the cups of wine which were drunk—and which the Lord here *gave*—had infused, in the later ritual, a predomi-

¹ "The fruit of the holy Supper—the highest good in the vale of tears"—as the Moravian hymn sings.

² Hence in Ex. xii. 6 *the whole assembly of the congregation* is designedly thus vague: it stands for *every little company* around their Lamb, as for the *whole Church* in its typical as well as its real sense.

nant element of joy and praise into the solemnity:—and we shall see that the Lord acknowledged and retained this (apart from its perversion); and continued it in the institution of the Supper as strictly harmonising with its predominant joy.

After this general preparatory glance, we approach the Scriptures now lying before us; but it is still necessary to observe beforehand, in what way all is arranged with reference to the ritual of the Passover. It needs no proof that our Lord, as an Israelite and under the Law, observed all the prescriptions of God with respect to the Passover, before it was done away for ever by its consummation:—this was already intimated in the *I will keep the Passover* of St Matthew, and to *eat this Passover* in St Luke. And we have just said that He would do honour to every custom and ordinance which had been added with a good symbolical meaning. But it is no less obvious that He would not submit to every detail of the ceremonial, if it had already assumed the petty and frivolous character into which it degenerated in later times. The transition from the Old to the New, if it is to exhibit a living bond of union, appears to us to require that the ancient ritual should not be utterly abolished and done away before the new is introduced, but that it should melt into it and give place to its new authority by introducing it. This would be suggested to every reasonable thinker, and it is justified by the text. It is impossible, indeed, to harmonise all the individual details, partly because the narrative does not record every particular, and partly because the ordinances of that period are uncertain to us. In general, we may regard the table as arranged with all its appurtenances according to rule; this the Lord's *prepare* required, as St Matthew records its being accomplished. As it regards the first cup we have said enough already on St Luke. The expression *γεννῆμα τῆς ἀμπέλου*, fruit of the vine, Luke xxii. 18, Matt. xxvi. 29, like the blessing or thanksgiving generally, corresponds precisely with the formulæ which have been handed down, for the bread or the wine—etc. *בָּרַךְ אַתָּה*—*Blessed art Thou, O God, our everlasting King, who hath brought forth from the earth its fruit—who hast created the fruit of the vine.* This do in remembrance—*εἰς ἀνάμνησιν*—seems to be in some sense an allusion to the fact that in the Passover there was a remembrance and a showing

forth or proclamation. (כִּי־אֵנִי, hence 1 Cor. xi. 26, καταγγέλλετε). Nor is it without probability that in *This is My body* there is something analogous to a customary *pascal formula*. Not, however (as has been polemically alleged), to the words concerning the unleavened bread—אֲנִי הָאֵלֶּה הַלֶּחֶם הַזֶּה כִּי־אֵנִי אֲנִי הָאֵלֶּה הַלֶּחֶם הַזֶּה—but to the strong and emphatic expression הֵן which, following the ordinance of Moses in Ex. xii. 26, 27, was probably substituted for the אֲנִי הָאֵלֶּה הַלֶּחֶם הַזֶּה—the body of the Passover.¹ Thus this solemn word of our Lord Jesus gives assurance, as its first and direct meaning,—“the *pascal lamb* signified *Me*,”² for He says at the new institution—Take and eat, this is *My body*! just as formerly it was said—This is the body of the *Passover*. (And quite parallel, then,—*My blood* of the *New covenant*! by which He testifies that the propitiatory blood of the old covenant was a type of His blood.) These allusions being admitted, the question has been asked whether the Lord first went through the whole ceremonial of the Passover with all its ancient formulae, elevations, and announcements, in order then to *place in opposition to it* His own new institution—appending the Sacrament to the Passover, and not incorporating it with it; but we have already intimated our dissent from this. To us it seems a discordant thought, that the Lord should first complete the shadowy and typical ceremony—the interpretation of which must have been pressed throughout upon His spirit—“and then quite independently of the preceding solemnity, *once more break the bread.*” We confidently believe that here, where the Old and New Testament institutions met in one, they must have passed into each other; consequently that the Lord uttered *His* “*This is!*” instead of that customary one which would otherwise have been spoken. And in this supposition we are confirmed by the record of St Luke and St Paul, according to which the cup was taken *μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι*—after supper—when He had supped. Consequently, as we understand it, the word which now elevated the *bread* into the body of the sacrifi-

¹ In the Mishna we find the term of appellation אֲנִי הָאֵלֶּה הַלֶּחֶם הַזֶּה; Paulus and Scheibel agree in thinking that τὸ σῶμά μου corresponds with this—and we must agree with them.

² I am the *Lamb of God*—testified now at the end, as the Baptist had testified in the beginning.

cial meal, belonged still to the paschal eating;¹—not so, however, what followed. With this it is in accordance, that the cup, which Jesus now gives them, was in the stead of the customary third cup, the כוס הברכה; for this did not follow until the lamb was wholly consumed, and no man might eat anything after it.² After the word concerning “the blood shed” no man drank even anything more; that which usually took place after the third cup was not observed, and the sublime discourses of our Lord took the place of the usual continuance of their companionship into the night.

So far, this might be, so to speak, the Old-Testament frame which is in one sense the setting of the scene of this mystery, though in another sense it is a frame which cannot hold it. But now let us, in the light of the New Testament, approach more nearly and penetrate more deeply! And as believing Christians we behold there illustrated the *Incarnate glory of Jesus*; we behold His Divine-human glory in all the record of this evening. As such it is indistinguishably one; but we must in our contemplation discriminate, and rise from the human to the Divine. The Lord exhibits Himself *humanly* from the beginning in the deep and perfect sympathy of His human life, in His farewell love to His disciples, in His cry of lamentation over the lost one. This last calamity was His deepest sorrow at the meal which He had longed for with such deep desire; but His *Divine-human* love, which might be embittered but not exasperated, gets the victory over this. The hand of the traitor at the table hinders Him not from remaining faithful, and fulfilling *His* trust:—without any external exclusion of him who was internally shut out, He fulfils His promised *διαθήκας ὑμῶν*, establishes His covenant and the testament of redemption on the borders of life and death. Affectingly human is the—*Forget Me not*; but with Divine sublimity is added—*I am still with you, and live in you!* He holds out to them in the *Take!*

¹ Matt. v. 26. Ἐθιόρτους δὲ αὐτῶν is not—When they had eaten; but repeating as in ver. 21. And this is important for the presence of the betrayer.

² We have nothing to do here with the Gentile custom of drinking a general farewell-cup after the tables were cleared, though it may be brought into comparison.

eat and drink! His body and His life, His heart's blood, Himself, as corporeally as spiritually, for the glorifying future. He gives Himself to all, even to the false one; and comforts His own heart by the thought of the *many* who will in after times partake of Him. But all this is abundantly developed in the *Divine-human* mystery of this ordained and promised eating and drinking, which rests upon the atoning *For you*, and consists in the distributing *This is!* connecting with the earthly element the highest gift of the heavenly life.

What then is this? *My body and My blood!* Here we are directly reminded of the discourse in Jno. vi., without reference to which no expositor should approach the words of institution. We must refer therefore, as far as we can avoid repetition, to all that was there said touching the literal meaning of the words concerning flesh and blood, and the true interpretation of Jno. vi. 51, 53, 63. If we must suppose that that critical time, when many were offended at His hard saying and turned back from Him while they remained, was deeply impressed upon the minds of the Apostles—and who can doubt this?—if we must suppose them to have many times thought of the *eating and drinking* which was then so incomprehensibly demanded and promised—and does not that equally follow?—then must they at this time also have remembered it, when He *renewed the offence of the incomprehensible words with the most gracious and self-devoting love*. They could not but discern in His words a profound mystery to be disclosed in the future, and at the same time an unconditional command to His own *to do this*, connecting an internal and wonderful receiving with the external eating and drinking. *Consequently* the Lord must be understood by us as His disciples first understood Him; though with us as with them, the Spirit must bring the full understanding only after the actual receiving.¹

It is perfectly true, and accords with the words of Jesus

¹ *Consequently*—to refer to this at once and do justice to all sides—the spiritualising of the Quakers, that is, their utter rejection of the Sacrament, is decidedly and altogether an error. It understands here, as in John vi., the body or flesh and blood to be only the “heavenly seed” of the nature of Christ, “but not that body, or temple of Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and in which He walked, lived, and suffered in the

concerning the new commandment of the new covenant, that this mysterious union with Him takes place in the love of living faith, and leads to the perfection of His own in this love. But we must not, however, say with Lange (the hyperphysical, bodily-spiritual foundation of the mystery being thrust aside), that these words of Jesus concerning love in St John "are the light-figure of the Supper according to the Johannine view." For it is far too little to say—"the most essential characteristic of the Supper being this, to bind the disciples together in love through the *exhibition* and *sealing* of the love of Christ—and therefore this was to be the *mark of distinction* (symbol = Sacrament?) of the disciples of Christ." We think that love is life, but life comes to us through the self-impartation of Him who is given for us and in us; and, further, this self-communication is sealed to us (and is not merely exhibited) as the *giving* to us His actual flesh and blood. Luther says well—Where the forgiveness of sins is there is also life and salvation; and we may with perfect propriety invert the sentence—Only where there is life in and from the living Saviour of the world, is there an abiding forgiveness of sins. In the *New Testament*, we repeat, no mere assurance and announcement of the "For you" is sufficient: that is still only the preparation instead of the fulfilling reality. There must be and there is a true and real "*In you*."

This is what the Supper teaches us, this is the testimony of the words of institution, to which we are drawing more and more near. We are far, however, from asserting with an opponent of Calvin in Hamburg, "that there is in all the Scripture no passage which more plainly declares that the bread is His body!" We would rather say with the profound and careful Petersen:¹ "It is much to be lamented that men ever zealous for the Lutheran doctrine make so much stir about the words of institution. These words may contain the Lutheran dogma, but do not of themselves exegetically constrain its accept-

land of Judea!" Barclay's Apology, Prop. xiii. He goes on to say: "The professors of Christianity, for want of a true spiritual understanding, have sought to tie this Supper of the Lord to that ceremony used by Christ before His death, of breaking bread and drinking wine with His disciples."

¹ The Doctrine of the Church, third book, §. 445.

ance; and that doctrine is rather to be first derived from the *analogy* of the *whole* of Scripture¹ and of the whole faith, and *therefore* to be received as the genuine sense of the words of institution, notwithstanding that other methods of exposition *might* be found:—but this evangelically scientific method is too much lost sight of in the heat of argument and assertion.” We are by no means insensible to the ecclesiastical and scientific importance of a sound understanding in these matters, as demonstrated by the contests and divisions of the Church: but we would not forget the words of Luther, among the best which he wrote on the subject:—“It is a great and marvellous thing to be a Christian, and God lays more stress on that than on the Sacrament. *For the Christian is not made for the sake of the Sacrament, but the Sacrament was instituted for the sake of the Christian.*” We shall take the utmost pains to examine as *ἀκριβῶς* as is possible and fit, the words of institution; in order that we may rightly distinguish what they *cannot* say—what they *incontrovertibly* do say—what they *might* on the one side, but *also* what they might on the other, say, according to the point from which exposition views them. Here there is the freedom of a diverse acceptation, and liberty for every man to avow and testify for which view His entire system of faith and understanding of Scripture impels him to decide. We shall avail ourselves of this liberty; but lest we should fail perfectly to discriminate between a possible and a certain meaning of any of these words, we have only to remind our readers beforehand, that with all the exegete’s striving after objectivity, the higher the object is the more surely will his exposition be more or less subjective.

And now for *the words of institution*. There is, however, yet one preliminary question—*How did the Lord utter them?* which of the sayings in the four records are the authentic words of His mouth? We take it for granted that the reader has the four accounts in juxtaposition before him—that of St Paul to the Corinthians being included. We set out with the indisput-

¹ We may be permitted to add—from the whole connection in which the words were first spoken.

able critical canon that omissions and abbreviations in each narrator are of no moment; and allow that addition contrary to the truth, every so-called extension and working up of the account, is objectionable in proportion to the importance and solemnity of the record thus dealt with. But this canon can be applied in all its rigour to the Gospels; with regard to the latter part of it we allege our faith in their full inspiration, and plead, further, the transcendent and incomparable importance of *these* sacred words. Only thus can we obtain a sure and comprehensive foundation for the combination of all the words which our Lord certainly spake. Every word, which any one may omit, but another records, must be accounted valid; and the whole runs thus:—*Take, eat, THIS IS MY BODY, which is given (broken) for you, Do this in remembrance of Me—Drink ye all of this, for this (this cup) is My blood, of the New Testament (the New Testament in My blood), which is shed for many (for you) for the remission of sins—This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me.* And here it is very observable that in “this is My body” all four are perfectly at one.¹

But what of the *variations* of the same words? Did the Lord say—*Given* for you (as St Luke has it), or—*Broken* for you (as St Paul says afterwards)? Did He say—*This is My blood* of the New Testament (as in the first two Evangelists), or—*The New Testament in My blood* (as St Luke and St Paul agree in saying)? Finally, did He say—*Shed for many* (according to the first two) or—*For you* (according to St Luke)?

¹ Much may be said, and satisfactorily, as to the omission of this and that word by one, and its retention by another; but, in this matter, it is not wise to demand absolute certainty and seek to explain everything. Those who do so fall into great extravagancies. It is possible that the Græcising Luke might put *εὐχαριστίαν* for *ὑπόμνησιν*, though we shall give a different account. But who will believe that he omitted *λάβετε, φάγετε* because it was a Hebraism, and better Greek to avoid the repetition of *λάβετε* in ver. 17? It has no more value than mere assertion, to say—that St Luke, more especially representing Jesus as the Saviour of sinners, was constrained to add “given for you,” and therefore also “in remembrance of Me”—that St Matthew, keeping prominent the King of Israel, gives the *word of injunction* *Πίετε*—that St Luke’s Græcism explains the paraphrastic character of the words touching the cup—and that the *περὶ πολλῶν* in St Matthew and St Mark is a mere Hebraism (כִּי רַב לְרַבּוּת for a great number!!).

It is hard to suppose at first that all these can historically accord. The old assumption of simple faith we find in Richter's Family Bible: "The Lord *probably* repeated several times the words of distribution, and in explaining His meaning used interchangeably one or the other form of expression." And in this Krummacher decisively concurs. We must needs admit that this is *possible*; but none of its advocates has gone beyond its "probability;" to us, however, any such repetition as this theory supposes, and especially any such *changing* of the expression, seems highly improbable at so solemn and important an institution. The Sacrament sinks thereby into something too much like a mere human, confidential, communication. Pfenninger strives to make it more acceptable by representing the Lord as turning to the right hand and to the left, speaking the words on the side of John in one manner, and on the side of Peter in another. We have no contention with those who can thus satisfy themselves: it is a matter of feeling and taste. But far better than this solution, which places the variation in the original utterance of our Lord, is the theory which assumes a *later* variation of the expression in its liturgical use in the Church. There are some who have said, If Moses (not without design) has slightly changed the text of the Decalogue in the Book of Deuteronomy, so also the free Spirit permitted a like deviation from the exact words of the Sacramental institution, the same sense being strictly preserved. Those who think so, would assign the highest historical authority to St Matthew, whom St Mark almost entirely follows: as, for instance, in the case of *πολλῶν*, instead of which the *ὑμῶν* might easily afterwards have been substituted. For, supposing *ὑμῶν* to have been the original word—who would have dared to substitute *πολλῶν*?

But we are not content with this, and there is much higher ground to be taken. We read in the Synoptical tables of Sommer, in conformity with the prevalent view, upon St Luke—"this was probably the ecclesiastical, liturgical form in the Pauline congregations." Whatever truth there may be in this, it is altogether wrong to attribute whatever is peculiar in St Luke to a subsequent *human* liturgical arrangement. Even if *ὑμῶν* might have taken the place of *πολλῶν*, surely the *διδόμενον* (—or *κλῶμενον*—?) must have been spoken by our Lord; its

addition, on any other supposition, would have been presumption. And so the *Do this* must, according to our feeling, have come from the Lord Himself, especially when connected with the *in remembrance of Me*. Finally, the change between the words *blood* and *Testament* would never have been thought of by any, without the highest authority. We are therefore driven to an assumption which we are fully warranted by the Scripture in holding fast. The fact before us is, that in this solitary instance *St Paul* expressly quotes a *word of our Lord* which deviates from the Evangelists, and quotes it most definitively as the Lord's, in a connection which lays all the stress upon that circumstance. We cannot but ask for his authority for such a version of the Lord's sayings. Now, he anticipates that question, and assures us—*I received it from the Lord*. The reader who believes in the fact that revelations were ever vouchsafed to the Apostle, will be all the more firmly convinced the more he thinks of it, that here, on so important an occasion, when he is citing the words and acts of our Lord on that night, he cannot be referring to the intermediate tradition of mere eye-witnesses.¹ We cannot account, on that supposition, for this particular appeal, this *I* instead of *We*, and this emphatic *from the Lord*; the *ἀπό* of which we agree with Nitzsch in regarding as equally emphatic with the *παρά* which Schulthess finds wanting, because in connection with *ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον*, "*for I received*," it must be understood as standing *in contrast with* any mere human information, received at second or third hand—just as in Gal. i. 12.² The Apostle is certainly not appealing, in this specific matter of the Sacrament, to that one general revelation through which he was converted; for we cannot see the distinctive force, on that supposition, of such a strenuous and special reference to it. We say, therefore, with von Gerlach, that "he received it from the Lord in such a manner

¹ Especially, if it should appear that this tradition was not the more correct!

² We agree with him, further, in what he goes on to say: "There might appear to follow from this, a similar relation to the *entire* history of Christ"—for it would have been almost unapostolical for one who was so mightily confirmed as equal with the Apostles to have been under the necessity of informing himself after the manner of St Luke.

as the others had not received it, so that he could present it to the Church as his own revelation with apostolical authority." And, with Olshausen, "Accordingly we have here *an authentic declaration from the Risen Lord Himself as to the meaning of His Sacrament*, and the Church has always regarded this passage, thus viewed, as the important New-Testament explanation of the Lord's Supper." Hence this expositor, in his comment upon the Gospels, cites this Pauline passage as the *main text*; and we have shown our own opinion by placing the passage on a level with the Gospels in the text of our exposition.

By this *authentic explanation* from above of the meaning of the Sacrament to be celebrated in the Church—which of course would fix for ever the liturgical form—the Lord did not pronounce the other records of what He spake upon earth to be spurious. He did no more than "give His authoritative decision as to the particular form of administering the Sacrament," which, moreover, may be regarded "as a combination and exposition of the actual words of Jesus, likewise." (Nitzsch.) He has confirmed the *διδόμενον*, *given*, and strengthened it by *κλώμενον*, *broken*; He has made the *New Testament* prominent; and added a *second* and most distinctively imperative *Do this*. Such a supplementary change is an incomparably more becoming supposition than that of a variation at the time of the institution itself.

THE BREAD. St Matthew alone uses the article, τὸν ἄρτον,¹ and thereby defines it to have been the unleavened bread then present on the table; the other accounts, which have merely "bread" or "a bread," serve probably a twofold purpose thereby. They intimate, first, that *bread* simply as such was sufficient for an ordinance which was not bound to the paschal ceremony, which was not limited to Israel, and which had a far higher meaning than the mere continuation of the Old-Testament rite.²

¹ We cannot acknowledge, with Tisch. and Lachm., the omission of the article to be *easily* explained on that account.

² The early Church, therefore (Acts ii. 46, in the daily celebration), used the common daily bread (*panis usitatus*)—until the Romish ordinances (Pope Alexander I.) brought back in this the Old Testament.

And then, by the generalisation, which forsakes the historical style, they prepare for the observance of that mystery in which even common earthly bread was so marvellously sanctified.

HE BLESSED IT—GAVE THANKS. Luther has "dankete," gave thanks, without distinction, for both the εὐλογήσας of the first two Evangelists, and the εὐχαριστήσας of St Luke and St Paul (and a var. reading in St Matt.). The two are in a certain sense one, and were expressed by the same word or prayer. The one idea sufficiently included the other; and to have put them one after the other would have been out of harmony with the sublimity of the style generally, and the unity of the whole act. There is, notwithstanding, a distinction; not, however, that the one is a more Hebrew, the other a more Greek, expression. Christ gives thanks to God for the food, but in this thanksgiving He blesses the food itself; and in this latter meaning, the εὐλογήσας—"and blessed"—refers, like took, brake, and gave, to the accusative bread. Both meanings are contained in the Hebrew בָּרַךְ, and they pass into each other. In the account of the feeding of the five thousand, the first two Evangelists use εὐλογεῖν for the thanksgiving uttered with eyes lifted to heaven; St Luke, however, has εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς.¹ He blessed them, the loaves, comp. 1 Sam. ix. 13; St John, again, writes simply εὐχαριστήσας, but ascribes in ver. 23 a wonderful blessing to this giving thanks. But the distinction is clearly recognised in this identity; for St Paul, who is accustomed to distinguish the two words, in 1 Cor. x. 16 makes prominent in which we bless the consecrating virtue of the εὐλογία, the blessing, uttered over the cup. And that our Lord did not adhere simply and fully to the customary ritual prayer, although connecting His word and act with it, is plain from the new significance of this bread, the consecration of which required a new and free expression. The old form of prayer and thanksgiving referred merely to the bread of the earth; but the Lord contemplates and consecrates in His prayer Himself in this bread, the gift of heaven for the life of the world. Grotius: "And at this time and place, He poured out

¹ Some Codd. have ἐκ' αὐτοῖς, but that is only a gloss. Consequently here and in the plain which we bless of 1 Cor. x. 16, there is ample refutation of Schulz' assertion—that the N. T. has no trace of the consecration or blessing of dead things.

His thanksgivings, not for the old creation and its gifts alone, but also for the new creation for the sake of which He came into the world—for the redemption of the world, now contemplated as accomplished.” He can *give thanks* by anticipation, for He beholds His body already broken like this bread; He gives Himself thus to His disciples for their life. But this thanksgiving uttered in the love of the Son of man in His humiliation, is the germ and beginning of the *blessing* of Divine miraculous power to be pronounced upon the bread of all communions—a blessing which should go beyond the first benediction of the Creator. There has been a foolish contention about the relation of the *blessing* and the *thanksgiving* (incorrectly considered as apart from and independent of each other), as to their *antecedence* and *consequence* respectively. Our opinion is just this. The former, with which the Lord commences, as connected with the sacred custom of the old feast, is certainly the simple though comprehensive thanksgiving for the earthly fruit, the bread; but He does not on this occasion limit Himself to that; He connects with it a thanksgiving *for the new creation, for redemption* (as Grotius said). In the Spirit He gives Himself up to the Father, and for the Father’s sake to men, while He Himself thanks the Father for His own self-sacrifice. But such thanksgiving as this was, uttered with direct reference to the Sacrament now to be instituted, cannot but attach a *consecration* to the creature—*bread*—here exhibited, which would give its character to the *mystery* which it was the Redeemer’s purpose to connect *in future* with this bread. Hereby not only *was* bread blessed anew (as in the former thanksgivings of Christ who ate it); but in particular the bread of the Supper was blessed to the end of time. What and how great that blessing is, we do not consider now; but the most frigid interpretation, of the most sober expositor who really believes in Him, must allow that a certain power of blessing was derived to the Sacramental elements from this *last* thanksgiving-prayer of our Lord. Meyer’s exclusive declaration—“the blessing was not for the bread or the wine, but for the person who through their benediction was to be blessed”—is very questionable for this reason, that this first *εὐχαριστεῖν* and *εὐλογεῖν* actually concerned the bread and the wine, even as, in the analogy of lower things, there

is a certain sanctification of our food through our thanksgiving. Thus, the *thanksgiving* for and over the bread effects a blessing of the bread; but the *blessing* is here all the more significant in proportion as the thanksgiving was more comprehensive and pertained to the highest objects. At this third, and concluding crisis, the Lord *gives thanks* for the blessing which He had prayed for and obtained from the Father.

All this lays the foundation for the profound sense in which the whole Sacrament has from the beginning been called the *Eucharist*; and for the sake of this we have entered so fully into the subject. While this name finally indicates the spiritual thank-offering which Christians, partaking of the Sacrament, offer in their consecration of themselves to God and Christ, it nevertheless took its rise (as we find in Irenæus and Justin) from the sanctification of earthly gifts of God by thanksgiving and their higher hallowed use. Bread and wine are regarded in the Sacrament as the first-fruits of the gift of nature presented to the Lord,—not without allusion to the fact that, in the Passover, the beginning of the religious year coincided with the beginning of the harvest, the budding of new life in nature (the month אֲבִיב). So in the Lord's Supper "thanksgiving for the grace of creation, and thanksgiving for the grace of redemption, concur;"¹ there is in it "a sanctification of earthly enjoyment into means of grace in the New Covenant." This last idea is presented in the daily commemoration of the earliest Church; but we are not to press it so far as to conclude that *every* eating of bread and drinking of wine may be made a sacramental participation of Christ—the seal and witness of His life-giving death. This extravagance was far from the Apostle's spirit when he said—As oft as ye eat of *this* bread.

¹ As Von Gerlach says on St Matthew. Justin's words are: "That we may at once praise God for the creation of the world and all in it for man's sake, and for delivering us from all the evil into which we have sunk." With this the words of the ancient Latin Mass coincide—and they are not in themselves to be despised, for their deep though partial sense of truth puts to shame many of our *modern* Protestant Sacramental formularies. But the notion of the new English Apostles cannot be justified, who—in order to establish an oblation after the analogy of the Mass—teach that the Eucharistic thank-offering must, as the first part of the ceremony, precede the proper communion.

For the Lord took *bread*, specifically, and elevated it into a sacramental symbol of His body sacrificed and to be eaten ; not, as might appear to be the case, the flesh or the body of the proper Passover :—and this for many reasons. First, for the sake of releasing the new from the old by a free change ; the opposite might have had, to the Gentiles, a tincture of Judaism in it. Then, and connected therewith, for the sake of consecrating the most universal and simple nourishment of life, common almost in every land among all people, and thus making the heavenly *bread of life* appear as the *manna* prepared for all the world. Further, in order to obviate every carnal and grovelling notion touching *His* flesh, which might have been brought in some way into analogy with animal *flesh*. Finally, to make it manifest that there could be in it no repetition, or even continuance, of the propitiatory offering ; inasmuch as that is for ever reproduced only in the *fruit* of the seed that died (Jno. xii. 24), as a thank-offering. The eating of the lamb would have carried over the imperfect onesidedness of the typical animal offering into the New Testament, just as if it was the eating of the dead and sacrificed Christ as such ; therefore, in the Supper of our Lord, the fruits of the earth, bread and wine, are instituted instead of the flesh of animals—the eating of which generally had been intermediately introduced only for fallen humanity, after his paradisaical state was forfeited. And thus is fulfilled the prognostication of the Jews—that when the Messiah should come as a Priest after the order of Melchizedec, all (typical animal) sacrifices should cease, and only the (thank) offering of *bread and wine* should remain. (See in Sepp. Th. iii. S. 410.)

AND BRAKE IT—*ἔκλασε* ; this is the same in all the four, and must be of importance. To say that “the bread of that time required to be broken in order to be distributed, and that is all which is here signified,” is foolish, thoughtless, and most dishonourable to the Sacramental idea. Why then is it so specifically mentioned, not merely here, but also in every reference to the Church’s breaking bread ? What then is the force of *the breaking of bread*, Acts ii. 42, and *the bread which we break*, 1 Cor. x. 16 ? Even in the paschal ritual the breaking of the bread had its specific place ; the explanation was added in due time, that as the bread of affliction it might be eaten only in

fragments, broken previously in an unwonted manner, and not blessed till broken. Friedlieb,¹ at least, tells us so; and if that was the case, then the blessing of the bread in this Supper *before* the breaking would be a testimony, in opposition to that ordinance, that, in the New Covenant, our participation in the death of Christ, and in all the tribulation which to us also is appointed in our Christian probation, has been previously blessed from the beginning, springs solely from the blessing of God, and should be matter of thanksgiving beforehand. And with this is connected, in the advancing development of the meaning, the consideration of the "*liberality* of Christ, inviting us to the communion of all those good things which were to be obtained for us through His cross." (So Grotius, alluding to the fact that *breaking bread* in the O. T. means to *make others sharers of it*, Isa. lviii. 7; Lam. iv. 4, and in a similar sense *when I brake to the five thousand*, Mark viii. 19.) The Lord "breaks bread to us," when He devotes Himself to that end. Thus the ceremony itself, before He begins to speak and interpret its meaning, *says* as it were the same *Take, eat*, which was in Lu. xxii. 17, expressed by the *Divide it among yourselves*; but with this difference, that He does not give them to take the whole mass of the thing to be distributed. The *brake it*, therefore, in the final form given to the Apostle Paul, may represent the omitted and gave unto them. But that form, as we shall see, teaches us in the alteration "*broken for you*," the profound symbolical meaning of this breaking, which the Apostle describes as a custom adhering to the giving of the bread, just as he makes prominent the blessing in regard to the cup. And it is—which *we* break—for then one gave to another in the place of Christ (not necessarily one separated, and consecrated, for that purpose). But the omission of the breaking in the Lutheran communion (as the improper word *host*, which falls back into the Old Testament) must be mourned over and condemned, while we are speaking of the ceremony itself. The early contests about this did not concern a matter altogether indifferent; the Lutherans were in some error when they declared the *breaking of bread*, which is alike scriptural with the *benediction* and *consecration*, to be a

¹ Archäologie der Leidensgeschichte, S. 56. But we are not able to confirm it by our own appeal to his authorities.

merely *preparatory action, ministering to the distribution*; and thence deduced that it was indifferent whether the bread was divided into certain portions *before* or *during* the administration, and whether it was done by the minister of the Church or by any other Christian.¹ On the other hand, the *Confessio Marchica* in Artt. xi.-xiii. protests against this, and maintains the inviolable importance of the breaking.

TAKE, EAT! Thus did the Lord assuredly speak His first plain word, which directly accompanied the breaking and distribution, while it laid the foundation for the immediate intimation as to *what* He appointed that they should take and eat therein. No stress is to be laid on the fact that *φάγετε* is uncertain in St Mark, and that in St Luke *λάβετε, φάγετε* are altogether wanting, and even in St Paul almost certainly spurious. For, according to the first canon which we laid down, that is authentic which even one alone surely records: in this case it is the Apostle Matthew, or, if it so please, the first and most direct tradition. Their omission by St Paul had certainly no design to take away these words, indispensable in the celebration (and therefore inserted in his text from the liturgical form); but they are presupposed, and not specified, in order that he may come at once, and so much the more emphatically, to the *This is* and *This do ye*. Moreover, it is evident, much more certainly here than in the previous *divide it among yourselves*, that the Lord could not join with them in eating and drinking of that which He, though only in anticipation, called his body and His blood.²

It must be allowed, *first of all*, that both words naturally apply to the *bread*, and signify—*λάβετε* scil. *manibus* (et *ore*)—*φάγετε* scil. *ore*; *take, eat, with the bodily hands and mouth*. There are those who receive these words in so entirely common a sense that no exegesis can bring them further than the mere letter; but

¹ So Rudelbach: "Not that *we* must break it, when partaking of the Lord's Supper, but that broken bread must always be used" (as if the entire loaf could be taken! Or is this in opposition to cutting the bread?). Kahnis says, "The breaking of the bread is its consecration to its sacramental character, perfectly parallel with the blessing of the cup."

² Though some of the Fathers thought so. Chrys. He drank His own blood. Schulthess derives it from Matt. xxvi. 29, and says that it belonged to the *grace* of the whole action that He in this feast of love should *first taste*.

to all spiritual and more profound exposition it is matter of confident assurance that there is in them a symbolical meaning which must go beyond that. *With the intention to appoint something which was to be repeated in the future*, the Lord sees in these Twelve all who should afterwards receive, and to them He would say *that* and *how* they should "receive and eat." Still more: When He presently says of this bread that it is something else, we must take His whole word in its unity, and consequently refer this graciously-proffering command itself also to His body. And thus it is, take and eat that which I give to you hereby—*what* ye shall presently know. Then we ask, Wherefore is it thus circumstantially twofold, since for the external meaning one of the two would seem to be enough? (For, the mere appointing that every one should take the broken bread into his hand before he ate it with his mouth, is surely an inadequate reason, quite below the height of a *mystery* in which such externalities in themselves are indifferent matters.) But in the profounder sense this twofold saying has its meaning secured to it—and may be itself placed, for the present, in a twofold light. Either the *Take* intimates preparatorily the *modus spiritualis* of the *participatio corporis Christi quæ ore fit*, as testified in the *Eat*, thus giving this meaning for the Future—Receive in faith what I give unto you, so shall ye eat not merely this bread, but My body; ye shall receive it, even as ye *eat* the bread.¹ Or, conversely, the *taking bread* might be the external eating (as *μεταλαμβάνειν τροφῆς*, Acts ii. 46, or *λαβὼν ἄρτον*, Acts xxvii. 35—according to this latter *our* *λαμβάνειν* is the correlative of the first *λαβὼν* of Jesus); but in the *eat* follows the more essential, *mystical* eating—thus giving this meaning, Receive with hand and mouth this bread, but *eat* something other than it, My body! It is obvious that the view which we bring with us to the understanding of this is free to decide for itself, and that *here* already Calvin and Luther have occasion to separate; indeed, we may say preliminarily, that the one sense lays the emphasis upon the *taking as spirituale*, the other upon the *eating as orale*. We of course incline, on account of the reference to John vi., where

¹ Krummacher: In the *taking* there is a *summons*, in the *eating* a *promise* also. The *take* refers not merely to the hand, but much more to the *heart*. It demands susceptibility and appropriation in living faith.

the Lord Himself has laid such strong emphasis upon the *eating*, to regard Him as similarly speaking here—*Eat* herewith ἀληθῶς, receive as nourishment into yourselves *My body*! And inasmuch as this “eating” coincides with the eating of *bread*, and is here on that account so termed, are we to regard the “taking” as altogether one and the same, and are *both* to refer, as externally to the bread, so symbolically and internally to the body? We certainly think this conjunction of the two, after that former doubtful distinction, to be the true and certain sense of the words; and that the absence of *and* between them itself intimates that it is so.¹ But again, to what end is the emphasis of the twofold expression? The double word has its deep truth and meaning in this, that it is a *proffering* imperative, and presupposes in us something corresponding to it as such, without which it does not take effect. The receiving and partaking are thrown back ultimately upon our own will, as well as upon the Divine gift:—and this meaning, when all things are weighed, best approves itself exegetically. For, while a man can receive nothing except it be given him from above, it is equally certain that nothing can be given to him from above except the man *receive it*. What we mean corresponds with Olshausen’s too partially developed thought. “In these words (*take, eat, drink*) the *receptivity* on the part of the disciples, who represent the Church, is brought out. Christ is the Distributor, who satisfies with Himself our spiritual *hunger and thirst*.” And here we find in our Lord’s lips, as soon as we apprehend them aright, the great condition which was found wanting in the *Solida Declaratio* “*si credideritis*.”² For while

¹ Only that must be carefully observed, which Buddeus in the name of his Church admits: Probe discrimen inter manducationem oralem et naturalem tenendum est. Etsi enim oralem manducationem adseramus atque propugnemus, naturalem tamen non admittimus.

² Ed. Rechenb., p. 732. Quia Christus non dixit: *si credideritis*, aut digni fueritis, tum in coenâ sacrâ corpus et sanguinem meum præsentialiter habebitis; sed potius ait: *Accipite, edite ac bibite!* As if the latter did not necessarily imply the former. When it goes on, Verba Christi hoc volunt: sive dignus, sive indignus sis, habes hic in coenâ Christi corpus et sanguinem—it is as much as to say, whether with or without faith, if thou literally eatest and drinkest the bread and the wine thou receivest Me, the fellowship of My death and life, My glorified corporeity! And, despite

the *taking to ourselves* comes at last to our own decision, it is, like all spiritual blessings, mediated by our faith. Although His love and power declares in this word, most *gracious* as *it is* most *mysterious*,—Here am I; take Me; eat and drink Me; yet when He pronounces this most *gracious Take* and this most *mysterious Eat*, it is not here, any more than in the rest of Scripture, an enforcing, compulsory Imperative. Overlooking this, men have deduced from this centre-mystery the dogma, contradictory to nature,—Ye may, shall, and must eat My flesh, *volentes volentes!*

So much for the words with which the symbols are presented, in their anticipated connection with all the sequel; we now turn to the word of declaration, in which the mystery is solved only to be sealed again in its mysteriousness—*This is My body.*

THIS IS!—But first, that we may go step by step, the little word *This*, τοῦτο. The stress which Luther laid upon it, equally with the ἐστίν, is well known, and for the most part amply justified—for it is essential. His scorn and mockery were pardonable at the commencement of the contest, when Carlstadt perverted this first little word into a negation of the entire character of the Sacrament. Perversion it certainly was to say that Christ in this τοῦτο pointed with His finger to His body; for σῶμα being neuter, and ἄρτος masculine, the τοῦτο must refer to the former and have nothing to do with the latter. Luther correctly pointed first to the fact that we naturally use the neuter when speaking of a thing which lies before us; and then, more convincingly still, brought against his opponent the parallel of the cup. “Tell me then, good Peter, to what the second *touto* refers, which follows immediately afterward. If the second *this* must refer to Christ, and yet here expressly points to the cup (τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον), does your faith call the blood of Christ or Christ Himself the *cup*?” He unsparingly ridicules all such arbitrary interpretation: “Thus Christ would

Jno. vi., without faith, eternal life! Guericke says that otherwise it should have been *Believe!* instead of *Take!* in order to obviate the thought that Judas partook of the body of the Lord. But did Judas have any benefit in *for the remission of sins*, which however cannot be separated from the *This is?*

be made to say, Take, eat, for I say unto you *that here sits My body, which is given for you;*" and so forth.¹

If anything is certain in regard to this matter it is the sober word of Bengel, which is faithful to the simple letter and has become classical—*hoc quod vos sumere jubeo, this which I command you to take*—in which, moreover, he designedly omits to say fully at once what is obvious in the text—*sumere ac edere,*² *to take and eat*. Guericke, not satisfied with Hengstenberg's almost Lutheran approval of this formula of Bengel, blames this in the latter; and thinks that he should have said more definitely and rigorously—*quod vos sumere et comedere jubeo*. But, in opposition to the idea which lurks under this, we must maintain that there is good reason why our Lord does not say with the precision and absoluteness which is thought to be necessary—*οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος, this bread*. He not merely thereby obviated all misunderstanding, just as he explains the *second τοῦτο* not by *This wine*, but by *This cup*, of which more anon; but, moreover, He did not say what could not have been said with any intelligible meaning. His words preserve, with most measured simplicity, the line in which the earthly and heavenly agree in one, in a symbolical and real unity, without being however (which were impossible) *identical*.³

But now for the little word *Is*, the much contested *ΕΣΤΙ*. First of all, it is probable that in the Lord's language, in which subject and predicate are united without the expression of the copula, it had not existence. Scheibel indeed thinks that there would be an emphatic *הִנֵּה הוּא* or even a mere *הִנֵּה*, corresponding

¹ Carlstadt introduced as analogical, "Thou art Peter, and on *this* rock (that is Myself)," an interpretation which unhappily his opponents admitted. But this exegesis is itself equally incorrect.

² So some of the Lutheran dogmatists maintain *this alone*—*hoc, quod edere vos volo—hoc, quod vos bibere volo*. They are right, but the question is now as to *what kind* of eating and drinking is meant in connection with and after the *taking*. Luther said, against Carlstadt: "If there be any meaning in words, it is plain that that is His body *which He holds out and bids them eat*."

³ Rodatz, indeed, thinks that if the Lord had uttered such a *contradictio in adjecto* as "*this bread is My body*," our human reason should bow before the Divine reason. But all thought would be at an end in faith like this; and we might ask why the Lord spoke anything at all to us in human language, the medium of thoughts which may be apprehended.

to it; but Meyer has shown, in opposition to him, that the connection וְהָיָה הַלֶּחֶם is unusual in the Old Testament, and that if anything it would be וְהָיָה ; but that nothing would be wanting, in any case, if even that was absent, as it exerts no direct influence upon the literal or figurative meaning. This being the position of the question, either *ἐστί* having been unexpressed by our Lord, or if expressed its meaning wavering between a copulative and substantive sense, exegesis must lay no stress upon it, but discover the interpretation by the help of the subject and predicate alone. The subject is *that which was given*,¹ which was to be taken and eaten; and is neither the Lord who handed it to them Himself, nor (as Zwingle quotes from Thomas and Scotus)—*vos, qui hoc convivio interestis, ye who are with Me in this feast!* But the *predicate* follows after more plainly.

MY BODY. This is the *cardo rei*, the hinge of all. If the Lord when He thus offered to them the bread with, "Take and eat," spoke of His body, that is, of Himself bodily, as He was, incarnate, and lived before them—let this be our starting point—He pointed at this *farewell-meal* first of all to His whole past earthly fellowship with them, in which they had His body ever with them and near them; but He also pointed *by anticipation* to a future fellowship in which they should possess Him again, or rather still continue to possess Him—as He had said repeatedly. And more than that, for we must now connect this solemn formula with the *rite of the Passover*, of which we have already spoken. Most certainly, if we would translate back His words, He did not say בְּשָׂרִי , for then the Greek would have been *σάρξ μου*—and it is as little probable that He said גִּידִי or even חֵמֶי . Thus it is most probable that He used נַפְשִׁי or נַפְשִׁי שְׂלִי (according to the emphasis of the *μου* standing first in St Paul), as they spoke of the נֶפֶשׁ of the פֶּסַח . But it does not follow from this that He spoke only in figurative representation, as and because in the Old-Testament formula it was said of the lamb—This is the Passover or the body of the Passover.² The typical refer-

¹ Not the bread as bread; for that two existing things should be identified by means of a copula, is not a necessity of logic.

² The persistent straining of the analogy with פֶּסַח וְגִידִי , as we find it in Ebrard after Zwingle, involves the fundamental error of misapprehending

ence, rather, modifies the meaning of the *τοῦτο* into this—*What I now offer to you*, that is, what I *appoint* therein and *establish* for you in the future to partake of, instead of the lamb. Bengel rightly says, before the words already quoted, “*This*, is opposed to the old shadows; and means, *ye have Myself*.” We may therefore, for the elucidation of this meaning, invert the clause, so far as it contains in it this point—*My body is, I Myself am, your Paschal Lamb*. But it is altogether wrong, and is refuted by the analogy of the words spoken with the cup, to maintain rashly that the Lord uttered His words merely in the sense of such a *transposition of the subject and predicate*.¹

And, similarly, there is another inversion of the clause which an unbiassed consideration must reject. According to Schwenkfeld and those who followed him, the words must be understood *backward*:—*My flesh is in truth a bread or a food—My body is that which I now here offer to you*, that is, a *true* bread, and *My blood is a real drink*. And thus Christ is regarded as intending no more than to *teach* what His body and blood would be to us after His death, our meat and our drink; He *confirms* or *repeats* only (with an accompanying symbol to give it emphasis) what He had said already in Jno. vi. The *τοῦτο* becomes a *τοιούτο*—*this* becomes *such*—and that as a predicate, moreover in a so-called spiritual sense, and this interpretation of His words is what the Lord Christ Himself taught! But the natural sense of the language rebels against such a perversion, while the *τοῦτο* τὸ *πρῶτον* afterwards utterly refutes it; and we have nothing to do but to accept, in wondering, humble inquiry, the undeniable fact, that the same Lord who did indeed once say—*My body or flesh is meat*, now inverts the words, and testifies

the reality of the New Testament *Sacrament* in opposition to the Old Testament symbolical act.

¹ Such is Schleiermacher's artificial turn given to the sentence. *This* bread, not the lamb, is henceforth the *Passover* which I institute, *My* *πρῶτον*. So Thiesz formerly, but H. Stephani shows it in its most meaningless form:—“Jesus declares bread and wine to be the symbols of the New Covenant, instead of the flesh and blood of the animal sacrifice.” Ebrard, in like manner, though protesting against that: “This unleavened bread of the Passover (predicate I) is *My body* (subject I), which is to be broken for you; that is, *My body broken for you is the true πρῶτον—I am the true Passover-sacrifice*.” But he has since retracted this.

while He presents bread to His disciples,—*That* (which ye here take and eat) *is My body!*

That He, moreover, asserts for the present and promises for the future, a presence and a reception of His body, *only* after He had preceded it by a *Take, Eat*; and that thus the *this* is (be its meaning what it may) attains to its full reality only within the limits and under the conditions of the actual *partaking* already spoken of—is a remark which is very obvious, and which we make now preparatorily, in order that nothing *necessary* may be omitted. It is not first said, This is My body, Take and eat; but then first, when the taking and eating takes place, the wonderful “This is” follows in all its force. That is, as we are now prepared to think, *only where* faith truly, internally, and spiritually *takes* and *eats*. When the Papists act as if it was said, Behold it, exhibit it, and carry it round, adore it,—the voice of truth, however in vain to multitudes, must often proclaim to them what the convert Henhöffer so well expressed in his confession of faith:—“Jesus cannot possibly, according to all our experience, have designed to establish this *tabernacle-Christ* and its honour; otherwise He would have contradicted Himself, would have subverted His own kingdom, and plucked down with one hand what He had set up or would set up with the other.” The New Testament knows no institution of a magical spectacle to be wondered at, on the one hand, and no mechanical exhibition of empty symbols on the other. It would not, as the Romish Church, which reached its perfection in the middle ages, did, “divert the view from the Saviour in heaven, to the *corpus Christi* in the hands of the priests.” Firm and secure abides the sense, “*Here have ye My body,*” which I give and appoint you to take and eat. But this “*ye have*” is as far from the possessing in our hand or upon the table a transformed wonder, as from the empty figurative sense which others have applied to it. The Lord bequeaths to us His body and His blood, not to exhibit, carry about and adore—not merely to investigate, speculate, and dogmatise upon—but to eat and drink. Thus sets out Luther’s Catechism.

The Lord says now body, and not flesh, as before in Capernaum. He spoke on the former occasion as *teaching* (John vi. 59) and laying the first foundation of His doctrine and testi-

mony, taking pains to establish in the most definite manner the substantiality of the *flesh* as well as the blood; but here that is *presupposed*, and the actual giving being now the question, He adapts His expression to a twofold design:—to show forth the *unity* of His whole bodily person as one in itself, and that communication and participation of His whole body which leads to a similar unity with Himself and with one another.¹ The one refers to Himself, the other to us. For the former we appeal to the universal meaning of *σῶμα* (and *body* in all languages), even in its frequent figurative use—a whole, an organism complete in itself; for the latter we appeal to the fact that the Church of Christ is called His “body.” The Apostle Paul himself in 1 Cor. x. 17 gives this interpretation by the Holy Ghost; laying emphasis upon the word *body*, and assigning it in its integrity to the Church. Olshausen deviates from this, and reduces the force of the word, when he says that the expression *body* was imperatively required *only* by the adjunct expressions *given* and *broken*. “The Redeemer thus likened the *entire* mass of the bread which He broke to His body. He did not, however, give to each the body, the *σῶμα*; but as He gave a part of the mass of bread, so He gave a part of the *body*, that is, *flesh*, *σάρξ*. According to the meaning of the whole, *σάρξ* might just as fitly have been used; but on account of the synbolical reference to His death, Jesus chose *σῶμα*, equivalent to *ἡ*.” Here we must oppose in both these sentences the onesidedness which fails to do justice to the *pregnant sense* of the symbol and the mystery. For, as certainly as on the one hand the individual *κλάσμα*, the portion of bread received by each, represented to him his portion in the grace and gift of Christ; so certainly, on the other, does Christ in an equally true sense live, as the *whole* Christ, in each of those who are by such participation united with Him.² Even in John vi. the *flesh* referred not so much to *particulas quasdam a singulis edendas*, as to the

¹ Delitzsch: “To obviate the misunderstanding that He distributed His flesh in portions.”

² In Olshausen we have the still more dubious explanation that according to his conviction, not the whole Christ, and as He died upon the cross, is partaken of in the supper, but an operation and influence from Him, and that as the “Redeemer glorified.”

substance of the glorified flesh of the Son of man as a whole in its integrity. Yet, again, the *eat* refers immediately to the *body*, as it respects the individuals; and the objection that *σῶμα* or body is never and nowhere the object of eating, altogether and wilfully forgets that the eating here in question is absolutely alone in its kind. The *one bread* is exhibited as the *one body* in the many who receive it;¹ and the *μετέχων* of every individual is a *partaking of that one bread*. So far we proceed with the Apostle; but if we press the *figure* beyond the limits within which, as such, it presents the comparison, we go astray and fall into frivolities which are here, if anywhere, unbecoming. The comparison extends forward to the breaking of that bread, which however as a broken and distributed whole is still regarded in the *τοῦτο* as a whole in its integrity; but we cannot pursue it backward to the manner in which it became *one bread*, and press the figure in that direction.²

Nor of course can we accept the *subordinate* sense in which the body of bread represents the *Church* gathered into one in Christ, as the only one:—This breaking, giving, taking, and eating, this entire procedure sets forth *My body, which is or which will be My Church!* In this *hysteron* without a *proteron* where would be the strictly connected *given for you?* We must hold that the body, equally with the blood, must have a real signification; consequently it is neither *the body of the Church*, nor the *figure of My body* (according to Oecolampadius who quotes and perverts Tertullian's *figura corporis mei*.) Consequently, it is simple folly to maintain "that *σῶμα* can in no case signify flesh, nor be paralleled with *σῶψ*;" and it is most

¹ This is the true *reduplicatio multiplicativa*, and not what Scholasticism falsely so called.

² And by this we reject the interpretation given in Chrys., Aug., and even in the liturgy of the Const. Ap.: to wit, that the bread is the produce of many grains of wheat (something like the words of Ignatius at his martyrdom), as the wine is the produce of many grapes. This, if carried out, brings us to a body of Christ which rises in and out of the Church, instead of a body given in and for us, and which could never have been the produce of many elements. And thus it would coincide with Zwingle's interpretation of 1 Cor. x. 16, which makes the Apostle say, "I mean not that the cup is the blood, or the bread is the body of Christ; but that we all, partakers of the one bread and cup, are the blood and body of Christ."

wilful folly to maintain this *here*, where *αἷμα* strictly corresponds with the *σῶψ καὶ αἷμα* of John vi.

WHICH IS GIVEN FOR YOU. Thus is it first in St Luke, according to a doubtless genuine tradition. The omission in the first two Evangelists of this seemingly essential clause is only an apparent omission; for that offering up of His body which took place in the death that brake it can be, and must be, understood in *τοῦτο τὸ σῶμά μου*—this is *My* body—and the parallel in the *shed* afterwards abundantly confirms this. Not the less on that account, however, did the Lord speak plainly to obviate all misunderstanding, uttering for us at the institution the *διδόμενον*, *given*, and in His own subsequent explanation the *κλάμενον*, *broken*. There are those who are so insensible to the simple assurance of the mysterious words that they make the *broken* an argument for referring the *given* also rather to *this*—the bread—and thus infer that *εἰς θάνατον*, *unto death*, is not to be supplied.¹ But they gain nothing by this; the direct and plain words concerning the body are perverted or lost sight of by those who are obliged to confess, after all, that both senses (*this bread which is given* or *the body which is given*) are really the same at bottom, since the terms *given* and *shed* are used concerning the bread and the cup only as far as they are or represent the body and blood of Christ.

Thus the body is *given*, that is, devoted *unto death*. For the sake of brevity, we may refer those to whom it is necessary to what was said upon the *δώσω* of Jno. vi. 51—though that passage itself is quite sufficient. That which was their future is now come near; the night of betrayal, the anguish of death, the judgment which doomed Him, has already begun, so that what was immediately impending might be spoken of as already present. Winer, accordingly, gives a better solution than the old *enallage temporis*, “which was now on the point of being given.” This kind of expression, however, instead of the absolute Future, was strictly necessary: as giving at the time of the institution itself the strongest possible *assurance*, and as

¹ They then say that it is the same with the *τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον*; that which was presented being the subject in both clauses. But that St Luke's *τὸ ἐν τῷ ὑμῶν ἰσχυρόμενον* does not refer simply to the cup, is plain from the *αἷμα ἰσχυρόμενον*—of the other two Evangelists.

making the great fact *present again* at every future celebration. We well know how dimly the Apostles apprehended the fore-announced death of the Lord, down to the last : it is on that account that He gave them the most absolute assurance of that death as a present fact, in such a manner as to repress all doubt at least during that sacred hour ; and it is on that account that He further gave the declaration concerning its *propitiatory* significance and power. (But not the "first and sole" such declaration, as Ebrard says ; for see Jno. vi. 51, x. 12 ; Matt. xx. 28.) But, again, as the Lord is uttering a formula, we might almost say a formulary, for the future celebration of the Supper, He cannot speak of it as a past transaction otherwise than as present. For a *symbol* must necessarily *presentiate* ; and the Sacrament, which distributes its blessing and spiritual influence, abolishes all historical distinction of time. What Luther says of the blood, holds good of the body : "When we contemplate the historical act by which the forgiveness of sins was obtained, that had not taken place at the Sacrament ; but now it has taken place, and is past. But when we regard the communication of forgiveness, *there is no notion of time* ; it was a thing done from the foundation of the world.¹ Now, as the body and blood of Christ are necessary to all who have sinned, and are to be forgiven, it is for ever true that He *is always being given for them*. For, although the event has taken place, yet as long as its blessing is not dispensed to me, it is as if it were yet to take place as far as I am concerned." This ideal *presentation* of the event, which is contained in *is given*, and *is shed*, approves itself as a *reality*. And in this we have the ground of that *double sense* of those two words, in relation to our present reception, which Ebrard rejects.

However emphatically this Present might sound in their ears, the disciples could not have interpreted *τοῦτό ἐστι* of that body which at the same time sat living before them ; but they must, on the other hand, have thought of the requirement and promise which He had laid down in John vi. We infer therefore necessarily, that the actual participation of the body and blood of Christ was even then still in the future, and that it

¹ Add—And goes on to the end of time.

had its beginning at the time which Jno. vi. 62, 63, expressly specifies for that purpose. We cannot regard our Lord as intending to say anything which it was utterly out of the question that the disciples should understand; or to represent Himself as offering to them anything which their whole habit of thought would revolt against. We must therefore guard, both on the right and left, against error. We must not assert that, at this institution itself, the disciples actually ate and drank of the body and blood of Christ;¹ nor must we, on that account, deny the real participation in after times as contrary to the original sense of the words. The former error is inconsistent generally with all deeper views of the subject, and is refuted by the letter itself, since they could not have received the body *given* and the blood *poured out*, while the Lord was actually sitting before them and speaking to them.² In this case, the great weakness of the disciples, which continued afterwards just as it was before, would be wholly inexplicable. But it has been constantly maintained, and with truth, that at the very institution of the Sacrament, the blindness and weakness of the other disciples (independently of Judas) was specially brought to light. But if that which they then ate and drank was actually to be the real and full Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, it would appear that it had no power even in its first celebration, but declared itself to be almost useless—and how could we expect great things from it now? All that the later Lutherans have said concerning the full import of the celebration of the Supper at the hour of its institution, appears to me to be a series of assertions which are inconceivable and self-contradictory.

If our Lord's *this is* had involved a bodily change of the substance, "there would be here a new Christ, and that a *dead* one created *by the side of the living*," as Lange says roughly but

¹ Most Lutherans think most indistinctly and inconsistently upon this subject, violating their own dogma of the heavenly-glorified character and presence of the corporeity of Christ. Christ "was then already glorified latently," they say, and Olshäusen thus speaks of a glorification which becomes gradually consummate.

² Alford indeed observes: "The Passion had already begun; in fact the whole life on earth was this giving and breaking, consummated by His death." But we ask, Was there already any *shedding of His blood*?

truly. But he is not equally right when he rejects all "substantial presence" from the words of institution, on the ground that Christ as still living *distributed* His body and His blood in the bread and wine to His disciples then present. He here falls into that other error, one which, however strange it is, has been received very generally with unthinking facility: to wit, that it must be taken for granted that the institution can mean nothing more than it meant, or than took place, at the time of its institution. This leads him to a very remarkable statement of the case: "Their participation was not only brought to them in His presence, but His presence was their participation—He communicated to them His living breath, His living influence—they partook of Him together in His essential life,"—that is to say, though it is most opposite to the Lutheran doctrine, not in any sense a bodily participation!

O no! and again no! All this is not "*the* body which is broken—*the* blood which is shed." As certainly as our Lord did thus expressly speak, while yet their taking and eating of His body and His blood was not a thing possible, so certainly did the Lord speak the words of institution *for the future*, and promise, as in a general Present, what they and all His disciples should always receive when they should *do this*. The formula of distribution which did not really distribute must be regarded in the same light as that in which the salvation and deliverance of the people out of Egypt is regarded as already accomplished, at the institution of the Passover, Ex. xii. 27, xiii. 14, 15. And a still more decisive parallel we have in the words of John xx. 22, *Receive the Holy Ghost!*—a final symbolical expression, sealing to them a promise which could not be and was not fully granted to them until the glorification of our Lord after His ascension; see Jno. vii. 39 compared with ch. vi. 62, 63. Just as this final "Receive ye!" is here related, on the one side, to the reception of the Holy Ghost which did not follow till afterwards, and, on the other, to all the oft-repeated promises of the Holy Spirit which had preceded—so is it with this final word of promise and institution, as connected with that *bodily impartation* of Christ which should take place when His body was glorified and had become *capable of communication*. And this *glorified corporeity itself* is, once more, something very different from

that which many hypotheses have substituted for it. Richter, for example, thus strangely expresses himself: "Luther is right; we receive His true body and His true blood, *that is*, the living, heavenly part of His nature, which was sentient and operative, in the fibres and nerves of His (sometime!) body, and animated His pure and guiltless blood." And Hahn's "scriptural representation" is quite below the subject, whether viewed in relation to speculation in the light of revealed truth, or to the letter of the words of institution, when he says, "He gives the assurance that bread and wine now in this Supper took the place of His body and blood; and that, as He had been previously with them in flesh and blood, so henceforth bread and wine should be the organic channel for His spiritual fellowship with His disciples." According to the Scripture (Jno. vi.), the Lord was to be in us and with us also in flesh and blood after His ascension; yea, then first truly so. His heavenly flesh and blood, pervaded by spirit, and which have become spirit and life, these are the true "mediating *organs*" of that fellowship which is as really bodily as spiritual; and the bread and the wine are the mediating *symbols* of this, in the second degree. Was there not for the Church of the Lord an actual reception of His flesh and blood provided, *it could have no life in itself*, it never would be or could be His *Church*, that is, His *body*. If this reception was not at the same time (not, indeed, exclusively, but especially) mediated by an external, earthly corporeal element, the Church of the New Testament would have no *Sacrament*; its *worship* would therefore lack the real centre and exhibition of consummate fellowship, and the whole word of evangelical preaching upon earth (Matt. xxvi. 13) its conclusive *seal*. If the body and blood of the Lord were not for us, when we eat and drink, in the bread and wine, the *sacrament in the Sacrament* would be wanting; and the seal of the word, instead of *confirming* its highest and most wonderful promise, would *retract* it, and send us back into the region of everlasting difference between flesh and spirit—leaving a chasm for ever unfilled between our corporeity (which, however, is itself to be glorified in a resurrection) and the "spiritual fellowship" of the Head with His members. Schulthess, opposing the *Evangelists*, says that in Scripture *flesh* and *spirit* are the two most irreconcilable things—without

recognising that victory of the spirit which reconciles the two by *glorifying* the flesh.

Christ is the High Priest of the coming good things (Heb. ix. 9, 11), the author and dispenser of all that which was future under the Old-Testament economy of shadows; and not only so, of all that which, even to us, will be perfect only in the final glorifying and renovation of all things, although its reality begins within us from the time that the Glorified comes to make His abode within us. He acted and spoke as the High Priest *designate* (to use Oetinger's expression) even upon earth, and in the land of death, when He said—This is My body which is given for you—thus it is My will to give it, and I will give it to you. He could not have instituted this mystery first at the time of its great fulfilment, for then must He have come again from heaven expressly for that purpose.¹ He could not and would not institute the Supper after His resurrection, during that interval which drew nearer to His glorification and was in some sense an anticipation of it. For, it was to retain its necessary connection with His own and the old economy's last Passover;—moreover, He would assure them by instituting it before His departure by death that *His presence with them* would be just as real as it had been before His resurrection,—and, finally, He thus obviated all *docetic* notions, such as would have easily attached themselves to a Sacrament instituted during the Forty Days.²

How then, does He promise and give us in the Sacrament *His body*? as *dead* or as *living*? It is, indeed, the body given up to death for us; and the continuous presence of the power and energy of this death so works in us that we ever anew die with Him unto sin, in sacramental union with Him; nevertheless we know, and it needs no proof, that *this death* is life, and gives life, and becomes to us the *nourishment* of life simply. Were it not so there would remain only the appropriation of His justifying death through the "remembrance" of faith; there would be no living communication of the Christ, no longer dead but living, within us.³ But while the *διδόμενον* assuredly brings forward the

¹ Although in the revelation to St Paul there was a confirmatory supplement added from heaven.

² Then He *was* latently or initiatoryly glorified—not before His death.

³ Breitenstein (letters to Marheineke, 1822) starts from the Syr. trans.

death into the present, and asserts the identity of the body which is given with that which died upon Golgotha, the *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν*, which is added, testifies that the same body is given as living, as the bread of life within us,—because *the eating* (as the very word necessarily implies) takes away the merely external sense of this “*for us*,” elevates and interprets it into the “*in us*.”

The BROKEN, finally, which the Lord's authentic exposition has substituted for *given*,¹ should by no means throw us back upon a onesided view of the dead body, but confirm to us the *double meaning* of the *given*, as being—for you *to death*, and thereby in you *to life*. For both these, not excepting the latter, must this *κλῶμενον*, as pertaining to *ἐκλασε*, embrace. It is true that it, first, defines the breaking of the body, the dissolution of the organism, its (transitory) disruption as a *body* by death.² Guericke, for the sake of withstanding the “Union-Shibboleth” of bread-breaking, asserts that the body of Christ generally was not broken at all; but what would the authentic expression here given then mean? We think at once of *כָּרָס*, *bruised*, Isa. liii. 5, and *כָּרַס* ver. 10 (comp. *כָּרַס* Ps. xc. 3), which is more intense than *לָחַס*—not merely pierced or wounded to the flowing of the blood, but bruised, crushed,

כָּרַס, and renews all the old Zuinglianism of an appropriation simply of the crucified Lord, symbolised by eating. Meyer thoroughly well answered him (Bl. für höh. W. v. 136) that this would be a *half*-Christ, and not, therefore, by any means the Christ whom we must have. There would be then no difference between the Jewish sacrifice and our Sacrament, save in the outward form, and in the circumstance that the former was offered in expectation, the latter celebrated in *remembrance*.

¹ For the omission of *κλῶμενον*, as in Lachmann's text, cannot be approved, though Schulthess can appeal to Bengel on that side; the simple *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν* is without meaning, and arose from the uncertainty between *διδ.* or *κλ.*, as Nitzsch has said. But when he prefers *διδόμενον*, and asserts *κλῶμενον* to be spurious, as having originated from 1 Cor. x. 16 or later notions of the breaking of the body, we cannot agree with him, but hold the latter with Schulz as doubtless genuine. The perversion of *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν* into “which bread represents you,” is ridiculously forced. Nitzsch still asserts, against me, that the *κλῶμενον* is a reading “more than uncertain;” but I must hold to its genuineness, and say with Kahnis, that “the expression is much too concrete and original for any later hand to have been bold enough to insert it.”

² Hence in some Codd. the gloss *θρυπτόμενον*.

broken to pieces as a living body; just as in Isa. xxxviii. 13 שֶׁבַר אֶתְּכָהּ, he will break all my bones, is parallel with *make an end of Me*; and as in 1 Kings xiii. 28 (not so certainly Dan. viii. 25; Ezek. xxx. 8; Jer. xxii. 20) שָׁבַר to break occurs in the sense of *killing*. Even Zwingle allowed this, though he made it rather too general—*frangi pro pati aut perire*. Nitzsch's objection to the broken body we think altogether unfounded. But when the same *broken body* is afterwards given as a *σῶμα* to be broken for their *food*, the other meaning which we alluded to above comes out—Christ breaks to us the bread, gives Himself to us as the nourishment of life. (The *tradetur* of the Vulg. may express this; and Ezek. xviii. 7, in allusion to Isa. lviii. 7, uses אֶתְּכָהּ for אֶתְּכָהּ.) For our שְׁלֹמֹה, our restoration and perfect soundness, comes, according to Isa. liii., from the propitiatory מַרְכָּא, our healing from His stripes—His blood poured out in death becomes the medicine of life to us. If this is *mystical* exegesis, it is the only one with which we can satisfy ourselves when dealing with the words of a mystery; every distorted and one-sided view of this central Sacrament, in which all lines converge to the unity of the death and life of Christ,¹ is unsatisfactory and misleading.

We may be permitted to recapitulate in Meyer's excellent words.² "The natural sense of the expression will allow at first this twofold meaning: Represent to yourselves by this My body and My blood, as they are sacrificed for you; and, Represent to yourselves by this My body and My blood, as they are essentially partaken of by you, or enter into you, and must enter into you, if ye would have immortal life, as I have already (Jno. vi.) said unto you. But, since no occasion and no means can be conceived more effectual for the setting forth of this mystery in believers, than the celebration of that rite in which bread and wine were blessed and partaken of in devout remembrance of the Lord and His sacrificial death, *the third meaning must necessarily* be added:—'Observe this bodily partaking of bread and wine, internally contemplating Me, and with a believing desire to be united to Me in spirit, soul, and body, to belong to Me

¹ As in the Passover the sin-offering and thank-offering were blended typically.

² Blätter für höh. Wahrheit. xl. 226 ff.

through a new birth, to have Me as an indwelling Saviour, and to obtain through this My being within you a spiritual and eternal life :—observe this partaking of bread and wine as the fulfilment and sealing of this your wish itself ; I give Myself herewith for you to eat and drink, just as I mysteriously spoke before, to the offence of many.”

Do THIS ! This is not a liturgical addition which had dated back the appointment of the then-customary celebration to the Lord's mouth ; but it is His own word, from which alone the celebration could have taken its rise. It was hardly—as Nitzsch suggests—added first after the resurrection. This second *τοῦτο* with *πρὸς* is much plainer than the former with *ἐν* ; but it is important, nevertheless, to impress a definite idea of it upon our minds. Are we to understand, *Do this as that which I now do*, and interpret it as meaning—Give ye My Apostles one to another, and let all who follow you give to others the bread in My place, and with the words which I now use ? Certainly not, for that which all believers, to whom long before the institution His flesh and blood had been promised, were to do, was said before, *Take, eat*. St Luke and St Paul, indeed, have not these words ; and again St Matthew and St Mark have not the *Do this* ; but this omission on both sides is plain proof that the expressions mutually correspond with and imply each other. Thus it rather means *Do after this manner* : that which I now command you, this eating (and drinking) which I now elevate into a mysterious communion with Myself. Decisive evidence of this follows immediately in the addition—as oft as ye drink. That the disciples, when He should be no longer visibly present with them, but give them internally His broken body and shed blood, would externally give one to another the bread and the wine, was self-understood, and moreover in itself so indifferent a matter that in the *πρὸς* here appointed to the disciples the main matter of the Sacrament must be regarded as meant. St Paul, in 1 Cor. xi. 26-29, does not otherwise explain it ; four times after the *ὡς ἄν*, as oft as, we find mentioned the eating of the bread and the drinking of the cup.¹ He appropriates it

¹ Although in ch. x. 16 he had presupposed that in connection with the *Do this* there was the blessing and breaking, just as at the institution the Lord had done.

to the Corinthian Christians as well as to the Apostles, to every "man who would belong to the Lord and His Church (comp. Ex. xii. 48).¹ In this New-Testament Sacrament, in the Old-Testament type of which the whole community acted as priests, there can certainly be no room for exclusive prerogative of office and position.

Further (and as St Paul has shown, 1 Cor. 5-7), the *Do this* corresponds emphatically to the sense in which the Lord declared, as we have seen, *His* body to be the true Passover; consequently we may regard it as certain that it contains His commandment to let this festival take *the place of the paschal lamb* (as previously *ποιῶ τὸ πάσχα*; Schulthess in this is right — *ποιεῖν*, *πᾶν*, of festival acts). Therefore, obviously as the Passover was observed for the memorial and setting forth of that deliverance and passing over, so now — In *My remembrance*. In *My* — that contains the substitution. In *My remembrance*; that is, in the future, when I am no longer thus with you; for what was then done needed no *ἀνάμνησις* for those who were present.

"Not in the days of His exaltation, but in the days of His humiliation, He laid this great injunction on believers; it was as the *request of a friend and not as a commandment for servants* that He pronounced His last wish." (Nitzsch.) Very true, but what majesty of most sacred injunction is there in this almost entreating word of Him who is about to depart through suffering! In *remembrance of Me* has a tone at once of most affecting and condescending entreaty, as if a friend was to say — *Forget me not!* But as certainly as His own could not and would not ever forget Him, — as certainly as by the preaching of the Gospel and the mighty testimony of the Spirit, what He had done would be announced throughout all the world in memorial of Him, — so certainly must something much higher be contained in this final request, which hides its dignity in a lowly form. The *memorial* must have yet another meaning; it was His design to establish in it

¹ This remark, otherwise needless, is rendered necessary by the Romanist doctrine that "the institution of the holy Sacrament of Orders" was included in the "most holy sacrifice of the mass." "The last words, *Do this*, are a command to the Apostles to celebrate the Sacrament from that time in His Church, and Jesus thereby consecrated them priests." Allioli.

a work of His own miraculous power, of which more anon; and the *Do this* is all the more assuredly no less than a most sacred *commandment*.¹ Rambach, therefore, says quite correctly: "Christ instituted the Supper *in statu exinanitionis*, indeed, but not *in actu* exinanitionis; the institution of the Sacrament was a work of Divine authority and power, hence St Paul calls Christ in connection with it *κύριος*, *Lord*, most emphatically." Nevertheless, we must remark the humble and unostentatious form in which this work of power and wonder was wrapped up; and, moreover, the New-Testament freedom which He permits even in connection with this undoubted command. On the one hand, although according to Jno. vi. faith through the operation of the Holy Ghost may, even without the bread and wine, partake of the same flesh and blood²—yet He now appoints and declares, that this participation should as a rule be bound to the participation of the bread and wine, even as the Spirit pre-eminently and ordinarily works through the word. On the other hand, again, He appoints with the utmost simplicity only the most essential matter to that end. That the Church should possess this Sacrament is firmly settled, and the external essential is expressly defined in the *Do this*; but all else is left undefined and free, as becomes the New Testament. It is to be taken for granted that the Spirit in the Church would take order for the salutary ceremonial of the service; but He Himself gives beforehand no legal specification which should always and absolutely be binding. (This freedom and simplicity shines out conspicuously in contrast with the Old-Testament prescrip-

¹ So that the Quakers are in most manifest error. Their inward light puts them to shame through the most unintelligent perversion of words, when they persist in denying the obligation of Christians to these "ceremonies." So we find in Barclay: "And as for that expression of Luke, *Do this in remembrance of Me*, it will amount to no more than this, that being the last time that Christ did eat with His disciples, He desired them that in their eating and drinking they might have regard to Him, and by the remembering of that opportunity be the more stirred up to follow Him diligently through sufferings and death," etc.

² Even in connection with the error which rejects the institution, if that does not spring from the heart's opposition to the Lord; for who would deny to many Quakers, who are so evidently and inwardly in Christ, this spiritual supper of the Lord?

tions for the Passover.) What persons should in the future assume the dispensation in His stead,—with what words, prayers, and rites the elements should be blessed and consecrated, and the devotion of believers be quickened,—what relation *this* eating and drinking should sustain to other eating and drinking, yea, whether *this should be done* necessarily in a body or sometimes by individuals alone—on all these points there is no word and commandment. We regard it as conformable with the Lord's meaning, who would have all things done *decently and in order* (1 Cor. xiv. 40), that the appointed *stewards of God's mysteries* (1 Cor. iv. 1) should take the lead as in Christ's place, in the Sacrament as well as in the word; but this exception in the universal priesthood is left free. Nothing seems to us more appropriate than to commence with the solemn repetition of the words of institution, and then to sanctify the eating and drinking to its sacramental character. Yet (as no consecration is commanded in the *Do this*) all such addition to the Sacrament itself might possibly be inwardly completed; nor can we deny the validity of the Sacrament to those who silently partake with their believing minds directed to the words of the Lord. So with the public and common character of the breaking of one bread, and the drinking of all from one cup. For the freest spirituality pervades the *New-Testament "Do this!"*

IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME. It has often been said that *this* word cannot contain the great essential matter of the institution, because *St Luke alone*, the more removed reporter, adds it, while in the "This is" all the accounts agree. There is some truth of course lying at the bottom of this, otherwise the *omission* in the other two Evangelists would be inexcusable, or not to be thought of.¹ But we are warned not to press this too far by the circumstance that the subsequent revelation to St Paul gives prominence to this "remembrance" *twice*, and the Holy Spirit adds also an *explanation* of it through the Apostle's teaching. This explanation is very different from the Zuinglian or the Rationalist view, according to which the Lord is merely said to have used such and such words, as self-understood. The condescending word certainly begins with what may be termed the

¹ But according to Justin Apol. i. 66, the ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων had also this first τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησιν μου.

simple *thinking upon* His person, His past connection with them, not excluding the affectionate remembrance of this last farewell-meal, and that night of His betrayal which it would for ever make present to their minds. But, after all that the *τοῦτό ἐστι* has already said, who can content himself with understanding the *ἀνάμνησις* in such a bare superficial sense as utterly opposes that former word? He who does this, because he has no faith in a livingly-present Saviour, working mysteriously upon and within us, and therefore turns one word of institution against another, has in reality no Sacrament at all, and deceives himself when he says that he brings the *Lord* to his remembrance. But he who with sincerity of heart and honesty of faith enters into this memorial of the Lord and His death, will find and experience in it all else that we have spoken of—even though his theoretical views and expressions may do injustice to the Sacrament as a whole.

We say first, with confidence, that the *remembrance* is not defined in the clause to be the substance, the essential matter, of the *Do this*, which points directly to the eating and drinking of the body and blood; but the appended *εἰς* indicates the original purpose, the accompanying disposition, the immediate influence, of the true participation in the act. If our exposition has been hitherto in any degree correct, we have already refuted the Socinians and others who would understand it *only* of an external eating, as a mnemonic rite,¹ but who understand neither what His remembrance is as spoken of by the Lord, nor what is His body and blood. The error is not removed by laying the emphasis upon remembrance *of Me*, but by rightly understanding the *remembrance* itself. Already in the Old Testament it had a deeper and a real meaning: when the Lord spoke of the remembrance of His name, and appointed any rite or any place to be a memorial in which His name was recorded—there He actually would come to His people and

¹ "Christ the Lord would have a remembrance and proclamation of the violent death, which He suffered for us, kept up in His Church through a solemn rite, to the glory of His own name." Schultheiss has even instituted a comparison with the *menekia* of the Greeks, the festivals in memory of the dead! And that in a very different sense from Theophylact's, whom he quotes.

bless them. (Ex. xx. 24.) Even then the living God was not in such sense absent that He was to be merely remembered :—but what does the remembrance of Christ signify, the remembrance of that God-man who gives us inwardly His body and His blood ! Are we to suppose the same Lord, who had so often testified to His disciples that He would be with them, among them, and within them in the time to come, to speak *here* of remembering Himself as an absent person who was no longer there and only an object of remembrance ? He does not say ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ἀναμνήσει—in remembrance of Me—that would signify the remembrance and devotion which the observance itself would bring with it, and which it already presupposed as the first impulse to the *doing this*. But He appoints and at the same time *promises*, that *through* this doing the remembrance should be strengthened, made more inward ; that a remembrance or memorial of Himself should be wrought in real and living fellowship with Him. All thinking of the past is in a certain sense a making it present ; but if He whom we think of remains absent and separated from us, *such* bringing the past back can only turn to an all the more bitter feeling of the separation : and can we suppose this to be intended here ? Can the Lord be supposed to expect it of our weakness that *we* should rise *in faith*, through this remembrance, above the separation, into spiritual fellowship with Him ? And can *this* be the decisive and main element in an institution which concentrates in itself all the mighty blessings and influences of New-Testament grace ? “As it respects the Christ, who is with us to the end of the world, and in our midst when we are met in His name, all is not so much made to depend upon our weak energy of faith, as upon His mighty presence.” (V. Meyer.) His word rather contains the real promise :—If ye do this in believing remembrance, then *will I remember you*, and come to you, and work *within you*, a true memorial of Me, that is, a more than mere remembrance. “In ἀνάμνησις and ἀναμνήσκω there lies not merely the passive idea of not forgetting, but the active idea of the revival of emotion, the renewal and bringing back again of something.” This remark of Schulz is quite correct ; but He does not go on to say *from whom* and by *what means* such living remembrance can come.

This is the subjective side of the word, but there is an objective side which inseparably belongs to it. Hence St Paul emphatically substitutes a wider expression: not, *ye remember* His death, but, *ye do show forth His death*. (With allusion to the *הקדש*, or proclamation in connection with the Passover.) And the Spirit within us teaches us to find even in this word an intimation, first of all, that we must in our hearts show Him to ourselves, or "enter with all our faculties and powers, and with the whole might of our will, into His death." But the fundamental meaning of that additional word goes further, and shows that our subjectively-true remembrance, which becomes through our reception a living remembrance of our Lord—this *ἀναμνήσις* within us—must also speak and work *objectively* and *outwardly*, before the Church and the world. "Thus Jesus did not merely say that the communicants at the Supper should think of Him; but that the Supper should be an announcement and a memorial of His death to *all*." (Scheibel.) Yes, verily, the life-imparting death of the Lord of glory, which should bring forth much fruit, was to be otherwise shown forth, and to have another kind of *memorial*, than any other death of one who had died. From the night of His betrayal onward to the great day when He will come again, His own proclaim,—as in their whole life derived from and spent in Him, so pre-eminently as often as they publicly and solemnly commemorate Him in the Sacrament,—*Life in His death*. They bear witness of it to each other and to the world. They bear testimony with the utmost power as worthy and sanctified communicants, such as He would have them be. But even the mere external celebration itself, when it is no more than that, is the continuous testimony and confession of the Church. Even where preaching has ceased to proclaim the sin-offering for the world, the "*For you*" preserves the remembrance of His atoning work; and "*This is*" bears persistent witness to a service which should be and shall ever be the means of living communion with Him.¹ Finally, and more than

¹ As long, that is, as the words of Christ are spoken in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Hufnagel of Frankfort, indeed, preferred as the formula of distribution, "Partake of this bread! The spirit of devotion rest upon thee with its full blessing. Partake of a little wine! no virtue lies in it; that lies in *thee*, in the Divine teaching, and—in *God*."

this: The living preaching of the Gospel through the Holy Spirit finds its last and strongest seal first in the memorial of the communion. As it is the *first* object of the Sacrament to nourish and enkindle the remembrance of Christ beginning in us, as a disposition of mind accompanying its celebration; and as it is then its immediate effect to make this a *living* remembrance through union with Him; so is it in fact in a certain sense the *last* and *highest* aim of the Sacrament for ever to proclaim to the world the death of the Lord, which has exerted its power in ourselves. *Commemoratio* and *predicatio* become one in the power of Him, who testifies Himself to be present. Thus the *Sacrament* goes back into the *Word* and becomes itself an intenser word as being its most impressive fulfilment; thus the communion, as it is the crown of worship within the Church, so it is the seal also of the work of preaching which this Church carries on. We confidently think that this last is plainly contained in the absolute and objectively-laid-down *εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν* (instead of *ὑμῖν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἐμὴν*)—in order to the remembrance, not, to you for My remembrance. It is thereby declared that the Lord would make this appointment of what His disciples were to do a memorial to the world of His redeeming act—just as in its place the Old-Testament type was.

LIKEWISE ALSO HE TOOK THE CUP. That is, the appointed and customary cup at the conclusion of the Passover. The absence of the article before *ποτήριον* in St Mark, according to another reading, has no other significance than what we have already remarked in connection with the *ἄρτον*. The emphatic and striking *Ὡσαύτως*—*likewise*—of St Luke and St Paul, which infers a similar taking, thanksgiving, blessing, and giving, testifies to the *indivisible* character of the Sacrament, as essentially one notwithstanding its twofold form. The double words of institution, in connection with the bread and the cup, mutually confirm and illustrate each other:—he who would superficially or falsely interpret the one, is shown what is right by the other.¹ The Lord instituted the Sacrament under a twofold

¹ Tertullian: In calicis mentione testamentum constituens sanguine suo obsignatum, substantiam corporis confirmavit. Nullius enim corporis sanguis potest esse, nisi carnis. In which more is said concerning the Supper than Ebrard finds in it.

form; and v. Gerlach gives the most obvious and most superficial reason, in these simple words,—“for He connected it with the twofold bodily need of man, food and drink;” and we have shown upon John vi. that there also hunger and thirst embraced all the necessities and all the desires of man in their utmost comprehensiveness. But to this there corresponds, as v. Gerlach admits, “a twofold nourishment and refreshment of the inner man, corresponding to those of the body;” and we then first understand this when we learn from the word in faith that Christ also is objectively presented to us in a twofold form, and gives Himself to us that we may *eat and drink*. The bread is only His *body*; hence He must also give us His *blood* in the cup. When v. Gerlach places in the middle, “He would thereby point to the *separation* of the body from the blood poured out, *in His death*,” we have nothing to object; for it is most evident that this separation does refer to the *death*, and consequently this is a testimony that He speaks of the same body which died. Delitzsch would satisfy the inquiry by saying that it is a gracious condescension to our weakness, to the end that He might exhibit plainly to our faith the twofold character of the gift; but we would ask all Lutherans, who do not regard the Sacrament simply as a condescension to our infirmity, but insist upon a reality in what is presented to their eyes,—what is then *objectively* this *twofold character* of the gift? We must penetrate deeper into the mystery, and regard it as demonstrating the separation of the body and blood of Christ which continues even *after His death*; so that in the Sacrament, where He who died, nevertheless gives Himself to us as the living, the same separation as it were continues. For this we may refer the reader to Jno. vi., and our exposition of it.¹ Finally, even this is not enough, but there is a twofold character in the *human nature* (which here appears only in its glorification) corresponding to the dualism of the flesh and blood, according to which the one indivisible glorified God-man nevertheless dwells and

¹ Though this overturns Ebrard's too confident remark, “No one would ever think of a glorified blood together with a glorified body.” We are quite sure that not only St Paul, Heb. xii. 24, but also our Lord Himself in the institution of the Sacrament, did so speak. The bloodlessness of the risen body is, as we shall see, attested as a fact.

works in His Church in a twofold way. St Paul points to this, when in 1 Cor. xii. 13, after having spoken of the one *body* into which we are baptized, and which consists in the one spirit, he yet refers the *εἰς ἐν πνεῦμα*, into *one spirit*, to the cup of the Sacrament, by the *we have drunk*. We shall say more concerning this, upon the Lord's requirement that all should drink of it.

It must not be overlooked, at the outset, in this transition from the eating to the drinking, that there is in the latter an *extension* of the fulfilling Sacrament beyond the limits of the Old-Testament type. The Lord in adding the cup to His solemnity adheres to the later paschal ritual, because that corresponds with His design. He does not shrink from establishing the joyful, quickening, cheering character of His institution, by sanctifying God's gift of wine in connection with the bread¹—and that notwithstanding the misuse of God's creature throughout the world. But what a deep meaning, and what a necessary truth, was involved in this, we discern only when we *contrast* it with the Divine ordinance of the Old Testament, in which there was not, there could not be, any drinking of wine at the Passover, or at any sacrificial meal. The heathen drank wine at their sacrificial feasts; yea, they actually drank blood—to which Ezek. xxxix. 19, 20 in angry irony refers, and probably also Ps. xvi. 4, certainly Zech. ix. 7; but throughout the entire Levitical economy it is a forbidden abomination to *drink the blood of atonement*.² Such an ordinance as that now given by Christ Himself was so entirely new,—*violating* the law and differing from the type while in inmost reality fulfilling both,—it was so decisive a distinction between the old and the new covenants, that even thereby (as also, according to Heb. xiii. 11, 12, by another connected circumstance) the new Church was separated from the old. Certain it is that no one could

¹ Like Melchizedek, otherwise than Mohammed.

² Though only as following from the enactments that something else should be done with it, and from the analogy with the prohibition of eating the blood with the flesh:—but this is sufficiently decisive. The question is different in the case of those passages, Lev. iii. 17, vii. 26, xvii. 10; Dent. xii. 16, 23 (comp. Gen. ix. 4 and Acts xv. 20) which speak designedly only of "eating," to allow for the far-distant drinking in the New Testament.

have thought of such a thing as this if the Lord had not appointed it. That He appointed it, that He even only in a symbolical sense should have said, *Drink—My blood!* is in fact just such a contradiction to the Levitical law as Schulz refers to, in opposition to the literal sense of the words. "The *personal appropriation of the sacrifice* was very significantly in the typical economy only *partial*; eating the body of the animal was partaking of half:—and thus men stopped short in the recognition that the blood of goats, calves, and lambs could not give *life*." Where *blood* is, there is also the life or the soul; and what will this circumstance (that *we* now drink the blood of an offering) say, but that we partake not now of a *dead sacrifice*, such as the Israelites ate, but of a *living*, the life and immortal communication of which was not attained to in the Old Covenant?" (v. Meyer.) Thus marvellously does the symbolism of the Sacrament turn from one side to the other; and he who does not apprehend its depth and pregnancy of meaning must be rendered incorrigible by his wilful determination to find but one. Scarcely has the blood *as shed* testified the certainty of the death of the body which was given and broken, when the blood *as drunk* assures us again that in this death is our *life*. Thus it is not merely, as Luther at one time thought,—Flesh is life, blood is death. Rather the reverse, as Clement saw in the blood the life, the spirit. Nor is the wine of joy *merely* (as Krummacher says) an ingredient of superabundance, but it is based upon a corresponding reality in the living Christ.

Our next question is now the requirement to *drink*. But before that, we have a parenthetical remark or two to make concerning the external element in the wine. It is well known that in Palestine red wine was the main growth, and as such served best for a symbol of the blood; but of course it must be understood that this is not an essential point; for in the general notion of antiquity every juice of the grape was as it were the blood, life, and spirit of the noble fruit.¹ Sepp, who disports himself freely in all these figures, says very justly—"The ear (corn) is as it were the flesh of the earth, and the vine its blood." Tertullian calls the wine, *sanguinis vetus figura*.

¹ See on Jno. xv. Vol. vi.

Another circumstantial is the customary mingling of the wine with water, which according to later sources had been prescribed in the Passover. Presuming that Christ had done so Himself, the first Christians (inconsistently more exact than in relation to the unleavened bread) acted accordingly in their ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος, *temperamentum calicis, mixed cup*;¹ and they further applied to it a new and unjustifiable interpretation, such as we find in Cyprian (Ep. 63 ad Cæcil.)—the water being the people with whom Christ now united Himself, as the wine mingled itself inseparably with the water!² Against this we must maintain that the custom alluded to is very uncertain, and that, even if the ritual of that day prescribed the mixing, it is in the highest degree probable that Christ did *not* mix the wine with water; in that as well as in *blessing* the bread before it was broken, differing significantly from the custom. For it appears to us that only the “pure juice of the vine” was worthy to become the symbol of the all-holy blood;³ and that here there was provided for us, in the figure as in the reality, a feast of pure wine, in which there was no water. (Isa. xxv. 6.) Otherwise, it might have been expected that (according to the analogy of the bread) the mixing of the cup would be recorded; hence Origen made this his prominent argument for deciding in favour of the unmixed cup, ἀκρατον.

DRINK YE ALL OF IT! As far as *drink* corresponds with the previous *eat*, all that was said there applies here. But there must be some additional significance in the fact that *all* are

¹ Concerning which, as well as the relation of the Roman and Greek Churches to the question, further particulars must be sought elsewhere.

² Others found in it a symbol of the inseparable union between the Divinity and the humanity.

³ Voltaire tauntingly referred to lands where no wine grows; and Schulthess is not ashamed to say that it was not the will of Jesus that where no vine grows it should be brought from far at great cost! We would not adopt Lindner's answer that in that case water would suffice; nor Martensen's, “It is necessary that bread and wine, or failing them whatever naturally takes their place, should be distributed and partaken of.” Exceptions such as may be compared with 2 Chron. xxx. 18, 19 (rightly translated) being admitted, the rule for the Sacrament requires the obedient observance of the prescribed elements. Isolated and distant Churches of Christ need never lack them, having fellowship with all Christendom; as the Moravian Mission-stations in Greenland show.

bidden to drink of it expressly:—this must be taken for granted, for every *recorded* expression and circumstance must, as we have seen, have its emphasis of meaning. It is true that St Matthew alone records this requirement; but then he does so, as an Apostle and eye-witness, and that St Mark instead of the injunction specifies that all did act accordingly, seems to make the matter more certain and more significant. We may first say, as Bengel remarks upon the *likewise*, that in the *Drink ye*, strongly emphasized after the *eat*, our Lord gives His testimony, “that we must not *separate* the two parts of the Supper, nor *confound* them; as if the bread should suffice without the cup, or the blood be regarded as already received with the body. The two-fold and yet one institution must not be abridged or divided; and therefore the *πάvτες* here spoken by our Lord was an anticipating denunciation of the denial of the cup,¹ uttered for all who should be content to submit themselves to *His* word alone. This testimony is so clear that even the *Concilium non-obstantiense* did not intend its *non-obstante* to have an exegetical force; but, rather, boldly avowed its deviation from the ordinance of Christ.² The prohibition of the cup to the laity is a very different matter from the eucharistia *intincta* which the early Church permitted for special cases (the bread saturated with the wine),—and cannot be regarded as other than an impious rending of the Sacrament; not but that the great patience and faithfulness of our Lord may supply that of which they are unjustifiably deprived to sincere communicants who know not their loss. There is a second thought which the profound Bengel here adds, in his Germ. New Test.: “It is not, Eat ye all. But after they all have eaten, it is said, Drink ye all. *The eating is left to our freedom*—but *after* our eating, the drinking is not so

¹ Calvin: “Thirdly, why did He say concerning the bread simply that they should eat, but of the cup that they should *all* drink? It was as if He had intended to protest beforehand against the cunning of Satan.”

² “Or if one kind was sufficient, it should be, rather, the cup”—says Bengel speaking after the manner of men. Rome, to mask her denial of the cup, has resorted to interpolation in the words of institution; so that we find in the Mass at the consecration of the bread—*accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes*; while there is inserted, at the cup—*mysterium fidei*. And learned Catholics are not ashamed to say that these additions originated in a tradition of St Peter's.

left." This says, once more, that no man must divide or halve. As far as this is true, it must appear that with regard to Judas, to whom the *Take eat* could not possibly have been *commanded* at the beginning (hence not *eat ye all*, leaving him room to abstain in fear), inasmuch as he had eaten, he must also as his condemnation drink likewise. But this subtle observation must not be pressed too far, or it will soon verge on error. For, in another sense, it may be said inversely, that this requesting injunction upon all permits a greater freedom to all in the case of the cup than in the case of the bread. As the cup is handed round, and every one is permitted to drink of it as much or as little as he will, we find another aspect of the matter symbolised:—When the Lord has Himself given with His own hand the bread which represents our substantial, fundamental union with His body, He leaves it more to the determination of every individual, how much of the *life* of the Spirit which corresponds with the body of Christ he will appropriate to himself. But we cannot understand this until we penetrate deeper, and recognise what in its inmost truth is the body, and what is the blood, of our Lord. The remarks of v. Gerlach on Jno. vi. 53 seem to us so excellent, that we will let them speak for us. As the blood is the soul in the flesh, in the substance of the body, so according to him the drinking and eating have this twofold reference: "The spiritual, like the natural man, needs for his preservation as well the continual renewal of his substance, as the quickening and invigoration of that personal life of the soul which gives this general human substance a distinct personality. Jesus creates, through the partaking of His flesh, a new man in him; and, through His blood, the personal life of love; He gives him a *living personal part* in Himself." And again he says: "Those who withhold the cup from the laity rob them of their personal free fellowship of life with Christ, and of their spiritual priesthood; they degrade them, as far as they can do it, to a general mass of Christian people who are to be directed and ruled by a few whole members of the Lord's body." This is not a wild imagination, but the full and deep meaning of the memorable *Drink ye all of this*; that is, "Let every man take with *direct unqualified freedom* his *personal part* in the full pervasive power of My life."

This freedom,—which at the same time is no other than a necessity that all who were presumptuous enough to eat unworthily should proceed with the Sacrament,—was alas a permission to Judas, and sealed his condemnation. The historical relation of the πάντες, and its typical meaning as a historical circumstance, is made prominent by St Mark, when, instead of narrating the injunction of our Lord, he says—*And they all drank of it.* Most expositors set out by “taking it for granted that Christ’s design was to remove Judas before He instituted the Supper;” but we must utter our protest, in the name of the Scripture which cannot be broken. Other occasions have required us already, especially on Jno. xiii., to declare ourselves on this question. St Luke’s *behold the hand*, ch. xx. 21, will have yet to be considered; we now abide by the first firm testimony to the traitor’s participation in the Sacrament. For this we may adduce a goodly *consensus patrum et doctorum ecclesiæ*—Cyprian, Origen, both Cyrils, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, Theodoret, etc.; then Calvin, Bucer, Bullinger (in a specific treatise), and Lampe (yet more elaborately); remarkably enough more on the Reformed side, though of course Lutherans (such as Wieland, G. Meier), are not wanting. There is no force in what the moderns say (as Olshausen) that “the idea of the Sacrament renders it most probable that Judas did not partake of it,” affirming with great boldness “that it would have been contrary to the love and compassion of the Lord, to suffer the traitor by partaking of the Supper to aggravate his guilt.” After the utterance of the Woe there is nothing to be said of the aggravation of guilt; but it has not been contrary to the idea of the Sacrament, and as little contrary to the mercy of our Lord, that in all ages the most unworthy have found admission to it—and we should be rather inclined to suppose that this would be typified at the original institution. The question is not, however, of our supposition, but of what the Scripture says. St Luke records a word of our Lord, which declares Him to have beheld the traitor at the table, after the words of institution. In Mark, ver. 17, the Lord comes *with the Twelve*: —“*as they sat and did eat*” is followed by words concerning the betrayer, present and eating with the rest; without the slightest hint of the departure of this one. Ver. 22 proceeds—*As they*

did eat—He gave to them—they all drank of it.¹ Similarly in St Matthew the “*as they were eating*” of ver. 26 is a plain resumption of ver. 21 which was introduced by “*the Twelve* ;” consequently, “*He gave to the disciples*” in his account, and the Lord’s “*Drink ye all of it*,” must be necessarily understood inclusively of Judas. We cannot conceive how, in spite of this, Lange can say, “*But we may assume (though nothing is said of it) that he had gone away by this time*”—compare his gratuitous interpolation, “*The traitor now vanishes !*” Equally incomprehensible is Olshausen’s remark, that “*the traitor’s participation corresponds neither with the narrative of St Matthew and St Mark, nor with the idea of the sacred transaction.*” We hold with the Berleb. Bible, which presses the resumption of ver. 26 from ver. 21: “*For something had come between, and the Evangelist now resumes. Christ proceeds to the matter before Him without further hindrance or restraint on account of that which had intervened. And this teaches us no light lesson ; the Lord gives not up the good because of the evil. We poor mortals make too much ado of anything evil coming between, and give up our Gospel-work. But in Ps. xxiii. the table is spread, though enemies are in presence. Here we see in Jesus the right frame of mind : He lets not the unfaithfulness of Judas hinder Him in this work.*”

THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT ! So in St Matthew and St Mark alike, only that the former has an additional and strengthening γάρ, arising out of the *drink ye* ; and sometimes the second τό is wanting in the Codd. (a matter, however, of no import). *This cup is the New Testament in My blood !* So St Luke and St Paul alike, only that the ἐστὶ is wanting in the former,² and in the latter ἐμῷ emphatically precedes αἷματι, just as previously it was τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα. It has been already observed that the first form probably gives us the words which our Lord used originally, and that in the other we have

¹ On which Glassius says rightly : “*These words were written in anticipation. For they had previously heard the command of Christ, Drink ye all of it ; this is My blood, etc. Obeying this command they all drank of it.*”

² Which, on the one hand, shows that the words were spoken δαιτικῶ, and, on the other, justifies our remark upon the ἐστὶ being originally unexpressed.

His own revealed and authentic explanation. It follows from this, that exposition must make both its text; but that it must primarily set out from the "*New Testament*" subsequently brought into prominence. And all the more, as concerning the second "*this is,*"—the reality of the *blood*, and its relation to the wine,—all that was said upon the body and bread must be regarded as holding good.

Great and emphatic is this word—*καινή διαθήκη*—in this place! The new covenant is here *fore-announced* in its near-approaching instant establishment; and it is also *offered* for all futurity to every one who would be a fellow-partaker. But it is made, confirmed, and *instituted* (which idea of the *διατίθεσθαι* is unexpressed, but understood of itself in the *διαθήκη*); and that can be only by a *blood* which truly propitiates, in the blood of Jesus Christ Himself. As "*My body*" was opposed, in the sense of being its fulfilment, to the body of the typical paschal lamb, so now, in the extended meaning which the Sacrament introduces by the cup, the emphatic "*My blood*" takes the place of *all* blood of atonement which the *old covenant* exhibited:—hence it is *καινή διαθήκη*, and not merely *καινὸν πᾶσχα*. This latter indeed is included, in virtue of the parallel; but the Lord's meaning in this comprehensive expression is very full. First, that the blood of the paschal lamb (as we said above) had been a *comprehensive* type of the blood of atonement generally; then, that the entire old covenant really had its fundamental and central mediation in *blood*; further, that in this typical "*without blood-shedding no remission!*" (Heb. ix. 22) there was a *truth*, on account of which it here follows "*for the remission of sins;*" finally, that this reality of the essential fulfilment of the prophetic typical economy has been brought and is imparted in *His* blood. Wherever in the Old Testament, or in Heathenism as the result of still extant truth perverted into frightful delusion, the blood of sacrifice and propitiation flowed or still flows—the Lord brings the great fulfilment and says, "*My blood alone!*" In this most comprehensive sense the sacramental word speaks now to New Zealanders and Brahmins, as it spoke, according to the development of the Epistle to the Hebrews, to the Jews of that day.

But in an especial manner the Lord refers, in this decisive

word, to two principal passages in the ancient Scripture,—to a historical passage at the commencement, and to a prophetic at the close. The historical is found in Ex. xxiv.; where, after the beginning of the institution of the Law upon Sinai, a *second* fundamental testimony concerning the blood of the covenant is added, upon the same mountain, to the first which the blood of the paschal lamb contained; and where we have the real and proper commencement of that sparing and reconciling covenant-institution in Israel, which was now to find its great fulfilment in a new and better covenant embracing the world. Although, before the establishment of a proper priesthood,¹ *burnt-offerings and thank-offerings* (perfectly comprehending all, as in the Pass-over) were presented; with their blood the altar, the book of the covenant (the commandments), and the *people themselves*, were sprinkled; and in a solemn declarative word (the meaning of which we learn in Heb. ix. 18–22), this blood was pronounced to be the *blood of the covenant*. It forces itself irresistibly upon our thoughts, when we contemplate the direct reference of the new covenant to the old as it is here concentrated, that our Lord designedly alludes to this saying of Ex. xxiv. 8. Even then already the blood was present, at least in its type, and a fellowship with it was indicated by the sprinkling; but now its real presence in the Sacrament far transcends the typical symbol, and the fellowship becomes a sprinkling of the inner man—a *drinking*. Moses there *pointing externally* said, *הִנֵּה דָם הַבְּרִית*, Sept. *idou tò alma tēs diathikēs*, Behold the blood of the covenant; but St Paul in the Epistle to the Hebrews substitutes a *τοῦτο*—*this is*—for the New-Testament sacramental word is connected with it in his thoughts.² When the Lord says, “of the *new* covenant”—He made the first *old* and abolished it, as we are taught in Heb. viii. 13. But it is also true, on the other side, “of the *new* covenant—then is the old placed by its side, as if not

¹ Hence young men of the children of Israel officiate; that is, not, as Onkelos and Jonathan suppose, the first-born, but chosen representatives of the priestly people; and Moses himself, as chief, sprinkled.

² As we observed in the exposition of that Epistle, “certainly for no other reason than to point to the fulfilment of the type, to the sublime word of institution which corresponds to the Mosaic word—*This is My blood*, of the New Testament.” A hint, too, that the Apostle was well aware of the original historical formula *τοῦτό ἐστι*.

to be forgotten." (Braune.) It is however fulfilled in its abolition; and the unintelligent horror of the blood, which unbelief in the truth of God in the Old Testament has created, is here done away in the centre of the Christian worship, in this most gracious bond of love between Christ and His own; for even in this we still find *blood* and *covenant* essentially connected. (See Zech. ix. 9-11, in that remarkable Messianic promise,—a new *blood of the covenant*!)

The other, the prophetic passage, which Christ had also certainly in His thoughts, since in it alone a "*new covenant*" is predicted, we have in Jer. xxxi. 31-34. (Comp. again Heb. viii. 8 seq.) We there read—"Not according to the covenant made with their fathers when *I led them out of Egypt*;" so that the allusion to this passage is very plain and significant here, where a new Passover is instituted. There we find the chief blessing and the foundation of the new covenant to be the now-actual *forgiveness of sins*; and in ver. 34, the "*for*" has no other meaning than this, that the new spiritual lawgiving in the heart, the general enlightenment unto the knowledge of the Lord, all the glorious blessings which the new covenant possesses and brings to man, should take their rise from that one—"For I will forgive their iniquity!" We feel at once how appropriate is all this here. And we read further, by no means as a mere parallelism, "And I will *remember* their sin no more"—for the old covenant with its typical sacrifices and propitiations did no more than perpetually bring to remembrance abiding sin, Heb. x. 3. But now the new covenant takes the place of the old, and in it there is a remembrance of the full and perfect atonement, of the one High-priestly Sacrifice, from which grace and strength are derived, from age to age, in ever-renewed and living application.

But we must look more closely at the word *διαθήκη*, and observe how we arrive at the idea of *Testament*—which indeed the *διατίθεμαι*, Lu. xxii. 29, had slightly foreannounced. V. Gerlach presupposes as certain that the word used was the Aramaic קָיָם, but this expression less plainly contains the idea of Testament; and we must confidently *assert*, even on account of the reference to the passages already cited, that the Lord's word must have at any rate proceeded from בְּרִית. Either this

expression itself was (and we may easily suppose so) extant still in the living language; or, if another was substituted, as in the Chaldee Paraphrases, it could be used by our Lord only in its strict connection with the בְּרִית of the sacred text. What then is the meaning of this word? Primarily, it is certain, that of *fœdus*,¹ as a compact between two parties; from this the *condescension* of God sets out, when He establishes a covenant with men, such as Noah, Abraham, Israel. But it is obvious that even in the Old Testament two things were prominent in connection with it:—the *initiative* on the side of *God*; and the *mediation* of a propitiating *blood*. When God is regarded as coming down to men with such condescension as to enter into covenant with them as with His equals, it must never be forgotten that it is God, nevertheless, who first proposed and established the covenant, and laid down its conditions and promises. The *condition* of the Sinaitic covenant in particular is the law; hence the *book of the covenant*, Ex. xxiv. 7, and most specifically *the words of the covenant*, *the ten commandments*, Ex. xxxiv. 28, and the *tables of the covenant*, Deut. ix. 9, and so forth. But still more emphatically prominent, as the initiative of God, is the *promise* given; so that בְּרִית *a parte potiori* simply signifies—not the παραγγελία, but the ἐπαγγελία of him who offers peace and friendship, for which it would be enough (with Gesenius) to cite Isa. lix. 21. See, moreover, the covenant with David (entirely equivalent to promise), 2 Sam. xxiii. 5; Ps. lxxxix. 4, 35; 2 Chron. xiii. 5. All this of itself would prepare the way for that meaning of בְּרִית which is almost identical with *institution*, *testamentary disposition*. But this transition in the idea for the *new covenant* (in which the Old-Testament notion of a mutual covenant, partly anthropomorphical, partly legal, must altogether drop), is found in the mediating *blood* of the covenant—not without blood—which has its fulfilment in the blood of Him who makes us heirs

¹ As the Vulg. translates it throughout the O. T., and in the N. T. always *testamentum*. But not according to the etymology which derives it from the cutting of the sacrifice; rather, as Hofmann teaches us from ברית with the meaning, to place anything that it may be, or that it may be thus; consequently, not etymologically a covenant at once, but something laid down or established, a διαθήκη. It does not depend, however, upon any possible etymology; but upon the meaning of the phraseology as the Scripture itself makes it plain.

of all the blessings purchased by that death, who gives them to us as an inheritance, making us heirs or co-heirs, partakers in fellowship of His new life, prerogative, and kingdom. Thus the Apostle unfolds it, Heb. ix. 15-18, very plainly,¹ and "so connects the *death* which has now taken place with the ancient words concerning *inheritance*, that the conferring of the inheritance shows itself now to be an actual legacy, in the similitude of a human testament." He is not playing upon any enforced double-meaning of the Greek *διαθήκη*, which, while it was used by the Sept. as synonymous with *συνθήκη*, was in the form of *רְבִירָה* already in use among the Jews in the sense of a proper legacy; but the new turn given to the expression in the new *language* only corresponds with a reality in the *matter* itself.² Similarly, the same Apostle, Gal. iii. 15, compares the promised gift to the firm testament of a man, and it is not an arbitrary comparison. The *authorisation* of the idea "New Testament," developed *now* from the *רְבִירָה*, and coming forward in the *διαθήκη*, lies in the *Lord's words of institution connected with the cup*, even as we have already seen that Heb. ix. 20 alluded to them. Assuredly, the simple and plain meaning of this word of institution is just as if it had been said, "Behold I *die* for you—and *live* nevertheless—I thus give, bequeath Myself to you—in *this* ye have Me, in My death and blood, so that ye may live in Me, because I live in you!" Thus understood, the *for* of St Matthew assumes a strong emphasis—"Drink ye *all* of this, *for* it is indeed My blood in which I offer to you all the covenant, and seal the testament, and give it you!" Similarly, the significant *opposition* in the juxtaposition of the words—"that of the New Testament;" as pointing to the *new* element—"My own blood makes the promise to you a *testament* of Him who dies for you!"

It needs no further remark to show that *This* is in its con-

¹ See my exposition of the Hebrews (Hebräerbrief i. 316-333), in which it is shown, and I hope satisfactorily, that no sophistry can avail to take away the idea of a testament.

² There is a half truth in what Bengel says: "The words *רְבִירָה* and *διαθήκη* differ, and have such a difference as marvellously corresponds with the nature of the case. For *רְבִירָה* is more congruous with the old economy, which had the form of a covenant; *διαθήκη* with the new economy, which has the form of a testament." This difference, however, is but a unity in the great development.

struction with *My blood* is to be understood as in the case of the bread. The change, however, in St Luke and St Paul which makes "*the New Testament*" into a *predicate*, requires not merely *this is* for the subject, but by a similar change—*this cup*. For the wine, indeed (or that which was given in the wine), is the blood; but only the cup can be called the testament in the blood. (Luther's translation in St Luke—*this is the cup*—is manifestly incorrect.) On the one hand, however, this amounts to the same; for the cup stands for its contents—"that which I give you in it," as it were, "*this drink*," ποτήριον almost equivalent to πομα, πόσις. (As, in connection with the bread, we may say, with Schulthess, τοῦτο scil. χρῆμα, βρῶμα—only that it must be understood *concretely*, and not merely this eating or drinking.) But then, since it does not now follow—*is My blood*, but—*is the New Testament*, we must understand it—"This *My* giving of the cup and *your drinking of it*, this fellowship in the cup is for you the New Testament;" that is, "your reception and appropriation of it, your acceptance into the heirship."¹ But in *My blood*, again, must not be interpreted as merely *per sanguinem meum*, *through My blood*; this is forbidden by the sacramental *this is*, for which the other form is only a substitution. But it retains the sense of a *real impartation*—"The testament betwixt Me and you becomes a reality through the blood drunk from this cup, consists in the blood, it being common between Me and you—the *drinking* is the obtaining of the testament, *because that which is drunk* is the blood." Compare the protest against the superficial connection as maintained by the Reformed Church (as if it was *the New Testament which is in My blood* merely), in Kahn's, and his correct solution—"This *potion* is My blood, which is the new covenant;" or—"is, as My blood, the new covenant."

WHICH IS SHED FOR MANY. *Shed* like *given* makes the future present; the *effundetur* or *fundetur* of the Vulg., therefore, is wrong, although, in St Luke at least, *datur* is more correctly substituted. Πέφ in St Matthew, and ἵνέφ in St

¹ And in a continually-repeated renewal of the sacred and firm διαθήκη, in the future; as Calvin says—"For the covenant which He once sanctioned in His blood, He in a certain sense renews or rather continues—as often as He offers to us that sacred blood poured out."

Luke (and in St Mark as a various reading), are not to be distinguished; they go not beyond the simple *For*, as this was not the express place for the decisive *ἀντί* of substitution.¹ Nevertheless, the latter is involved in the former, as far as the life of Christ poured out in His blood enters into us as our life. We need not be dubious as to the incorrect displacement of πολλῶν in favour of πάντων—all instead of many. First of all, the many might point, in opposition to the Jewish ceremony, to the “multitude of those who, though strangers to the old paschal lamb, were now invited;” and this of course leads to the most universal inclusion of mankind. That the blood of Christ was shed *for all*, in the sense of sufficient merit and general grace, is testified in the Scripture generally, and here decisively by St Luke’s ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν—for *you*—which certainly includes Judas.² The “many” might be intended as in the ordinary interpretation of Rom. v. 15, 18, 19, the “many all,” who spring from Adam, in opposition to the *One* who redeems them. (Comp. 1 Cor. x. 17, οἱ πολλοί, οἱ πάντες.) But, strictly speaking, even in Rom. v., the πολλοί are not the πάντες, but in the promised result only those for whom the redemption finally avails, οἱ λαμβάνοντες, those who receive it. (Jno. i. 12.) And therefore we regard the contrast between St Matthew’s “drink ye *all* of it,” and the “many” (πολλῶν, not altogether the same as τῶν πολλῶν) as intimating that only in the case of many (Isa. liii. 11, 12) does this blood approve itself as *quoad efficaciam* shed for them.³ Under one aspect, as Braune expresses himself, “there is something fearful in the subtil but manifest intimation in, Drink ye *all* of it—shed for *many*;

¹ The arbitrary notion of Schulthees, that ἐκχυνόμενον is equivalent to ἐκχυνον, βαπτὼν, βαπτήριον, and ὑπὲρ equivalent to upon, ἔν— that in St Mark the idea of the covenant-blood is only the blood of *sprinkling*—needs no refutation for our readers, who have discerned the whole clear connection. We cannot but respect the spirit in which Ebrard proposes the Pauline formula, which he expounds one-sidedly, as the decisive explanation of τοῦτό ἐστι; but our exposition of the sacramental words must still maintain the whole fulness of meaning in this sacred and mysterious discourse, as we have set it forth.

² For Kahnis has no reason for saying that this word could not have been used in the presence of Judas:—it is sufficient to refer to 2 Pet. ii. 1.

³ As we said already on Matt. xx. 28.

wherefore not then for all? because thus also the *blood* of Jesus cries out *against* some!" Fearful, that is, is the protest and *exclusion* pronounced against the same Judas who was bidden to drink with the rest, and whom the varying expression in St Luke includes—so that *this* dreary mystery within mystery in the Sacrament is exhibited in the twofold formula. But under another aspect, the comprehension in one body of the genuine sacramental company—the correlative of that exclusion—is most *gracious*. The *many*, saved and sanctified by this blood, are represented (as was said above, concerning the Passover) by every little company of communicants.¹

But in St Luke τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον follows ἐν τῷ αἵματι; and how is this peculiarity of construction to be explained? It has been referred back to the *cup* simply; and the remark has been made, just as if αἷμα ἐκχυνόμενον in the two other Evangelists was spurious or of no importance, "that very little blood was usually shed upon the cross." As it regards this last point, we think that, in most certain and necessary exception to the rule, Christ actually, that is, physically, poured out *all* His blood; and that there is a mystery in this which corresponds to the idea of the Sacrament, and is indicated in it:—we would not, however, make this a stumbling-block to any, but simply remark that it may and must be said in a correct sense, that He poured out *His blood* (as it respects its virtue and influence as good as all of it) for us. That the *shed* in St Luke does not alone or even primarily refer to the *cup* (in contradiction to Matt. and Mark), is clear from Bengel's saying—nam poculum plenum non effunditur, sed ebibitur. Consequently, the transition to the nominative here is to be explained thus: St Luke had previously spoken like St Paul, or according to the form handed down by him; but he then returns back to the Synoptic account, in order to connect with the former the main word of the original tradition—hence the nominative. It is a *constructio πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον*, since in the essence of the *communication* and *appropriation*, which is here concerned, διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματι and τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης are one and the same. But, on that account it is plain, on the other hand, that ἐκχυνό-

¹ We must leave to itself the idea of Grotius, that there is an allusion to Dan. ix. 27, δυναμέσει διαθήκη πολλοῖς.

μενον also refers to the cup (or strictly speaking to the wine in it); not in the external sense, however, but in that *symbolical* sense which now first passes over from the shedding of the *blood* to the pouring out of the wine. The *cup* in a certain sense points (symbolically) to the *unity* of the whole blood of Christ, and is therefore parallel¹ with the whole mass of the bread, or the body; consequently the ἐκχυνόμενον must lead us to think of the wine presented to be drunk, just as the διδόμενον and κλάμενον of the bread. As the body is broken *for us* when we eat of it, in the perfect unity of the death and the life which comes from it; so is all the poured-out blood of the Lord sacramentally included in this cup, and is from it, when we drink, “poured out” as to its efficacy *for us*, that is, in us—in the analogy of the *pouring-out* of the Holy Ghost, that is, His abundant, full communication. And here we see a new reason, in the profound symbolism of the whole, why Christ could say—Drink ye *all* (the cup of the Sacrament is provided like universal redemption for you all);—but could not say that the *blood* contained in it was *livingly poured out* for all who do no more than presumptuously and externally drink of the cup.

FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS. This added clause is by no means spurious: it is certainly omitted in all but the first Evangelist, and even in St Paul’s form; but the omission says no more than that it was already understood in the *blood* of the *covenant*. When the Lord expressly thus spoke, He brought into special prominence (with further allusion to Jer. xxxi. 34) the *main blessing of the New Testament* as now sealed to us in the blood of atonement. To the old covenant belongs the πάρεσις, to the new covenant, essentially and properly, the ἄφεσις, ἁμαρτιῶν. Rom. iii. 25 (Acts xvii. 30), Eph. i. 7. “For what is the New Testament? Certainly it is the promise of the remission of sins and reconciliation through Christ.” We may set out with these words of Melancthon; but must follow them up, as Luther does,—Where forgiveness of sins is, there is also life and blessedness. Luther’s controversy with those who would

¹ As Ignat. ad Philad. means in the well-known passage: μία γὰρ σὰρξ — καὶ ἐν ποτηρίῳ εἰς ἑνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ. Similarly, Dionys. Areop. (quoted and perverted by Schulthess), τὸν ἀδίαίρετον ἄρτον διελών—καὶ τὸ ἐνι κίον τοῦ ποτηρίου πᾶσι καταμερίσας.

have the forgiveness of sins through Christ sought at the Cross, and not in the Sacrament, is well known. He says, "We deal with the forgiveness of sins after a twofold manner. First, as it has been obtained and must be sought by us; and secondly, as it is *dispensed* and given to us. Christ obtained it for us on the Cross, most assuredly; but He has not distributed or given it on the Cross. He did not obtain it for us in the Supper or Sacrament, but He did there *through the word* distribute and give it, *as also in the Gospel in which it is preached*. If I would have my sins forgiven, I must not run simply to the Cross, for I do not find it dispensed there; I must not, as Carlstadt will have it, simply bring to my memory and dwell upon the sufferings of Christ, for neither do I find it there; but I must go to the Sacrament, or to the Gospel, and there I find the word which proffers, gives, and dispenses to me my privilege in the forgiveness of sins." Luther, therefore, has rightly taught that whoever has a guilty conscience may go and find comfort in the Sacrament; not in the bread and wine, not in the body and blood of Christ, but in the *word* which in the Sacrament presents and gives the body and blood of Christ *as given and shed for me*. *Is not that clear enough?*

We make bold to answer this last question, No. Yet it must be maintained, with Luther, that the forgiveness of sins is also imparted in the Gospel, as here, through the word; we may say, further, that the first Sacrament, Baptism, had already communicated forgiveness to the participants of the Supper; yea, it must not be overlooked, that a preparatory word of absolution had been pronounced upon those who now partook—*Ye are clean*; and so, according to the old saying, Holy things were for the holy! But what Luther intended, though he did not plainly enough on this occasion express himself, was the truth that, in the Sacrament, the word given for the appropriation of faith receives its stronger assurance and guarantee through the *accompanying real communication* of the body and blood. Thus it is not, properly speaking, for forgiveness—the word concerning which we already believe—but for the assurance and confirmation of it, that we fly to the strong consolation of the Sacrament. So that "the forgiveness of sins is not derived from the participation of the wine and the bread, but from

the shedding of the blood upon the cross." (Krahner.) And most assuredly, therefore, this forgiveness cannot be the essential and distinctive blessing which is received in it. But that blessing is confirmed in the Sacrament: first, because we, by the believing reception of the elements, place ourselves ever anew upon the objectively-certain ground of the accomplished redemption, of the *established testament*; ¹ and, further, because we thereby receive anew in the body and blood forgiveness *unto sanctifying influence*. All progress in sanctification, all increase of strength in the inner man, is conditioned by an appropriation of justification in ever new and living power: *therefore and to that end* Christ gives to us on every renewal of the Sacrament a new and mighty consolation of forgiveness as the food and invigoration of the soul which is first necessary. With this view He added the word, which speaks of such remission of sins; and anticipating, moreover, that all communicants, as they would bring weakness, so also would bring sin requiring forgiveness to this table.

According to St Paul the Lord added a second *This do ye in remembrance of Me*, strengthening it by the additional *As oft as ye drink it*. It scarcely needs proof that this *πίνετε* is not "*As oft as ye drink*" (and eat, respectively); but, "*As oft as ye drink this cup*."² *As oft*—this is not to be perverted, in direct opposition to the *Do this*, into an entire surrender of the Sacrament to our own option. Barclay says, "These words (as often) import no more a *command*, than to say, As often as thou goest to Rome, see the Capitol, will infer a command for men to go thither." He carelessly and wilfully forgets that this repetition at the cup itself *presupposes* the first *injunction* to *Do this*. The *ὡς ἄκις*—*as oft*—plainly enough intimates that Christians are not to eat and drink thus once or a few times in their lives:—there is to be in their hearts a *deep desire* for it. But *how often* is left in evangelical freedom; this last ex-

¹ Hence Luther, not clearly penetrating the *unity* of the divine gift and the glorified corporeity, spoke of "the most noble and precious *pledge* and *seal*" of the promise of the covenant. See Kähler dritter Luth. Katech. S. 174.

² That Luther's *es—it*—had the *blood* for its object, is only a charge of Schultheis.

pression abolishes all limitation to any definite festival-season, as in the old economy.¹

The renewed importance given to the old sacramental controversy in our own times, is a sufficient apology for the disproportionate length of our exposition upon the words of that institution which is so closely connected with the union projected among our churches. And we cannot close without entering into a dogmatic and pacificatory consideration of the controversy.

What was said concerning the feet-washing may be applied, even in a higher degree, to our Lord's act and injunction in the Sacrament:—Ye do not yet know and understand what I do, but ye shall know hereafter. The disciples could not at that moment properly understand the Lord; the experience of the enjoyment here promised, and the illumination of the Holy Spirit, afterwards expounded the mystery to their minds, so far as being a mystery it was capable of it. The further doctrine of the Apostle Paul concerning the Sacrament presents itself to us with the most definite precision, simply, and without affording any pretext for baseless subtleties. The Apostle John points only to its mystical depth in the brief and sudden hint of 1 Jno. v. 6–8. The words of the apostolical Fathers, despite the commencement of *human* dogmatising, retain as a whole the same simplicity. And so with the early Fathers who followed them;—until *gradually* the overstraining of the words written in the Scripture led to the doctrine of transubstantiation. And then came the reaction of a manifold protest against superstition, which was early prepared for, and which (though not yet complete) in and after the Reformation ap-

¹ "It was added, because He would have the Sacrament free, and not bound to any fixed time, like the Jewish Passover. As if He would say, I appoint unto you a paschal-festivity or supper, which ye are not merely to celebrate yearly on the evening of this day, but to enjoy *often*, when and *as oft* as it shall be proper and for your good, tied in that particular to no place or time." Catech. Maj. p. 501. Quite opposed to this is the strange opinion that in this *as oft* as a yearly and public ceremonial like the Passover was appointed.

proached its maturity, and will re-establish true concord in the living apprehension of the true faith.

The testimonies of the Fathers, from Ignatius, Justin, and Irenæus downward, are well known to those who study this subject. The *ὁμολογεῖν* of the Church stands firm against all heresy. "The Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father in His loving-kindness raised again." It runs most decisively, "*We do not receive these as common bread or common wine—we have received and been taught that they are the body and blood of Jesus made flesh.*" To explain away this *common faith* of the Church from the beginning requires sophistry and artifice; while to contradict it in our greater wisdom is in itself at least suspicious. Tertullian proves the "*truth of the body and blood of Christ,*" not so much *for* the Sacrament, which bears its own clear testimony to itself, as *by means of it*. Distinction was carefully made between the *ἐπιγείον* and the *οὐράνιον πρῶγμα*, as by Irenæus; between the *visible species of the elements* and the *invisible flesh and blood*; between the *Sacrament and the matter of the Sacrament*, as by Augustine. In proportion as the contradiction of unbelievers brought into prominence the individual details of the question, the faith of the early Church, destitute of apostolical illumination, was obviously exposed to the danger of deviating to the right or to the left from the exact truth of the sacramental mystery. But it is most perverse to place in the fine balances of a later dogmatic terminology, the indefinite and simple words in which a pure faith expressed its views—whether as testimony to the transcendent character of the Sacrament, or in positive defence of its certainty, or in profound contemplation of its wonderful meaning. If, for instance, we meet with *ἐν τύπῳ* or *figura corporis*, that is not at once to be explained as bearing Zwingle's meaning;¹ on the other hand, *corpus in pane* and *ἄρτοι σῶμα γερόμενοι* do not mean precisely what Paschasius Radbertus and Lanfranc made out of it, or what may be termed now *trans-elementation*, after the early *μεταβάλλεσθαι, μεταποιεῖσθαι*. Would that men had adhered to their simplicity, instead of im-

¹ Even *τὸ αἶμα οἶνος ἀλληγορεῖται* in Clem. Alex. does not exclude the mystery.

puting to them the petty exactitude of expression which better befits scholastic disputes, than devout contemplation! Alas, that the unhappy controversy should ever have been kindled, in the course of which "polemical paper enough has been consumed to build a fortress!" This sigh is warranted, as far as the controversy has a deplorable side; but sighing will not settle it. It will not suffice that simplicity of spirit would retreat before the presumption of reasoning; the great dogma must be pursued into all its developments; until the true simplicity of faith is reconciled with the profoundest investigation of science.

The concise exposition and paraphrase of those who, following the *first* Helvetic confession (second of Basle), would solve everything by saying, "His body and His blood, that is, *Himself*," is exegetically incorrect, and contains the germ of heretical opposition to the simple words of our Lord. It is not only permitted, but absolutely necessary, that we should protest against this, and point to His simple expressions again. But that ecclesiastical doctrine or theology is utterly to be rejected, as no better in this matter at least than Rationalism, which reduced, as in Zwingli's teaching, the presence of our Lord's body into "a realising contemplation of faith, and thankful recognition that the Lord had truly suffered in the flesh," and did not scruple to deny altogether the presence of the actual and natural body, declaring this to be "a looking back to the flesh-pots of Egypt, and an error which opposes the plain word of God!"¹ What Zwingli, who alas went back at last to the mere empty tokens of an absent body, retains of mere ceremony and typical teaching, is not only far from being enough, but is itself in flat contradiction to the words of our Lord.² That, on the other hand, which Calvin not only avows but confidently

¹ Zwingli's *Glaubensbekenntnisse* von 1530, Artikel 21, d. 22. *Sold* contemplatione.

² Thus, as his doctrine contends *against* the deeper view of the corporeal-spiritual mystery, we cannot agree with Ebrard that "what Zwingli says is not the full truth, but it is altogether true." Ebrard himself traces in his words the first step in the downward progress toward a denial of all life-union with Christ; and, for our own part, we regard the doctrine of this most unmystical teacher as having been wrong from the outset and fundamentally.

maintains, is a testimony to the true faith which must be hailed with joy. He thus retorts the objection which Rationalism had urged against him :—"Is it a dictate of common sense that the immortal life of the soul should be sought in the human flesh of Christ? Does our poor reason tolerate it, that that vivifying energy of the body of Christ should proceed forth from heaven, and flow into and pervade our souls upon earth? Is it in harmony with our philosophical speculations that a dead and terrestrial element should be the efficacious organ of the Holy Spirit? Can it be deduced from natural principles, that any emblems and words of the minister should be the channel for the impartation of Christ? Most assuredly, if the holy Sacrament was not to us a celestial mystery, we should not attribute to it effects so marvellous and so incredible to carnal reasoning."¹ And he must, on calm consideration, be confessed to be in a certain sense right, when he thus urges his aggressive polemics against those whose affirmations go beyond this :—"If they would explain the meaning thus, *that while the bread is being offered and given, the exhibition of the body is annexed thereto*, because the truth is *inseparable* from its sign, *I should not much quarrel with them*. But when they *locate* the body itself in the bread, and assign to it an *ubiquity* contrary to its nature; when in their *Sub* pane they would have it to be latent *there*—it becomes necessary to vindicate His lips from all such ineptitudes."² The distinction here introduced suggests misunderstanding and exaggeration of words on *both* sides of the question; and it is the problem of a later age to adjust the points and reconcile them. But Calvin's zeal goes much too far when he says, "I speak not of Papists, whose doctrine is more tolerable, or at least more modest!" He is altogether too keen upon that *communicatio idiomatum* which enters so essentially into all Christology, and requires such careful dealing, when he protests, "As if indeed that union had produced out of the two natures some third thing we know not what, neither God nor man!"³ But they gave him ample occasion for this :—the truth lies, according to our firm conviction, in the middle; though it may not be easy to find express terms by which to define it

¹ Zweite Defension gegen Westphal, S. 675, 676.

² Institut. iv. 17, 16.

³ Idem, § 80.

The doctrine of ubiquity—we say with Hagenbach¹ and many Lutherans—"was in fact only a product of embarrassment, and formed the shadow, as it were, of the doctrine concerning the bodily presence in the bread. But its worst feature is its untenableness." The absolute ubiquity of the body of Christ, which has been taught,² Möhler justly regards as a "marvellous notion;" and the protest of the Landgrave of Hesse says appropriately, "We have not been able to find *these* paradoxes about the ubiquity and *unlocalisation* of the body of Christ in the Bible." Our present exegesis must admit that Luther was wrong in asserting, *in the relation which is here in question*, that "the Scripture teaches us not to regard the right hand of God as a particular place, etc."³ In this, the truth of the spiritual immanence of God in all creatures is confounded with something quite different, concerning which the Scripture gives us sufficient intimation to render it certain that there is a locality opposed to this earth into which Christ has *ascended* and from which He will *come again*. Luther's impetuous fallacy would prove far too much: "Christ's body is at the right hand of God. But the right hand of God is everywhere in the universe. It is therefore *also* in the bread and wine upon the table. Where the right hand of God is, however, there *must* be the body and blood of Christ." If he was speaking merely of Christ's corporeality as so far participating in the Divine omnipresence that it also *could* be where it *would*—it would be quite correct. But the "*must*" says too much, as does the "*also* in the bread and wine;" for where is then the specific presence in the Sacrament, and how could we then avert the fanatical extreme of spiritualising which would enjoy the body and blood of Christ in all the world as Christ-pervaded? Not yet to mention the distinction, that *only* in those united to Him by faith the Lord bodily as well as spiritually *enters* and *dwells*. It does not obviate this objection, to allege in feeble retraction, that

¹ Stud. u. Krit. 1854, i. S. 37.

² To be carefully distinguished from the *possibility* of being present everywhere, particularly in the Church, from the *spiritualitas* = *ubiquitas*, which we admitted in Vol. V.

³ With which the Formul. Concord. agrees, "that the right hand of God is everywhere."

"nowhere but in the Sacrament *can we say*, Here is Christ; since concerning that alone He has given express assurance. *God is here* is one thing, *God is here to thee* is another; the latter follows only when it is said—Here shalt thou find Me!"¹ For the reply is obvious—What right hast thou to say, *He is everywhere*?—It is plainly a perversion to allege,² "For the personal union and the union at the right hand of God testify the *presence* (omnipresence?) of the body; but the institution and the words of the Sacrament testify its *dispensation*." The Scripture, rather, testifies that Christ is in heaven, in the sense of a bodily circumscribed presence;³ while the Sacrament assures us that, and how, He will be present also upon earth. We are free to admit that we must here hold with the Hessian divines:—"Thus we determine and teach, that although Christ is and remains true and natural man, it does not follow that His body and blood *cannot* be distributed and received in the Sacrament; but, since the *humanity* of Christ is *assumed* by the eternal Son of God, and is thus *indivisibly united* with the Divinity, it follows and is irrefragably proved that Christ *as omnipotent* and true God *can* be present in His body wherever He *will*." This "*multivolipræsentia*" or this "*ubicunque vult*," with which the *Form. Concord.* (pag. 787 Rechenb.) agrees, is much more correct, more conformable to Scripture and the thing itself, than the doctrine that His body also *must* be there *as omnipresent*!

Can an absolutely *everywhere-present* body,—not merely, that is, *dynamically* present according to the design and influence of the Spirit in it, but *locally* present in the manner of corporeity generally—be a *body*? No more than that imma-

¹ "Christ is around us and in us. Although He is everywhere, in all creatures, and I might find Him in the fire and in the water, since He is there; but it is not His will that I seek Him without the warranty of His word, and throw myself into the fire or the water. He is everywhere, but He wills not that we should grope after Him everywhere; only where His word is."

² As in the Declaration of the Württemberg divines.

³ As the *second* Helvetic confession, which elsewhere speaks with precision concerning the flesh and blood of Christ, citing Jno. xiv. 2; Acts iii. 21. Augustine: "In some place of heaven, according to the manner of a true body."

terial something which others are in our time content to attribute to the glorified Christ! Why then is the Church of Christ *specifically* His *body*? Why *specifically*—that touches the one; why His *body*—that strikes at the other. Even Petersen says, in his careful manner, "It has ever been a fundamental article that the Son of God became true man, and even in His exaltation remains true man; this is the precious treasure of our faith concerning the abidingly-true and efficient humanity of our Saviour, which neither Zwingli nor Oecolampadius wished to renounce, though Luther's exaggerated doctrine of ubiquity gave them *not without reason* trouble upon the subject." He then quotes the words of the latter, "To exhibit the body of Christ ἀσχημάτιστον καὶ ἀπερὲς ὅρακτον καὶ ἀτροπον καὶ πολύτροπον, what is it but to assert a Christ *imaginary* and not *real*?" and the right principle in which they both concurred, "that nothing should be determined which might oppose the real humanity of Christ, as Luther's doctrine *threatens* to do." Augustine's words are, "We must take care not to build up the Divinity of Christ in such a manner as to take away the truth of His flesh. For when the flesh of our Lord was on earth certainly it was not in heaven; and now that it is in heaven it is not on earth." In this we have at the same time the necessary protest against *pagan* creature-deification. Through the exaggerated doctrine of ubiquity the individuality of Christ is volatilised away; the personal Christ of grace and salvation is resolved into a pantheistic nature-Christ; and thus in the end all is turned into one great Sacrament. But we may maintain the true presence of the body and blood in the full Lutheran sense, and yet join Calvin and Beza in rejecting the overstrained Lutheran argument for it. This is shown in the eight counter-questions which the Anhalt divines sent to the Elector, after they had replied in a clear affirmative to the first six which they had received. Let those critical counter-questions be pondered, as they are given in Planck.¹ The first—Whether heaven is a place distinguished from the earth? The second—Whether, so far as the partaking of the true body of Christ in the Sacrament is concerned, there is a *difference*

¹ Protest. Lehrbegr. vi. 658.

between that which was celebrated on the night of institution, and that which is celebrated now? The sixth—Whether the original words of institution are not sufficient for the hindrance of all sacramental fanaticism? The eighth—Whether the human nature of Christ in its majesty remains not, nevertheless, a creature of like nature with ours?¹

We can, indeed, be quite at peace, and communicate, with those who will not let the Spirit teach them more than Calvin asserts: "Nor do we say that anything is exhibited which is not truly given. The Lord commands us to receive bread and wine; meanwhile He declares that He gives the spiritual aliment of His body and blood. We do not say that it is a fallacious figure of this which He sets before our eyes; but a *pledge, with which the thing itself, its realisation, is conjoined.*" Again (and often similarly), "since the Lord is the truth itself, we cannot doubt but that He will fulfil the promises which He there gives, and add the truth to the figure. Wherefore I doubt not but that, as He testifies in words and signs, *He makes us partakers of His substance*, by which we are united with Him in one life." The reformed confessions from the Heidelb. Catech., which is superficial enough in other respects, downward, are right in this point, that they put first—*Although Christ is now in heaven.*

But now we can confidently go further. With Luther, we can believe and avow and teach, obliged by the words of institution, that He *upon earth also*, that is, in the believing reception of the bread and wine,—not merely *operates*, but *bodily is*. And that is a presumptuous word, and to be rejected, which Beza uttered, "The body of Christ is as far removed from the holy Sacrament as heaven is from earth!" According to 1 Jno. v. 8 the *blood* witnesses, like the Spirit, *upon earth*. In Acts iii. 21 we read, *ὅτι δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δεξασθαι*: Christ must receive, possess, rule over heaven; not, that heaven must receive *Him*² in any such sense as that He should be locally con-

¹ In which last question touching the creatureliness of the man Jesus, His Divine-humanity is, after the manner of the Reformed Church, not enough considered.

² Which Bengel calls a violent interpretation, and opposed to the exaltation of Christ above all heavens.

finéd and bound to it. For, in the Sacrament *Christ comes down* to us; we are not taken up to Him in heaven. The latter contradicts the plain meaning of the words of institution, and is a mere human device, like the false ubiquity. The mere *operative* presence does not suffice to the perfect recognition of the mystery in the plain letter, whether as spoken at the Sacrament or in Jno. vi. In the *hard saying* of the latter Christ's flesh and blood are spoken of; not a mere effluence or influence of them, not a mere vivifying vigour, and the like. Concerning these we do not say *eat* and *drink*. Still less does it speak merely of a virtue, operation, or *merit* of the absent body—as perilous theories weaken it more and still more. Here we must take our stand, according to Melancthon's later words, quoting Cyril on St John (Loc. Com.), "It is to be considered that Christ is not in us only through His love, but by our natural participation; that is, He is with us *not only in His efficacy but in His substance*." Calvin's words cannot be vindicated from a certain vacillation, when he says, at one time, with Luther, "*Under* the symbol of bread we may eat His body, *under* the symbol of wine we may drink *distinctively* His blood, so at length to *receive Him entirely*;" and then turns round, "The kingdom of Christ is not so circumscribed but that He can diffuse its power wherever He pleases, in heaven or earth; but that He can manifest His presence *in its power and virtue* otherwise than as present in body; but that, finally, He can feed us with His own body, the fellowship of which by the virtue of His Spirit He can communicate to us. On this principle the body and blood of Christ are exhibited to us in the Sacrament." The virtue of the Spirit is indeed there; but the *otherwise than as*¹ is far from reaching the meaning of *τοῦτό ἐστι*, understood according to the analogy of the whole of Scripture and of the whole of faith, and is far from the sense of the great mystery, Eph. v. 30. When Calvin says, "As if indeed we should not equally enjoy His presence, if He called us up to

¹ And so again, "Although the very flesh of Christ does not enter into us." The Hungar. Confess. says, "*But He is not bodily present, as He was present in the womb of His mother, in Judea, in the sepulchre. For, as He rose again and ascended, He is not here and must be in heaven till the day of judgment.*" *Tanquam carcere inclusus!*

Himself," we may reply to the question, But why speak of our being taken up to Him? As if He had not said that He would descend to us! So v. Meyer, admitting almost too unreservedly "Luther's happy medium between Tridentinism and Zuinglian-ism," says excellently, "Between Zuinglianism and Lutheranism, Calvin again wavers, but has found an *unhappy* medium." This is true; but Lindner expresses himself too strongly with regard to Calvin: "He makes of the one sacramental act two distinct matters; of which the one is empty, and the other full of meaning." For he does expressly maintain the *unity*, and not merely the "simultaneousness" of the two acts, as *actio in actione, actus in actu*.

This much is certain to the penetration of our faith, that, *although* (as we have repeatedly expounded, and as it follows from Jno. vi.) the Lord can give and does give His flesh and blood *independently* of the sacramental bread and wine, *this* participation of His glorified corporeity is nevertheless something different from that which we receive through faith in His *word* and as the operation of the *Holy Spirit*.¹ On the other hand it is *equally certain*—and here we come to the second point on which the Union must deviate from rigid Lutheranism, the Ubiquity being the first—that the proffered flesh and blood of Christ cannot possibly be received by *unbelievers* in the same sense, in the same truth and actuality, as by believers. That Christ corporeally glorified, and as He essentially *dwells* in believers, should by means of any *manducatio oralis* only for one moment enter into unbelievers; and thus that it should be *possible*, as Luther says, "for the flesh of Christ to be bodily-eaten in the Sacrament without faith"—we protest against as a *horrendum dictu*, and a thing utterly unimaginable, in the assertion of which the Lutheran doctrine has overstepped the limits of all intelligent understanding of all words of Scripture.² If even

¹ Consequently, not the question, but the answer, is altogether wrong in the Geneva Catechism: "Do we attain to *this* communication only through the Sacrament? No; for, according to the testimony of Paul, Christ imparts Himself *also* through the Gospel." For thus all flows vaguely and undefinedly into one, into the communication of Christ to us.

² Calvin: "To receive Christ without faith is no more possible than for a seed to germinate in the fire." We say that in the Sacrament the *for us*

—we would say in the spirit of concession—this *could* for a moment take place, then either Christ must become in them a consuming fire, or their immediately-following *rejection* or casting forth of Christ (things simply unimaginable in themselves) must extend at once to their *eternal* condemnation. Neither the Scripture nor experience knows anything of this. “We never read,” says Calvin, “that men bring down upon themselves death by *unworthily receiving*; but rather by *rejecting Him again*.” The confession of John Sigismund appeals (Article ix.) with perfect propriety to Jno. vi. 54 and 47, in affirmation that unbelievers do *not* partake of the real body and blood of Christ. The twenty-ninth Article of the English Church utters the simple truth: “But rather, to their condemnation, do eat and drink the *sign* or *Sacrament* of so great a thing.”

On *this* point Petersen does not preserve his clearness of apprehension and statement. His explanation of the condemnation of unworthy recipients—that “because they receive *bodily* and *not at the same time spiritually*,” therefore it becomes to them, as Luther said, “poisonous and deadly”—appears to us itself inexplicable. Here we ask boldly with Calvin, “Who does not see that Christ would become exanimate, and be by a sacrilegious divorce sundered from all His spirit and virtue?” For then must the flesh and blood of Christ, that which has been penetrated throughout by spirit and life, be capable of existing also *without* spirit and life, in a *bodily sense* alone:¹—and what would this lead to? The true body of Christ without spirit, and now a poison unto death—let him who can conceive this, and bring it into harmony with Jno. vi. ! Petersen in a contradictory manner goes on, “Where Christ’s body is, there

becomes an *in us*; and thus that there is here no other *in us* to be thought of than the *for us* which is so applied. In Ebrard’s excellent words, “the most real unity of the *gratia forensis* and *gratia medicinalis*.” (Only that Ebrard incorrectly excludes both Christ’s body and ours from this *medicinalis* !)

¹ With Ebrard: “The body and the spirit of Christ disjoined violently; the former being conceived not as living and quickened, but as an independent, separate, and indifferent substance.” We agree with Nitzsch that the Lutheran doctrine can only then be maintained when it gives up the absolute *ubiquity*, and “renounces any such presence of the body and blood as cannot be other than an *absence of the full person of Christ*.”

is *also His Spirit*, even with and in the unbelievers, that is, in the *absolute objectivity of a judicial presence* ;” but our hard understanding derives not the slightest help from this addition. Such “absolutely objective judicial presence” of the *Spirit of Christ*, which at the same time comes into a man in a *bodily* sense, we no more find in Scripture than we find there the poisonous and deadly influence of His living and life-giving flesh and blood. Least of all have we Scriptural ground for the utterly inconceivable notion of Kahnis, that “the unworthy recipient desecrates and as it were destroys and puts to death *the body of Christ* by receiving it into his impure personality.”

“A state of faith, an existing commencement of the new man generally, is thus the condition for the essential virtue of the holy Sacrament,” we say with Ebrard ; and apply to this what he has maintained with regard to Baptism, “The Scripture knows nothing of a *magical* influence of Christ which is independent of a free and conscious faith in the word, operating upon the passive and unconscious side of human nature.” Luther has here, at the topstone of his superstructure, strangely forgotten the foundation of *faith* which he had so well known how to lay.¹ The doctrine of a like reception on the part of unbelievers retains in it a kind of *opus operatum*, if not with regard to the distributor and receiver on earth, yet with regard to *the almighty Christ*, who is thus held to connect His body and blood, for life or death, with the external act, in a manner which is utterly opposed to the spirit of His kingdom.² Indeed, to this we may apply with greater propriety what Hardenberg said concerning the not-intentionally-wrong “*under the form of bread and wine*”—This has an odour of transubstantiation.³ The objection arising from the desecration of the body of

¹ Although we find him often using expressions inconsistent with his rigid doctrine, such as “The Sacraments are nothing but signs which minister to faith ; nor are they of any use without that faith.”

² Credimus—quod nullum opus humanum, neque ulla ministri Ecclesiæ pronuntiatio presentiae corporis et sanguinis Christi in coena causa sit, sed quod hoc soli omnipotenti virtuti Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit tribuendum. Formula Conc. Epit. vii., p. 599.

³ Planck. Hence, Guericke assures us that there is so important a basis common to the Catholic and Lutheran doctrines, that the superaddition of transubstantiation almost vanishes into nothing (!)—and that the Lutheran

Christ¹ is not decisive; for the Lord does certainly in other ways hold intercourse with the impure, and expose Himself to be contemned without any disparagement of His honour. But the nature of the case itself does not suffer it: the objectively almighty power of God, present for all, cannot distribute even in the Sacrament the body and spirit of Christ where there is no corresponding grace with which it may connect itself; but, being utterly rejected, all its operation must be withheld. Calvin, in reply to Westphal, says, keenly but truly: "God does not cease to send down His rain because the rocks and stones do not imbibe it; mira vero stupiditas, quod cœnæ effectum incredulis ipse adimens, non expendit, hanc primam effectus esse partem, quam illis vindicat."

It is most important, at this culminating point of the controversy, clearly to fix in our minds these two things:—*What* the glorified corporeity of Christ really is, that is, *spirit and life* according to Jno. vi. 63; and that *our faith* is throughout and alone the mediating condition on our part of every reception of the Lord's grace and gift. St Paul does not teach that as oft as we eat of this bread and drink of this cup, all receive, and eat and drink the body and blood of Christ; nor does he by any means say that the unworthy eats and drinks the body and blood of the Lord to his own condemnation. He merely teaches what we *read in his own words*²—although Luther, the Form. Conc., and many Lutheran theologians, have failed to read it aright, and have most unjustifiably cited 1 Cor. xi. 27 or 29, as *proof* of their doctrine. "The strict exegetical requirement of

is infinitely nearer to the Catholic than to the Calvinist. So Kahnis teaches that "a great truth lies at the foundation of the Catholic doctrine (the *concomitantia* lying beneath the denial of the cup!) We might say that the Catholic doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is erroneous, indeed, etc." (S. 265.) This is very different from the "*vermaledeiten abgötterei*" of the Heidelberg Catechism.

¹ Which Calvin stated in the strongest form: "If a filthy whoremonger, a perjured man, a robber, a poisoner, one stained with worse crimes if possible than these, or a half-heathen, approaches the holy Supper, and brings with him there unlimited defilement of vice and superstition—they prostitute to such a man the body of Christ!"

² Although at a very early age the idea was inconsiderately substituted—Whoso eateth and drinketh unworthily the body of the Lord!

the passage" is only the *presence* of the body and blood of Christ, but by no means the participation of the unworthy. The latter is implicitly denied. To the question, How can he partake of the mere elements to his condemnation? there is answer enough to be given. And of what kind is the exegesis of the *Formula Concordiæ*, which confidently argues from the *κοινωνία* of 1 Cor. x. 16—" *hoc est, qui hunc panem edit, corpus Christi edit!*" without reflecting whether these unbelievers can belong to the *ἐν σῶμα* of ver. 17. For the rest, we have abundantly shown that the assumption of a participation of unbelievers does not, as Ebrard thinks, stand or fall with the assumption that the *body and blood* of Christ—in or apart from the Sacrament—are really received.

We have thus seen that while, on the one hand, the honest and zealous defence of the mystery is exaggerated through human infirmity into dangerous error and offence; on the other hand, a deficient apprehension of it may be sincere in itself, and express much that is undeniably true. For ourselves, we are not disposed to lay any such stress upon exactitude of doctrine and statement as would *divide the Church*. When the adorable Saviour uttered precisely these words in the institution, He certainly represented to us a mystery which was to be received in simplicity, to be magnified in faith, to be investigated by the humble boldness of enlightened intelligence. But He never intended that the blessing of the Sacrament, fellowship with Himself and His Church, should be made to depend upon the degree of our understanding. As all our intelligence must necessarily in general be matter of *degree*, this holds good yet more strongly in such a mystery as the Supper of the Lord. It may be said with truth that as the Lord has plainly given *something* for each stage of understanding,—while He has left the kernel of the mystery unexplained and undisclosed in the shell which He created for it—it was His intention that we should discuss it in love, though not contend over it in divisions. That which He will have us finally acknowledge in faith He does not express in plainer words (which, as the Church shows, was possible); but He intimates it so definitely, that we may and we should press

forward to it. *The Lord's Supper itself*,—in its profundity of meaning, which the Church can apprehend only by degrees; in its comprehensiveness of meaning, which gives even the weak something to lay hold of,—*is a declaration of the union-principle*: union in the participation of Christ, according to the degree of the knowledge of each, apart from any formularised dogma.¹ For, as the words of institution provoke difference of opinion, so also they tolerate it; and the gracious "*for you*," embracing each, will always make peace and secure the acceptance, by the heart which longs for salvation, of the wonderful "*this is*." If the Lord did not so purpose, but would hedge about the institution with rigorous and Sinaitic enactment, why did He speak *precisely thus*, that is, in words which, as the history of all ages shows, may be so variously expounded by various men all equally believers in Him? Why did He not rather append to this union-rite,—in the truest, sublimest sense of the term—an authentic *formula concordiæ*, the *solida declaratio* of His own lips?

We hear much said about three stages or critical points in sacramental views—we ought rather to say, in the celebration and reception of the Sacrament—but the first point is for the most part very incorrectly defined. It is *not* to be found in the theory which rests upon "*this signifies*," and the reception of mere "signs:" that must be regarded as itself a symptom of an essential deficiency at the very outset.² That which is really the *first* essential, and which becomes error only when we fail to go beyond it, is the obedience of Christ's word—Do this *in remembrance of Me*. Who dares to empty this word of its significance, and make it mean nothing in the ordinance? Who does not feel that he must complete even St Paul's and St Luke's accounts by introducing this word as the necessary introduction to all? Who can approach the Sacrament other-

¹ "All breathes here of love, all tends to union, communion, communication!" So Sartorius, better than what we read in the Lutheran historian Maltzan—"The doctrine of the Sacrament was always (and rightly, as the kernel of the Gospel) the point of distinction and separation in the Church!"

² Ebrard has the merit of having clearly shown the historical process of Zwingle's insufficient exegesis of the words of institution; and how that which was correct at the first naturally proceeded into error.

wise than as remembering Christ, thinking, that is, of His death, testifying and at the same time strengthening this remembrance by the act appointed by the Lord? It is something, indeed, to show forth, in the true earnestness of faith, the death of our Lord; to commemorate it festally, to *renew, seal, and confirm our fellowship as members with the Head*. But the more emphasis we lay upon "the true earnestness of faith," the more certainly must we be led on to that exposition of the "remembrance" which we have given above. Zwingle set out with a perfectly correct fundamental principle, and spoke of it sometimes warmly and excellently; but he was rigorously condemned without any attempt to assist the development of his views by gentleness, and thus led through an unhappy offence to establish a one-sided system of doctrine on this great subject. The solemn "this is" was at once explained to be "this signifies;" and the whole celebration was reduced to a simple *declaration* of faith in Christ: polemics then drove him back so far as to deny even the *strengthening* of faith to the Sacrament. The truth would have been: I receive, according to the Divine institution as it is first understood, a *pledge* in the symbol that Christ died *for me*, as certainly as the bread and the cup are put in my hands. Meyer's excellent words apply to this: "Every true Christian will admit that, in the participation of the visible bread and wine, the Spirit works grace in every one who worthily receives.¹ For wherefore else should we seek this invigoration? And, if it was even merely the blessed feeling of grateful remembrance and brotherly fellowship, this of itself is from a Divine influence, a joy in the Holy Spirit." Yea, we would add—the body and blood would be received even in this commemoration, whether we acknowledge it or not. But instead of this, Zwingle's excited polemics went so far *backward* as to say, "The Sacraments are signs and ceremonies, let me say with all deference to all, by which a man approves himself to the Church to be a candidate or soldier of Christ; and they *rather make the whole Church sure of thy faith, rather than thyself*." This presupposes the existence of a "faith" which is quite self-sufficient; unintelligently denies all grace and gift in

¹ That is, in believing and earnest remembrance of the Lord's atoning death.

the Sacrament, which nevertheless has eating and drinking for a symbol; makes the last meaning of "remembrance" the first and the only one; and yet takes away its own justification, since he who thus commemorates in sincere faith must wait upon the Lord and ask—"Make Thou me stronger and more assured, *work* Thou in Me a living remembrance, and *give Thyself to Me!*"

He who apprehends *this* as the object of his deep desire, will soon reach, in the "this is" which comes as a present gift to meet that desire, the *second* stage of the mystery:—even as, thank God, most of the Reformed Churches reached it.¹ There is no *real* fellowship with the death of Christ—even though at first only through the appropriation of faith, beholding the figure in the symbols—which must not lead further to the "*fellowship of His life.*" The plain words of our Lord must be understood through the heart's experience to mean that He who died for us actually comes into us as He who liveth, that He *gives us to eat and drink of Himself.* (As Ebrard states very plainly this transition from Zwingle to Calvin.) This second critical point contains the third within it, even more essentially than the first led the way to the second. All who are sincere should go on and say, as the formula expresses it, "The external participation signifies the internal; but it effects it also while it signifies it." As certainly as the Lord appointed not the bread to be merely broken before our eyes, nor the cup to be merely poured out "in the manner of a libation," but instituted an *eating and drinking*, speaking therein of His body and His blood, so certainly is He in this our meat and our drink.

It is now essential that we should proceed to the *sacramental* community which there is between the sign and the things signified; as also to the testimony that the *body and blood* of Christ, that which was broken and that which was shed, are imparted as *vivifying*.² But instead of this, men wander, through a one-

¹ For only the Heidelberg Catechism takes the superficial view, and that says much more than Zwingle; a Zwinglian Church, strictly speaking, there is not.

² Calvin's *caro vivifica* goes as far as that, and is therefore condemned by the ultra-Zwinglian Schultheiss.

sided misapprehension of this second critical point, into a certain spiritualist interpretation, the beginnings of which were seen as early as the Alexandrian school (according to their distinction of the *αἰσθητόν* and the *νοητόν*). In Origen's detailed application of this to the Sacrament, it is a *σῶμα τυπικὸν καὶ συμβολικόν* of that which *πνευματικῶς χριστιανίζοντες* inwardly experience; although he attributes even to the external symbol a marvellously-quicken-*ing* energy as being a *ὑγιή πρόθεσις* for the *σωματικῶς χριστιανίζοντες*. This last thread of connection with spiritualism being broken, he loses or *denies* the mystery which it was sought to obtain, the *φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, φυλακτήριον εἰς ἀνάστασιν*, which the ancient and original faith of the Church found in it; then at last, while spiritualist expressions are used, the corporeity of Christ is altogether lost sight of, and our *incorporation* into Him, according to His and our perfect humanity.¹ Guarding, on the other hand, against this spiritualism, we go on at once to the *una cum pane et vino*, in which a part of the Reformed Churches have so clearly concurred that there is no room for opposing them on the ground of a third and higher critical point;—for this *una cum* is that third point.² So the confession of Basle: "In which, *with* the bread and wine of the Lord, the *true* body and the *true* blood of Christ are by the ministers of the Church symbolised and offered." The declaration of Thorn also: "By means of and on account of the sacramental union, which consists not in the one signifying the other, but in the united though different bestowment of the earthly and the heavenly elements." This is simple and mode-

¹ And yet this is and must be the decisive point of completeness, which even the Lutheran dogmatics have failed to set forth fully, though they speak so expressly of the *body*, and regard the sacramental forgiveness of sins as only a fruit of its reception. It is very observable that most of the ancient doctors of the Church attribute to this heavenly food, besides the nourishment of spiritual life, a wonderful influence also upon the bodies of those who partook. This was not an old materialist notion; but all true metaphysics must lead to it, if the meaning of corporeity is rightly understood, and the words of Christ acknowledged.

² The three essential points we thus apprehend:—the *remembrance* of the redeeming death (quicken-*ing*), brought thus into the present; the actually entering into the fellowship of Christ (*receiving* Himself anew); the eating and drinking His body and blood, not merely bread and wine.

rate exegesis, as even Durandus said, "If the Church had not decided otherwise, we might very well understand it—*contentum est sub hoc corpus meum.*"

Here then we may very properly oppose Calvin's words about our *going up to Christ*¹ instead of His *coming down to us*; here we may in the spirit of peace dispute about the *locality* or *ubiquity* of the Lord's body, as far as this may do any good. But these *scholastic* contentions carry *backward* instead of forward the ecclesiastical and practical doctrine of the Sacrament. We see in this question no ground for the Lutheran wrath which was poured out upon the enthusiasts of 1527, and in the "Short doctrine of the Supper" in 1544. Having reached this point, they should have been contented to rest on the Wittenberg agreement, which did not renounce the fellowship of those who differed. As Luther in 1537 wrote peaceably and mildly to the Swiss States: "We leave the manner how His body and blood are given in the Supper to the Divine almightiness: we think of no ascent to Him or descent of Him, but hold to His own simple and plain words." And so he goes on concerning the necessity of avoiding all anger and wrath, of giving scope to the Holy Ghost, and firmly establishing concord and love—of taking care to avoid all suspicion of each other, and so forth. Or, as in 1531 to Bucer: "Let us commend our cause to God, preserving meanwhile as far as in each lies His peace, and holding fast that concord which we have reached by agreeing that the body of our Lord is *truly* present, and offered to the believing soul—*feremus discordiam minorem cum pace minore!*" Here father Luther exhibits himself as the patron of all true union.

It was quite otherwise in the *Formula Concordiæ*, which came less from the heart than from the head, and which condemns its opponents in mass (like Luther the "fanatics") as saying all that they said deceptively and with reservation. Were not *these* Lutherans bound to confess, as the Confession of Basle declared, that the natural and true body of Christ *was not included in the bread and wine?* or, as it ran, that there was

¹ Which was, moreover, taught in no *Confession* of the Reformed church; but may be capable of a good modification through its connection with the old *Sursum corda*.

no *unio substantialis*, and no *unio localis*? Assuredly, a *unio sacramentalis* must be admitted, for the apostolical *κοινωνία* is certainly no *sodalitas*, community, or fraternity established by the eating and drinking, but it is the common participation—*κοινή μετάληψις*—of a third element, the body and blood of Christ, community in partaking of this Object. So Luther avows that “this one word had been the living medicine of his soul amid all the contentions about the Sacrament.” (Melancthon, also, in the celebrated Response to Pfalz: “The Apostle does not say, like Hesshusius, that the bread is the true body of Christ, but that it is the *κοινωνία*, that is, that by which is produced the fellowship with the body of Christ.”) But this *sacramental union* is, as the name shows, something which is incapable of further definition; although many subtle attempts have been made to clothe it scholastically, in all variations of *substantiatio* and *οὐσία* (not *ἀπουσία*, not *ἐνουσία*, not *συνουσία*, not *μετουσία*, but *παρουσία*)—see in Gerhard and Quenstedt.

How is it then? The peremptory Shibboleth “*in, with, and under*” is in fact also inappropriate,¹ because this formula aims to say something which however says nothing. “When Luther makes what is partaken by the mouth avail only for spiritual life, or only as spiritual nourishment apply to the whole man in the proportion of his faith, he in a certain sense abolishes the importance of the oral participation (and knows not really what he contends for); and when he refuses to admit that the sacramental union is a consubstantiation, or an impanation, or as a physical admixture, and presses the formula *in* into *sub* and *cum*, nothing but negation is gained, and that which is asserted is simply unintelligible.” (Nitzsch in reply to Möhler.) Even the excellent Richter (in the Family Bible), who was throughout a rigid Lutheran, said: “The words *in, with, and under* direct the view to the *bread* as much as the false explanation—This *bread* signifies. Therefore adhere to Christ’s words, and pray, etc.” Yes, indeed, with all the protest against impanation the view is too exclusively fixed upon

¹ Although Baumgarten explains it to the utmost advantage: “*in*, during the act and no longer; *cum*, at the same time with the visible thing, when bread and wine are given; *sub*, by means of these, in the reception of these visible elements.”

the bread, weakening the force of Christ's word which was *τοῦτο* not *οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος*—*this not this bread*. Else how came it that the mild Melancthon could complain about the *certamen περὶ ἀρτολατρίας*, and of an actual *artolatry* on the part of the Lutheran zealots?

The *manducatio sacramentalis* may be called a *manducatio oralis* in a certain sense rightly understood—*propter unitatem actus*; since through the energy of the operative word (*Spiritus* rather) of Christ, His body and blood have a fellowship with that bread and wine which we receive with our mouth. But with this kind of language we should be very cautious; for Calvin's words are not lightly to be rejected: "Take with the hand the bread and by faith My body; Drink with the mouth the wine, and by faith My blood."

Justin's words—*τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστήθεισαν τροφήν*—are as profoundly as simply expressed; and in accordance with the results of our exegesis. But when the Lutherans lay such stress upon the *consecration* (which *now* is performed by man), terming it indeed only a *consecratio destinationis*, but connecting with it a *consecratio unionis* taking place simultaneously with the pronouncement of our Lord's words;—when they assert a preliminary *sacramental union* or *total consecration* "*in these words*," which is followed by a *partial consecration* at the individual distribution;—then their doctrine approaches too nearly that of the Papists, for in consistency with that view there must be a presence of the body and blood *before* and *independent* of the personal partaking. He whose conscience revolts against these dangerous advances toward error, and, in his horror of superstition and human additions, would keep at the utmost possible distance from that transubstantiation by which men upon earth dare to be "creators of the Creator"—he who, standing upon Scripture and upon faith, without any further ecclesiastical development, finds in the Sacrament the essence of the New-Testament gifts of grace, the *enjoyment of salvation through the living and effectual presence of the glorified Christ, appropriated by faith*, or, more briefly, the *self-communication of Christ in us*—is fully vindicated, and has his place and privilege in the *evangelical Church*. Thus we return to the point with which we set out; and have expressed, as we

hope, a clear and undeniable *formula of union*. If any man is not content with this, we must declare him to be, either a wilful disputant who arbitrarily holds fast points of contention, or one who in this matter is narrow in his spirit, and incapable of distinguishing the essence of the matter from the words and notions which represent it,—the word and meaning of *the Lord* from the exposition and ordinance of man.

At the limit where we shrink back in fear and horror from the “tabernacle-Christ” which all church-history declares to be an *Idol*—it is yet permissible to speak of a great “transformation” in this mystery. But what is it? Is that which we partake of changed *in its effect* into the body and blood of Christ, not indeed by the hand of the priest or in the mouth of the partaker, but in the inner man of the communicant? By no means, for bread and wine remain bread and wine; and such a change, with all its idealism, is but an “ideal” expression, a nonentity. This, rather, is the simple and true “transformation,” that through the energy of the body and blood of Christ *our* flesh and blood becomes partaker of immortality, is preparatorily glorified in the germ of the resurrection. And thus probably we must understand Justin’s well-known words—*τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σὰρξ κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν*.

But we would ask in conclusion, Does the free and abundant blessing of our Lord, offered in the Sacrament, require in the partakers of His table an apprehension of all these doctrines and words? Most confidently we answer, *No!* The reception of Christ’s grace and gift is, in the Sacrament as in all Christianity, independent of the development of knowledge, of the more or the less of light in the understanding. If only the love of desire be there, He will respond to it Who can (and will) do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask *or understand*. (Eph. iii. 30.) Are not true Lutherans willing to agree with the devout Calvin, “I am not ashamed to confess, that the mystery is greater than my thoughts can grasp or my words set forth, and must be *rather experienced than understood*—?” And will they not accept the words of Zwingli himself, when he unconsciously goes beyond his theory, “that Christ is to be *eaten*, but in a *wonderful manner*, which the believer should not too anxiously scrutinise?” The Holy Spirit preserved Luther in

the smaller Catechism from making τοῦτό ἐστι a fence of terror around the Mount Zion to which *we* have come; his language is, "the word *for you* requires nothing more than *believing hearts*." Let us cling to that! For, a man may contend with very high or very deep words for the true doctrine of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament, while he is much less worthy to receive than a sincere and unintelligent Zwinglian. We quote once more the excellent Meyer: "The participation of the Redeemer in His Supper is matter of experience; consequently of that most real gnosis, without which all mere speculation of the understanding is unfruitful, whether on one side or the other. The Christian is a man of the heart. What avails it me to say with Luther that I 'orally' eat, if I have no 'heartfelt' influence therefrom? But he who has this heartfelt influence is, to my mind, whatever his head may think about it, a man who lives in Christ and in whom Christ lives." The Lord Himself says—If ye eat not, ye have no life in you; but He does not say—If ye believe not and know not *how*. And we can appeal to Luther again, on this all-important point:¹ "Therefore take heed! It is more necessary that thy faith have regard to the spiritual, than that it have regard to the natural, body of Christ; for the natural without the spiritual availeth not in this Sacrament: there must be a *transubstantiation wrought through love*." This is the real κοινωνία and the true transubstantiation, the working of which through the spiritual body and blood of Christ the Holy Ghost alone can solve.

Let the mystery remain, as it stands in the not-vainly-spoken words of Christ. Let every man investigate it with earnest solemnity; and avow and teach with power, light, and love, what the Holy Spirit gives him to understand. We regard nothing here as matter of *indifference*, but would not suffer *scholastic terms* to divide the Church. The real truth which is in the expression of the Swabian Syngamma—though wrongly applied at the time—Verbum ad panem fert, *id quod in se continet* (scil. τὸ σῶμά μου, τὸ αἷμά μου)—we would accept and rest in, rather than sin against the weak, and throw a stumbling-block between their souls and the body of the Lord which is given also to them.

¹ In his sermon on the Sacrament, 1519.

Let us content ourselves with the tenth article of the Augsburg Confession, as a symbol of union—"Quod corpus Christi *vere adsint* et distribuuntur *vescentibus*;" leaving this *vescentibus*, like the *vere* before it, to free interpretation, without any further theological inquisition. Nor is there any danger or impropriety in the softened *exhibeantur*, since it is connected with *cum pane et vino*; and the "*improbare secus docentes*" may fall back if it is thought to portend a *damnare*. On the other hand, the *et substantialiter* added in the apology, as also the "*exhibeantur cum illis rebus, quæ videntur*," is certainly very *true*; but, as scholastic terms going beyond the letter of Scripture they are also very doubtful, and as inappropriate as it would be to make the formula of distribution go beyond the Lord's word—"this is the *true* body!"—and so frighten away instead of allure those whose weak faith goes as yet no further than doing it in remembrance of Him.¹ We have sufficiently shown that the words in the Smalkald Articles are altogether unwarranted—"Et non tantum dari et sumi a piis, *sed etiam ab impiis Christianis*;" as also those of the Formula Concordiæ—"ore sumantur, ab omnibus illis qui hoc Sacramento utuntur, *sive digni sint, sive indigni*, etc.;"—there cannot be many who with firm hearts and anything like clear insight subscribe them. For the disputants of our times are not thorough theologians, nor are they independent investigators; but they have unfurled the old banner on principles which can scarcely be understood, being partly good and partly evil. The more livingly-practical is the view which is taken of the thirteenth Article in the evangelical Church—de *usu* Sacramentorum—the more plainly must it be seen that its "*ore sumi ab omnibus qui Sacramento utuntur*," stands in contradiction with its "*ita ut fides accedat*." Or, to speak otherwise, that "*independently of the right use there is no Sacrament*"—as Ursinus explained. John à Lasco made this prominent; and deduced his fourth position—"that we can be partakers of the grace and influences of the Holy Spirit, which are symbolised and offered in the Sacrament, *only through faith*"—from this thirteenth article of the Augsburg Confession, as if it stood there, "*nam hac fide accipimus promissam gratiam*."

¹ And this *substantialiter* as *corporaliter* in the Apology approaches too nearly the Romanist error.

"It is plain," he inferred, "according to the sense of the Augsburg Confession, that the nourishment of the body and blood of Christ is *there* exhibited *where* we seek, behold, and apprehend Christ Himself by faith—and that it is not to be regarded as inhering in the earthly elements."

We must then deeply ponder Melanchthon's "*Christus adest propter hominem, non propter panem*;" and consequently retreat from the violent exaggeration of the dogmatic expression, without in any sense giving up the mystery. We must retreat back to that sense which Luther expressed in his earliest sermon on the Sacrament: "The holy Sacrament of the altar, and of the true body of Christ, has three points which must be noted. The first is the Sacrament or *sign*. The second, the *signification* of that sign. The third, the right faith toward those two. These three things must go together in every Sacrament. The Sacrament must be external and visible, in a bodily form or appearance. The signification must be *internal and spiritual*, in the spirit of the man.¹ Faith must unite both for man's good and enjoyment." But he goes on in his careless simplicity, "it is nothing but the receiving a sure sign of fellowship and *incorporation* with Christ and all His saints"²—and then combines together in one transubstantiation and spiritualism: "At the same time as the bread is *changed* into His true natural body, and the wine into His true natural blood, so truly are we taken and changed into the *spiritual body*, that is, into the fellowship of Christ and all His saints." We must retreat back, that is, not to these indistinct words of a not-yet-clearly-apprehending knowledge, but to the *practical sense* of these words, as it hits the real decisive point of the question, without urging it too far. For as the excellent Meyer (one of the oldest and best witnesses for the union, whom the Church has almost overlooked!) said—"It would be better not to speak about the feast of love than to begin new quarrels about it." And again: "We condemn no man who with a sincere heart

¹ And then, as some infer, a *spiritualis* and not an *oralis* manducatio. So Luther presently quotes, without any apprehension, Augustine's *crede et manducasti*!

² Mark well this last, according to which the incorporation is into that true "body" of Christ, the members of which are only the saints.

thinks thus or thus concerning the Sacrament. For we know that He who gives Himself to be received in the Supper can do more than the recipients ask or are able to conceive. No believer goes to the Lord's table without desiring the forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation. Let the idea he sets before his mind be what it may, it is given unto him according to the desire of his faith. For the Lord looks at the heart.¹ The Sacrament of the altar may be worthily received in every Christian Church; it is not an imperfect doctrine, but the condemning of him who partakes, which is condemnable.—We do not by this leave every man to his error; but we know that it is the perversion of the will which is the hindrance to salvation; and it is in the power of the heart to enlighten or to darken the mind. Let therefore every man understand according to his best lights; and if he lack wisdom let him ask of God and he shall receive it."

We hold with Jul. Müller, that "as to the effect of the Lord's Supper, Luther and Calvin entirely agree." But we do not demand this agreement in doctrine from all, provided only they in the living faith of the heart seek Christ in the Sacrament, and thus seeking find Him.

We would affectionately bear with error, for the sake of the truth which adheres to it and on which it rests; the truth which, if we have patience, will make itself heard. We do not surrender the mystery, but we acknowledge it with love which helps the understanding. We want no union on such ground as that of Hahn, in 1828: "Luther was in error when he asserted that *in, with, and under* the bread and wine, the true body which suffered for us, and the blood of Jesus Christ which was shed for us, are communicated." For, the words of Christ assert this very thing. The body and blood of Christ is *not* merely "His personality, after the removal of the actual body"—as Nitzsch once broadly avowed. The doctrine of the *corporeal* body in the Supper was not (as Ebrard says) "honourably and decently buried with the person of Luther;"

¹ This is right, and let us teach and act accordingly! But it is miserably wrong, on the one hand, to maintain the participation of unbelievers, and, on the other, to disturb the enjoyment of true believers, and refuse their fellowship, on account of differences of exposition and views.

but it lives in the words of Christ Himself, and is constantly revived as the self-testimony of Him who lives, in all who with an enlightened apprehension receive the corporeity aright. Thus we want no Lutheranism as such; but the truth, and the truth in love. We wish to oppose to every evident contradiction of our Lord's words the *improbamus* but not the condemnation or the ban of the Church's testimony; and we would guard in our exposition against all exaggerated teaching. Let v. Meyer speak once more: "The matter is and must ever be a Sacrament, that is, a mystery, which cannot be set forth in any formula of words. He who can understand the union of the Divinity with the humanity in the Man Jesus, can understand the union of the glorified humanity of Jesus with the external elements of the Eucharist. Luther has preached, and laid down his doctrine; it is the work of the Holy Spirit to give us true knowledge of the great mystery.¹ Words are of no use, if they become not in us spirit and life. Now it often happens that the vehemence of controversy affrights back those who are groping their way toward the truth. They who receive Christ as the sole ground of their salvation according to the Scripture, and who would be justified and saved through His blood, must be at one in this, that just as Christ is not a figure but a reality, so His communication of Himself in the Sacrament is not a mere figure of speech but a literal truth. But he could not make Himself intelligible, in human language, and to man's weak understanding, concerning the manner of this communication; and hence there has been contention about it from the beginning. But from this we should learn the insufficiency of all our ideas, and all our words; and that the words and the things of God are spirit and life."

¹ And to teach us some happier medium between Luther and Calvin, and by which in catholic love we may hold communion with Zwingle too.

FINAL WORD CONCERNING THE FRUIT OF THE VINE.

(Matt. xxvi. 29; Mark xiv. 25.)

No satire will shake our conviction, as already expressed, that this word of our Lord, which the first two Evangelists not merely record at the end of the Supper, but connect immediately with the words of institution, was really spoken twice by Him. To us it is unimaginable that both the Evangelists—led by the “mention of the cup,” as is irreverently said—introduced afterwards what had been really said before. As they have not mentioned the *paschal* cup at all (not—as they did eat *and drink*)—so they cannot be supposed to intend that this supplemented word should be understood as having accompanied another and a former cup. But it is not hard to suppose that our Lord, as at the opening of the meal, so also now at its solemn close, spoke of the final and full realisation of it in the kingdom of God. For, till then even the Sacrament remains but a type, and it was quite appropriate that this should be once more certified *after* its institution. This testimony may, indeed, be said to have been a necessary supplement; as significant now, as it was before in connection with the prophetically longing desire to eat the Passover.¹

We have now to add to what was said upon St Luke the more specific observations for which now first we are prepared. By γενήματος (or γενήματος) τῆς ἀμπέλου the Lord designates—as in the פֶּרִי הַנֶּזֶף in the thanksgiving-formula—the physical wine then present and used, though without mentioning the word. Whether we regard the fruit here as the specific grape, or (as the analogy of the פֶּרִי הָאֵרֶץ renders more probable) the whole plant and produce of the vine, so expressed (Deut. xxii. 9 תְּבִרְאֶת הַפֶּרֶם)—affects not the question; τούτου τοῦ γενήματος, *this vine*, expresses more emphatically than St Luke's first word

¹ Kahnish thinks that as the word concerning the glorified enjoyment refers to the Passover, *not* to the Supper, its place is more appropriate in St Luke. But it does refer naturally and necessarily *also* to the Supper; and this is to us a sufficient reason why our Lord spoke it at the beginning and also at the end.

its identity with that which now grows as wine. This *τούτου* contradicts every notion of an *οἶνον νοητόν*, an imaginary figurative wine, and of a metaphorical drinking; as does the previous "I will not drink *henceforth*." V. Gerlach well remarks that this word shows the consecrated wine to be *wine* still; but we cannot regard it as conceivable, that Jesus Himself partook of that which in the institution of the Sacrament He called His body and blood. Olshausen says, very properly: "We should carefully note that the Lord does not say *ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ποτηρίου*, but *τοῦ γεννήματος*; the *οἶτος* evidently forms an antithesis with *καινός*, and therefore the reference in these words is to the meal generally." This last is not however to be understood as if there was no reference to the paschal wine consecrated to the Sacrament; the Lord embraces the whole together—Of this earthly fruit of which I drank with you in the paschal feast, and which I have now consecrated for *your* drinking (*of* Me but not *with* Me). Consequently, He "distinguishes not the matter, but the time;" and speaks strongly and definitely of that drinking as to recur in a final futurity. Nothing here must be explained away; the Lord speaks quite otherwise in Jno. iv. 32–34, for instance, concerning spiritual food.

He does, indeed, distinguish the *new* wine from this present wine; but this *καινόν* is by *αὐτό* made no other than a predicate of the present wine. Thus it is not merely, I will drink it "quite otherwise" with you—"a wine of a higher nature"—and so forth. He had spoken of the *New* Testament; He now promises *new* upon new, because all things will be finally made new (Rev. xxi. 5)—the creature will be glorified and re-established in its fundamental forms upon the renewed earth, apart from the Lord's body, the Church. He who thus understands Rom. viii., and the Apocalypse generally, and the earlier Prophets, will find no difficulty in thinking of the Lord's drinking with us upon the new earth. *I will drink with you*:—thus clearly does He speak; not meaning the Sacrament in which we only eat and drink of Him, but a further and transcendent heavenly-earthly fellowship of glorified bodily enjoyment, in which the paschal lamb and the Lord's Supper will have their last fulfilment. We must not interpret the *new fruit of the vine* as

merely a new, higher community at the table or family fellowship; as Hoffmann does, who "cannot be convinced that the Lord means here any reality of eating and drinking in His kingdom." That such men can so express themselves is a lamentable proof how far we have wandered away from reality in the interpretation of Scripture.

In My Father's kingdom: this expression decisively refers to its condition of future *glory*,—see the plain parallel in Matt. xiii. 43; and it corresponds with "in My kingdom" elsewhere, as Lu. xxii. 30, Matt. xiii. 41. And it is very consistent with this, that not only Lu. xxii. 18, but even Mark xiv. 25, substitutes for the present word the more general *kingdom of God*; but we must interpret the more general by the more specific expression, and not conversely. Hence, if Christ had drunk with His disciples after the resurrection¹ (as is supposed by some, through a wrong punctuation of Acts x. 41),² it could not have been wine, certainly not paschal wine. If this be supposed, and the fulfilment of His words found thus early, the truth of St Matthew's record is contradicted, as well as that of the two other Evangelists, since He would then have drunk with them again *before the future of His kingdom*. "That explanation of this passage which refers to our Lord's companionship with His disciples after His resurrection (which Theophylact first broached) is altogether untenable; since that period was never termed *the kingdom of God*." (Olshausen.) But in Lu. xxiv. 42, 43, He only ate; certainly He did not drink during the Forty Days (however this may be inconsiderately asserted):—much might be said about this in relation to the bloodless body (Lu. xxiv. 39).

The drinking here promised will take place when Lu. xxii. 29, 30 (which must be connected with ver. 18 of that chapter) is fulfilled. The wine corresponds as being *paschal wine* with the eating of the Passover Lu. xxii. 16: although ἐξ αὐτοῦ there cannot be intended of the eating of flesh, for in the new

¹ Hence it is wrong to say of the consecrated cup—This is the wine of the kingdom of God!

² Since αἵματος—αὐτοῦ belongs only to ἡμῶν, and points to the earlier fellowship of the Apostles, to whom He, the Self-same, appeared after His resurrection.

world animals will be no longer slaughtered. The eating of the broiled fish was the last condescension to the economy of killing. The Old-Testament Passover typified the One Sacrifice of death for man's life; the New-Testament Supper substituted for it bread. But that eating and drinking are not incompatible with the condition of the risen body, is evidenced by the *eating* of the risen Lord. And He Himself here testifies that the partaking of the fruits of the earth—not for necessity of preservation, but as a *cultus of joy* to the *honour of God*, to which all *nature* will then be ministrant in His saints—is not inconceivable in relation to the blessed in the Father's kingdom upon the earth, where all things will be heavenly and new. He who *will* not separate between this authentic, profound, and sublime word of His mouth, and the Chiliast dreams and expectations of earlier and later times (such as Irenæus relates of the vines with ten thousand branches and so forth)—must bear the consequences of his own wilfulness, which seals his understanding against the truth.

As it regards, finally, the necessary position which this concluding word of our Lord holds in relation to the Supper, we entirely agree with the beautiful observations of Thiersch. "The Holy Supper points not only back to the Past, but also forward to the Future. It has not only a memorial, but also a prophetic, significance. We not only show forth the death of our Lord in it, *until He come*; but we have also the *time to think upon when He will come*, to celebrate anew and in another manner His sacred meal with His own, in the kingdom of *glory*. Every celebration of the Sacrament is a type and prophetic anticipation of the great marriage-supper, which is prepared for the Church at the reappearing of Christ. This signification of the Sacrament is set forth in the Lord's words—I will not drink henceforth, etc. *These words should never be omitted in the Sacramental liturgy.*" Yes, truly, for this "*until that day*"—*ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης*—this goal of the new futurity expressly defined by the prophetic term, includes (as 1 Cor. xi. 26) that *terminus* in which the *interval of separation* will cease, and the eating and drinking appointed for the present time will be done away, or pass over into another. It is as if the Lord had said—Do this *in the meantime, until I am again with you!* The

sacrament is, looking back, a commemorative feast; in the present it is a receiving and partaking of the Lord, the true possession of Himself; nevertheless in prospect of the end it is itself something preliminary and transitory, an essential type and effectual pledge of that feast which in the great and permanent morning of the renewed world—in *that day*, which is ever the one great day—Christ will provide for His own. Let us be on our guard against a false anticipation, which would bring forward the final consummation into our present New-Testament condition, and refer all this eating and drinking to the Lord's Supper; for the Sacrament which, on account of our sin, receives us into the fellowship of *death*, must ever be in contrast with that other eating and drinking:—it is, otherwise than that, sanctified to us by our accompanying *fasting* and prayer. But we must be also on our guard against thinking of that final feast as a continuous and unceasing eating and drinking of *Christ*:—for how then would it be fulfilled in Himself? When we become as He is, then will He be again as we are; He will eat and drink with us the new fruits of the new world in the fellowship of an eternal enjoyment of the renovated creation of the Father.

SECOND INDICATION OF THE BETRAYER.

(Luke xxii. 21, 22 [Jno. xiii. 23–29].)

Certain it is that our Lord spoke again concerning the traitor *after* the Supper; and St John records this in a way which shows that it is quite different from that of the Synoptics in connection with the question *Is it I?* See what was said upon Jno. xiii. in the last volume. To us the idea is utterly inconceivable, that any Evangelist or reporter would be bold enough to work up the notice, that Jesus so expressed Himself in the presence of Judas, into an “addition” of this kind. No, we read submissively what we find written; and as, according to the first two Evangelists, the Lord repeated the words concerning the vine after the words of institution, it is quite consistent

with this, that if not immediately—yet afterwards, He made renewed mention of the betrayer. It is at least probable, too, that Lu. xxii. 22 was now spoken once more, as we have remarked upon Matt. xxvi. 24. On the other supposition, that is, if Luke, ver. 22, is a return to an earlier word, then it becomes almost certain that Luke, ver. 23, is one and the same with the first *Is it I?*¹ But this is opposed to the letter of the narrative; for *τίς ἄρα ἐγώ, who it should be*, is manifestly the introduction to Peter's demanding of John, *τίς ἄν ἐγώ, who is it?* Thus the Lord did, after the institution of the Sacrament, more or less literally repeat vers. 21 and 22 in St Luke; the former verse we have already expounded, and it only remains to make a remark upon the latter.

The meaning of the antithesis in *πλήν* is what we have first to observe upon, and it is twofold. It is first the utterance once more of that *sorrowful complaint* which the Lord does not yet give up:—“*Behold I give My body, I pour out My blood for you; behold that with anticipating thanksgiving I institute for you and My whole Church this feast;—yet behold! even now, even yet, the presence of the wicked and lost one follows and troubles Me!*” This is undeniably its fundamental meaning; but it does not exclude another, which J. v. Müller's short note expresses, “He seems almost to except this one!” To except him, that is, from the *for you* of the Sacrament; and, when we take St Matthew's full saying, from the *forgiveness of sins*. That Judas, while in one sense Christ died also for him, yet in another is excepted from the benefit, we found already in the original “for many,” *περὶ πολλῶν*; and this justifies our present acceptance of the meaning—*Yet behold!* there is the unhappy one, for whom My death is in vain!

It stands in connection with this, that our Lord here specifies only the daring external fellowship of the traitor with Himself, and does not unite him with the rest. Bengel, in his N. T., makes the subtle remark upon *μετ' ἐμοῦ*—“He does not say, with *us* or (with *you*). Thus He distinguishes the traitor from

¹ Which Bengel supposes, on account of *they began*, which could not have been said of a repetition. But this *ἤρξαντο* must not be pressed too much; and, moreover, there is no repetition in the case, since they did really now *begin* to ask—*what other* it could be.

the faithful disciples ; and shows that He alone has to do with him henceforward, and that as an enemy."

"This daring sinner presumes to be *with Me*, and even until now, as My betrayer—and *behold* I suffer it!" This ἰδοὺ is obviously no external indication ; but it is quite appropriate, since the disciples know and see that they are twelve sitting around, and therefore that the *one of the twelve*, although they know not *which*, must be there, as *eating with Him*. This pointing to him and yet not pointing, this seeing him on the Lord's part and yet not disclosing him on the disciples', is presently made more intense and definite by the emphatic—Behold *the hand*! This embraces in one the whole accomplishment of the hypocritical act with which *this hand* is concerned, as if He would say—This hand, which yesterday received¹ the reward of treachery and to-day dippeth with Me into the dish, receiveth the bread and the cup of mystery! But as the hand is specifically mentioned, ἐν τῇ τράπεζῃ does not mean at the table during the meal (ἐν being *sub* de tempore, and τράπεζα, the meal); but literally, *upon the table*, in daring hypocrisy, serving with the rest! Ah, this hand wrenched His heart, and therefore He thus spoke of it.

FIRST INTIMATION OF THE DENIAL.

(Luke xxii. 31-34 ; Jno. xiii. 36-38.)

For the harmony of these two Evangelists see in the last vol. on Jno. xiii.; where Lu. ver. 34 is shown clearly to coincide

¹ For ἰσταναι, Matt. xxvi. 15, does not mean "They promised to give" (Vulg. constituerunt, Luth. appointed or promised, for which 1 Macc. xiii. 38 is compared)—but, as Meyer corrects, "They counted to him" (as earnest-money, beforehand), Stolz the same, and De Wette, *They weighed out to him*. Though the parallel passages in St Mark and St Luke speak only of promising and agreeing, we must understand St Matthew of reckoning-out; since ἰσταναι scil. σταθμῶ occurs in Herod., Xenoph. and others, as it also does in the Sept. for כָּפַח (Dan. v. 27 ; Job xxxi. 6 ; Isa. xl. 12 ; Jer. xxxii. 10 ; 2 Sam. xiv. 26), especially in the corresponding prophecy, Zech. xi. 12, comp. Ecclus. xxi. 25.

with Jno. ver. 38. The questioning of the disciples among themselves led to the questioning of Peter through John; the Lord gave the confidential answer by means of the sop; Satan then entered into Judas, and our Lord, having dismissed him, spoke more freely to the others concerning His glorification, and the new commandment. Hereupon came the question of Peter, Whither goest Thou? with the assurance, I will lay down My life for Thy sake!—all as it is related by St John, down to ver. 37. *Now first* comes the warning *Simon! Simon!* at the same time with its gracious promise. But Peter receives no warning, undervalues the promise, affirms still more strongly in his confidence—*I am ready*—and thus as it were constrains his Master plainly and expressly to predict his denial.

Those who are not disposed thus to connect the whole are free to accept a more indefinite view, according to which each of the two narrators deviates a little from the original literal version; but we do not see any reason for preferring this. Certainly the historical truth consists with the special selection in reference to which each narrator has recorded the circumstance. What, therefore, St Luke records from ver. 25 to ver. 38, may be embraced, independently of its historical connection, which was certainly different, in one connection of thought, according to the design of the guiding Spirit. And he who thus simply reads it will not do wrong. The Lord has, according to ver. 25–27, suppressed the pride of the Apostles, which had shown itself even at (that is, *before*) this Supper. He had pointed them to *His own procedure* through ministering humility to greatness. Hereupon He shows them (what belonged to the same discourse at the feet-washing), in ver. 28–30, their *future dignity*; and then (later, but returning to this), in ver. 31–38, the *way thereto* through *test* and *danger*. These are indeed two separate discourses; between which, as they were spoken, the whole of Jno. xiv.–xvii., and Matt. xxvi. 31–34, must be interposed; nevertheless, in their meaning they are connected in one, just as St Luke here joins them one to the other. For, the discourses of our Lord admit of diverse combination; he who seizes their connection as any Evangelist exhibits it, is more secure of the main point—the right understanding and appropriation of what is spoken—than he who, neglecting *this*, troubles himself

over much about the chronological harmony, which after all is subordinate.

Thus, that we may anticipate and introduce the subsequent word concerning the sword into our preliminary glance:—the Lord shows to His disciples *the way to future dignity*, as it leads, according to His own example (*as the Father hath appointed Me*), through *internal testings* and *external perils*. There is, however, this difference between Him and us. He goes first and alone, as in perfect humility, so in His own strength of perfect righteousness; we follow His pattern and in His strength. Only in Him has Satan nothing by right, although he cometh even to Him; we, on the other hand, are under the power of the tempter through the right which our weakness and sinfulness give him. He alone has no counter-protection, *gives Himself up* for the world's redemption, but goes before as Victor both internally and externally; we, on the other hand, are sustained in temptation by His intercession, and receive permission to use the sword (in what sense, we shall see) in danger, for the question is our *salvation* and *purification*. This we endure with Him (of which ver. 28 was a feeble type) in His temptations, inasmuch as He graciously attributes to our temptations a fellowship with His own; thus this endurance is itself our dignity, for the kingdom is appointed to us as led through these.

The Lord speaks, vers. 31-34, concerning *internal testings*, or the inevitable sifting by Satan, in such a manner as to make Peter, who would prematurely grasp at dignity, and thinks himself already a persevering disciple, an example for all. Concerning *external perils* in their way through an evil world He speaks, vers. 35-38, to all in common:—intimating another and more severe future which must come after He has been reckoned among the transgressors; and pointing them to the use of the sword, in a sense which they indeed do not understand. In the former section, which now lies before us, the Lord proceeds from the more general instruction of the collective Apostles (or disciples) to the *more special humiliation of Peter*, who would stand out from the rest, and contradicts the Lord's word. "The enemy wills to have *you all*, and comes to you all! Mark this *thou, O Simon*,—to thee especially! But to thee I also especially promise strengthening, protecting grace—and when thou shalt

have experienced it, then be mindful of thy apostolical office and priority!" But, because all this is not received, He says emphatically—"Thou Peter wilt fall beforehand so deeply as to deny Me thrice in a short space, overlooking My first warning."

Ver. 31. He who reads the whole, as penetrating the great subject of this generally-symbolical instruction, in one connection, cannot go astray, as we have said; but more exact observation will correct the error of supposing that it was actually such. This is opposed by the "and the Lord said" of ver. 31, "and He said unto them" of ver. 35: the sudden outbreak of the address, *Simon! Simon!*¹ cannot be conceived after ver. 30; nor can we understand it at all in a discourse at the Supper, unless we suppose some *special occasion* given for such a warning. We feel that this is presupposed though not recorded by St Luke; but I cannot find a more appropriate point of connection for such a warning and awakening appeal than Jno. xiii. 36, 37. "Thou wilt go with Me at once into heaven through death; thou art ready to give up thy life for Me, before I have given up My life for thee and the world! Hast thou reached so far? Simon, Simon, bethink thyself who thou art, and how it stands with you all!" From the rash contradiction at the feet-washing, followed by the repetition of curious questioning about the betrayer, down to this hasty and absolute affirmation of zeal to be with the Lord, as St John describes it, he is the same Simon throughout this evening as the entire course of his previous probation had exhibited him. Nevertheless, their faithful Master, calmly contemplating and looking through the whole, has not to do with him alone, but connects with the emphatic personal address to Simon the general word "*you*;" for he was indeed addressed only as the leader and representative of all. It is certain that in one sense he is to be or become the first and the greatest among the Apostles; but only in the strong, *confessing faith* which grace will enable him to maintain, after his fall into the deepest weakness of denial. At present he is the first only in his own unreasonable ambition, and renders it needful that the general warning should be addressed to him in particular.

At the time of his former glorious confession of faith the

¹ The *Sixt.* and *Peshito* (ܫܝܡܝܢ) leave but one vocative; but this is no more than an explanatory variation. The original has certainly not *Sipani*.

Lord had addressed him with "Satan," because he neither understood nor would understand the *way of the cross* to glory; but here this word is qualified and changed, expressing, however, very plainly what was there signified. Because his thought was on that occasion *human*, springing simply from *flesh and blood*, Satan would tempt even the Lord through him to shrink from the cross; and here the same human character of the *natural Simon* is a handle for the enemy, whereby to seize at least all the rest of the Apostles. Therefore he is addressed only by this name of his natural birth, here alone emphatically spoken twice:—see what was said upon Matt. xvi. 17, in comparison with John i. 43. Besides these instances this return to the old name significantly occurred thrice:—with its gentlest meaning in Matt. xvii. 25, where his private thought was in question; much more severely in Mark xiv. 37, at his sleeping in Gethsemane; and finally, when he was humbled by a reference to the past, Jno. xxi. 15-17.

The Lord speaks here of Satan, not for Peter only, but for all His disciples in all time;—for He knows him well, and all his desire, and all his deeds. The history of the Passion exhibits around the Holy One of God the pure wickedness and sin of man, penetrating even the circle nearest to Him; but it exhibits also the cause of and tempter to sin, whom the Conqueror alone reveals to us, as an enemy overcome, but still strong, subtle, and dangerous. Satan desires the souls of men without measure or end; he is insatiable to have and keep them all. If he dared to assail the "Son of God," how can we be secure from his assault? If he broke into the circle of the Apostles with success, how anxiously should every one of us receive the Lord's warning, when he is addressed of the Lord by the name of his birth! As king Herod, after killing James, proceeded also to take Peter (Acts xii. 2, 3), so Satan is not content with Judas (Lu. xxii. 3; Jno. xiii. 27); he *desires* them all. But we must understand this word, thus loosely translated, according to its meaning in the original:—he *demand*ed them, on the ground of a right; he *challenged* in a certain sense their delivery to himself.¹ We must think of the prologue of the generally-

¹ The Midd. *ἡ ἀρσινόη*, here alone occurring in the N. T., means properly to demand another for oneself; sometimes in the sense of a request

typical book of Job, to which the expression seems probably to refer; and of all that is there taught concerning the necessity of a permitted test under the righteous eye of the Supreme, in the congregation of the heavenly children of God, among whom the accuser enters with his demand that the pious upon earth, if their claims are to be valid, may not be spared. This holds good, as our Lord here testifies, all the more expressly of those who are already in near communion with Christ, in order that they may be approved, and become worthy of their dignity:—and at the same time with reference to their significance in relation to all others. Therefore is Peter the first of the Apostles, the first in the temptation, and must take precedence of the rest as an example of sifting. Bengel: “This whole saying of our Lord presupposes that Peter was the first of the Apostles, in whose standing or falling the others would be less or more endangered.” This Satan knew, and would through Peter’s fall offend, weaken, and overcome the others. Braune expresses this too strongly, “He was the *heart*, hand, and mouth in the apostolic circle; while Thomas was its head, and John its soul”—for the heart was, rather, John, who hence in his innocence led Peter to the fire of coals. But Peter was the *mouth* and the courage of a *confessing faith*; hence this assault upon all in his person. That he must thus take the lead in trial was his real prerogative; and something very different from that which his Romish successor arrogates—concerning which Bengel says vigorously, *Totus misere in cribrum incidit!*

Satan would *have*, would retain the Apostles, and yet yield them to the Lord his conqueror:—that lies first in ἐξηγήσατο ὑμᾶς, hath desired *you*; then follows the closer definition of his purpose τοῦ συνιάσαι, to *sift* you. This *Infinitive of design* (usual particularly with St Luke) is not so much to be explained, “that he may sift you”—for if he already *has* them, that was no more needed—as in the light of an accompanying, modifying, explanation—*While* he will sift you, cast you into the sieve

for deliverance and mercy, but also for the delivery to justice of a transgressor—which latter occurs especially in ἐξείρσεις. But that ἐξηγήσατο intimates the obtaining of what was sought (as Alford thinks) we cannot admit. We do not, indeed, understand this interpretation; for, Satan demanded not merely the sifting, but the Apostles themselves (ὑμᾶς).

of test. The sifting is granted and takes place; but the intercession of the Redeemer stands in the way of the attainment of the accuser's entire demand. The word in its condensed significance intimates that Satan at first demands their temptation as his right, but with the understanding at the same time that he will thereby obtain them for his own; just in the sense of that daring but infatuated word—*What avails it that he will bless Thee to Thy face* (Job ii. 5)! So thinks he still, having learned no better; but is in manifold ways mistaken, since the permitted sifting does no harm to the wheat of God. He would "mightily overwhelm you, cast you into apostasy and despair through My sufferings, so that ye may be (individually) as chaff." Thus Meyer's note gives the design of the enemy; but Christ interweaves His protest when He says, *like wheat*. He does not mean merely that Satan lays claim to the sifting of the wheat, if, peradventure, chaff should be in it, or it should be nothing but chaff; but He has a further twofold meaning. The sifting must not be refused to him,—and the wheat will stand the test. Does He not declare His beloved disciples to be *His wheat*? Does He not allude to the *winnowing-fan*, which, according to the Baptist, He Himself would also use, to purge out all the chaff? The sifting is the same as the winnowing, but with an intenser meaning of terrifying and affright. No company of the disciples is so united and so near to the Lord as not to go through this test; but when Satan, the sieve-holder of God, thinks to obtain them collectively as chaff, God has provided that no grain of wheat should fall to the earth. See Amos ix. 9, the only place in which the figure occurs, and to which, according to His word, the Lord may refer.¹

Ver. 32. The Lord now by His *Ἐγὼ δὲ*—*But I*—majestically opposes Satan, as retaining His own supremacy over His disciples. That He must, though but for a season, give up His beloved ones to the tempter, and behold the fall of Peter, is a part of His own suffering, yea, in a certain sense, a temptation

¹ Certainly ~~τῶν~~ in Amos, as elsewhere, *lapillus*, is equivalent to *granum*, not by any means "verbundenes," as Hengstenberg (Christ. iii. 226) thinks. We stated this to be the only place in Scripture which speaks of sifting as a figure, and the separation of the grains of corn; for it is incorrect to interpret Is. xxvii. 12 in this sense.

for Himself; but He abides in His serene self-possession the conqueror, He performs His part for victory, and bears witness to it. With that most gracious tempering of majesty by humility, which we everywhere see in His actions and words, He opposes the proud and in some sense justified *desire* of the enemy, by a *request* on His own part. For the evil one has, indeed, some show of right, but mercy triumphs over justice, and "the holy supplication of mercy countervails before God the daring appeal of the accuser." (Lange.) Christ *had already* prayed:—not, as has been unthinkingly expounded, before Satan's demand, as if anticipating him,—but the intercession of the Mediator (apart from the eternal counsel) comes actually into that later time when He prominently declared Himself our Intercessor, and specifically took place after Satan's desire was seen through. The Lord plainly means His intercessory prayer, Jno. xvii., in which, as the Son in the Father's presence, He nevertheless humbly says—I *ask* for them! He had not uttered this when He spoke to Simon; but He anticipates it with reference to the future sifting: *then* will it be said and avail, *I have prayed for thee!*

For thee! This is the transition to Simon alone, and foretells to him a special sifting before that of the others. Moreover, it is to be understood that in thus making him prominent, the promise, like the warning, holds good of all. *What* then was prayed for? The substance of the intercession is not stated, because, as it may be said, it also is self-understood; yet we may take *ἵνα* for *ὅτι* as in St John. (See in St Luke, e.g., chap. i. 43.) In any case the meaning is nearly the same, whether we take the sustentation of his faith as the matter of the intercession, or as its design and result. Of his *faith*—for the translation "that thy *fidelity* may not fail" is contrary to the phraseology of the Evangelists. Christ here ascribes also the decision of the matter to *faith*. Faith alone, that is, in God and in Him (Jno. xiv. 1) settles the contest with Satan; in faith alone are we strong and stand; through faith alone, when it is still present, we arise from our fall. The most evil element in every sin of believers, even in those which are called lesser sins, is this, that in sinning their faith is each time weakened, because the unbelief present with it, and from which the sin proceeded, obtains a new power. This unbelief may, if it be

not checked, go on gradually from sin to sin; and in a fearful fall it may proceed to a *total cessation* of faith! Let it be carefully noted in opposition to all false teaching that our Lord declares an *ἐκλείπew*, a *deficere in totum*, an utter extinction of faith, not only to be possible, but, without something intervening, to be certain—and even in the case of an Apostle, of Peter! But the Father's grace, prayed for by the Son, defends from this ruin; and not only so, but the superabundance of His grace makes the experience thus gained of our infirmity and impotence the means of strengthening our faith when we are delivered. Christ did not pray that from the sifting or in the sifting we should be spared; but that we might not through perfect unbelief become chaff which must fall through. The fulfilment of His supplication takes place in that He can strengthen our faith, and preserve and revive the spark which was ready to be extinguished, through that prerogative of grace which is of more avail before God than the demand of the accuser. Christ names not His *unbelief*, which however was strongly manifested in Simon's denial; but his faith which was very weak and near to *failing*, which, however, was consequently sustained and not utterly extinguished. Again, where there has been from the beginning no faith, there can be no room for such intercession of Christ for its preservation; it cannot therefore be said with regard to *this* intercession that Judas was included. To his case is applicable all that which we have explained in John xvii. concerning the distinctive intercession of Christ for His own. However specifically the word of our text refers to the person of Peter, it has a universal significance; the general rule comes out only in particular instances. We all have cause to be mindful of Satan's desire for us; and to invigorate our failing faith by the comforting thought of Christ's intercession, when we fall into the enemy's sieve. But we must not beforehand and independently rely solely upon it. We should learn what conflict goes on in the invisible world about our poor souls, which so often like Peter forget themselves; we should "never forget how often the hand of Jesus has saved us from falling into hell, that we may encourage others to put their trust in the intercession and help of Jesus." (Rieger.) The more pre-eminent thou art, as the guide and representative

of others, the more carefully shouldst thou guard against all self-confidence, and all boasting beforehand of thine own strength; learning what this word of Christ, and the history which it explains and which is explained by it, is intended to teach.¹

If the previous clause generally and indefinitely predicted a fall of Peter, down almost to the verge of total loss of faith; that which follows contains in it mighty consolation, as taking it for granted that he would remain an Apostle, and discharge apostolical functions afterwards all the more effectually.

In a future *when* (ποτέ), he will *come back* from his wandering and error, and rise all the more vigorous from his fall. Or, are we to interpret ἐπιστρέψας adverbially—Then strengthen them *again* as I have strengthened thee—? It does indeed occur in this sense (in the Sept., e.g., Ps. lxxxv. 7); and, after Beda, Maldonatus, Grotius, Bengel (who incorrectly compares Acts vii. 42), van Hengel has lately defended this view. But there is something unbecoming in such a comparison between Peter's strengthening his brethren and the Lord's strengthening him, for there is a great distinction to be observed; and, moreover, even if this be explained away, the phraseology of the New Testament too generally and distinctively employs ἐπιστρέφειν and ἐπιστρέφειν to signify return from sin, *conversion* to God (as in Matt. xiii. 15);—see it, as used by St Luke himself, Acts xi. 21, xiv. 15, xxvi. 18, iii. 19, ix. 35, etc.² When the Lord, in this preparatory *promise*, which included a *requirement* that His Apostle should do what David promised in Ps. li. and honestly did, speaks of his ἐπιστρέφειν or returning, He makes His meaning perfectly plain. On the one hand, Peter's deep fall is more definitely predicted as first to take place; and then, on the other, the *condition* is made prominent,

¹ It is enough to mention in a note the melancholy perversion of the Romanist exegesis—that Peter was specially prayed for, because all was to depend upon him as the head; and that the subject of the prayer was that the confession of the true Christ should never fail in the chief head of the Church, or in his successors. But *the faith* which Peter even in his denial never utterly lost, was something very different from externally true doctrine. The word of Christ, here as in Matt. xvi., has nothing to do with "successors."

² Hence also ἐπιστροφή chap. xv. 3, not the conversation, but the conversion of the Gentiles.

on which alone the fulfilment of the promise is suspended. Only to this end has He preserved in Peter's heart even in the midst of his denial a secret faith, that this faith may be strengthened into full return and conversion, might take courage to return to Him who should forgive such sin, and strengthen His disciple's faith through the experience of such grace. (And whosoever has already been converted to God, must after every fall renew this returning.) The Lord prays for all who have any faith; but not all return back to Him, to receive the virtue and fruit of His intercession, which constrains none, but "props up those alone who receive the prop." Thus while *when thou hast turned* is a certain prediction, it is at the same time a direct Imperative to Peter.

Then strengthen thy brethren! Then shalt thou be able! And here is a reason why God permits us to fall for our own deeper knowledge of ourselves; that our sin may be turned into a blessing to ourselves and to others. When, humbled and encouraged, we understand the ways of the Lord, we can from the resources of our own experience warn others of the power of the enemy and encourage them to rely upon the victory of grace;—knowing the voice of the wolf and the voice of the shepherd, the cunning of the one and the fidelity of the other, we can teach others to know them also. Although the Lord afterwards terms the disciples His *brethren*, He cannot here say, "Strengthen My"—or even "our—brethren." For, the Apostle was to strengthen and encourage those who were exposed to similar defect of faith as himself—thus *his own* brethren. The word extends assuredly beyond them, but Peter's fellow-Apostles are primarily meant; and the intimation is given that all his brethren would waver likewise. The fall of the first of them, of him who had been the most courageous confessor, must be a stumbling-block to the faith of all. Finally, it is observable that Peter is to strengthen his brethren *as their brother*; no such primacy awaited him as should change his brotherly relation. When he afterwards wrote 1 Pet. v. 8–10 he remembered this word of the Lord, as almost all his expressions show. The Dispersion was strengthened by these his Epistles; for ch. i. 12, iii. 17, in the equally-genuine second Epistle, have the same tone.

But now as yet he is the old, lofty, but weak Simon, who knows not himself, whom we have learned to know in Jno. xiii. 36, 37. Most unbecomingly he contradicts the scarcely received word of his Master:—"Thy intercession *for me* is not so necessary, I have a true and strong faith; I *am ready*, I will abide with Thee and follow Thee wherever Thou goest, so that I shall never need to return back again! If they put Thee into *prison*"—that is the first thing which he can think of; what follows he hardly meant in full earnest—"and unto death." (If it should go so far as that Thy body should be offered up, Thy blood be shed.) Vain as is the impotent self-confidence which expresses itself in these words, there is no hypocrisy in them; at the moment when he uttered these strong feelings there was a real truth in his willing readiness.¹ Therefore his heart, which truly hung upon the Lord, puts first the warm and resolute *Κύριε μετὰ σοῦ*—*Lord with thee*. Yet, on the other hand, there is something very blameworthy, self-willed, and blind in his continuing his contradiction after a similar rash assertion had given the Lord occasion to anticipate every further excess of presumption by the warning rebuke of His *Simon! Simon!*

Ver. 34. What remains to the repelled Master but to utter, in sorrowful affection, the more definite prediction of all that which He foresaw down to its minutest detail concerning him? "*I say unto thee*—because thou dost enforce it—and wilt thou contradict this also?" And now in gentle irony—"Unto thee, the supposed *Peter!* Thou didst in the name of all cen-

¹ Niemeyer carries this too far, and is too indulgent to the flesh when he finds here "the voice of a noble and resolute spirit—honourable ambition (?)—the warm feeling of love—not excess of presumption—not mere words—but the generous outburst of the bravest decision, as noble at the moment as the act itself!" Dräseke is more correct: "Man is always better than his evil, and *worse* than his good, impulse and humour: in other words, no man is as good as moments of glorious inspiration exhibit him; and no wicked man is so wicked as he appears in the outbreaks of wretched self-oblivion." But we may ask if this glorious inspiration is not also wretched self-oblivion. Krummacher wishes for us all a similar zeal for the Master, and says that "no self-exaltation is more tolerable and pardonable than that which springs from such an enthusiasm for the Saviour." But the Saviour Himself deals more severely with this not thoroughly-well-grounded devotion.

fess thy faith in Me, and then wert thou Peter; but thou wilt soon, to-day, *deny*, and say that thou hast never known Me!"¹ (Which, according to ver. 57, compare Mark xiv. 68, 71; Matt. xxvi. 72, 74, was literally fulfilled.) "Even *thrice* in persisting blindness and increasing guilt—until at last the *cock-crowing* will awaken thee in thy deep night, and bring back to thy remembrance my slighted *Simon! Simon!*" What more might be said upon this must be reserved for the immediately-following *repetition* of the same most memorable word of Jesus.

SECOND INTIMATION OF THE DENIAL.

(Matt. xxvi. 31-34; Mark xiv. 27-30.)

According to St John, with whom St Luke well agrees, the Lord predicted the denial of his professor, after the Supper indeed, but *before* the final discourses of Jno. xiv.-xvii., before the *going forth* in ch. xviii. 1. But, according to St Matthew, with whom St Mark almost verbally coincides, the Lord said the same specifically-predicting words *after* the actual going forth, *in the way*;—in a connection quite different from that which St John plainly gives, and constrained by a similar yet still different word of Peter, to express Himself so distinctly. Nothing is clearer than that their accounts are diverse; nothing more certain than that both must be true; nor does anything prevent our assuming a repetition of the word which Peter rejected the first time, when such an occasion as we shall find demanded it. We therefore pray all believing expositors of Scripture, all Passion-preachers especially, to give up the attempt to make these two distinct sayings one. The *then* of ver. 31 in St Matthew (consequently also the *and* of ver. 27 in St Mark) cannot possibly go back to something said at an earlier time, as an indefinite formula—*about that time*. It must indicate the succession of time after they *went forth*. As St John makes it plain that the discourses and prayer of chs. xiv.-xvii.

¹ The *μή* after *ἀπαρνήσῃ* is, as frequently, a reduplicated negation: see ch. xi. 27.

were uttered before that going forth, it follows that the words which we have now to consider were spoken after all this, even after the High-priestly prayer. And it is a superfluous confirmation of this that Matt. xxvi. 31 only again takes up what had been once declared immediately before the prayer in Jno. xvi. 32.

It remains to be asked, in what connection of time the *singing* is to be placed. As this solitary recorded instance of Christ's singing—*ἰμνεῖν*¹—must refer to the customary psalms which were sung over the fourth paschal cup at the close of the ceremony,² it is plain that it here forms the close of the paschal meal; yet so as that the sacramental institution is regarded as in part taking the place of the old rite. If we would strictly connect the *singing* with the *going out*, our Lord must be represented as returning again to Old-Testament words *after* Jno. xiv.-xvii., that is, after the sublime, all-fulfilling and all-glorifying *prayer*—and this is to us at least quite unimaginable. No one who enters fully into the spirit of the whole will suppose this; and nothing can be more violent than Grotius' perversion, who thinks that the High-priestly prayer itself was intoned as a hymn! Thus, *after* Jno. xiii. 23-38, and Lu. xxii. 31-34, all inseparably connected with the meal, the customary hymn was sung to calm the spirits of all, fitly to close the feast, and to give the first signs of the approaching going out. But the discourses in St John *during the delay* of setting forth must be interposed between the *singing* and the *going out*. The connection of these two in the first two Evangelists only declares that this part of the paschal rite was not omitted; and that they did not set forth *before they had sung*.

¹ Not merely, they uttered a song, or the song of praise—but an actual recitative song. The only time that we find our Lord sanctifying *singing* by His own example.

² The so-called Hallel, or great Hallel, Ps. cxiii., cxiv., having been sung during the meal, Ps. cxv.-cxviii. followed as a closing doxology. The book of Wisdom, ch. xviii. 9, dates this back to the first Passover of the fathers. Certainly the Lord did not omit these most appropriate Messianic psalms; they were prophecies prepared for Him and His present hour. But we must endeavour to realise His thoughts in singing them, to get their wonderful meaning! To understand how He sang "in the confident expectation of the glorious songs which would be born of His sufferings."

This night—thus does the Lord *now* begin again, as He goes forth accompanied by His disciples through the night, and sees in His spirit how soon they will fly from Him, be scattered as sheep without a shepherd, and leave Him alone (Jno. xvi. 32). This is the *hour* already come, in which the *night* must enter in a deeper sense, in which the power of darkness will break in upon the light of the world. All the powers of hell—as of heaven—are excited; the whole world of spirits is stirred up to the decisive conflict; and in the world of men around the Lord there is such concentration of suspense, such confusion and darkness of mind, as baffles all attempt at human description. The Lord alone, now as heretofore, is serene and collected; He looks through the whole, lets His light shine forth until the final crisis, and seeks still to bring His disciples to thoughtfulness, and arm them against the confounding powers of the night. For this prediction of fall and offence is itself, connected as it here is with words of gracious consolation, a defence against their perfect fall and continued offence; for they would afterwards remember—*He foretold us this!*

What *σκανδαλίζεσθαι*—their *being offended*—is, we have seen from Matt. xi. 6, down to Matt. xxiv. 10; so that no explanation is further wanting. “*All ye* still remaining around *Me*”—this comes prominently first in contrast with the “*one among you,*” this one being now removed. Observe how that appears here again to be *taken for granted!* They have received the praise of continuing with Him hitherto (indeed only in a typical reference to the future), and great promises in addition; but their weakness must first become manifest, that weakness which, however, has not restrained Him from instituting with them the Sacrament. In all these relations we find pure generalities, as typically as historically presented; the design of the *words* of our Lord which are recorded is no other than to make prominent these fundamental points in the whole procedure, and thus to point out to His future Church the way of a perpetual application. *Shall be offended in Me*—this is almost in direct antithesis to the betraying of that One; it is far from meaning what de Wette’s translation suggests, “be apostates from Me,” but only intimates the perilous beginnings in that direction. Yet it is no other than a sinful weakness in

all the Apostles; and if not one of them was excepted, so there are no disciples of all times to whom the night of offence will not come. His words are piercing and deeply humbling, but they are also consolatory, since the Lord so calmly and conciliatingly speaks of it in this night of atonement. One has *betrayed* Him, one has *denied* Him, *all* have *forsaken* Him: here we have three degrees; but the two latter are different only in their external manifestation. Hence the Lord, if we compare His words elsewhere, includes the *denial* of Peter with the general *offence* of the eleven who remained with Him. Positive *denial* indeed is in its actuality much more than the negative forsaking or leaving. Yet both are in principle one, and are thus related: the offence is opposed to a *faith* which adheres, waits, holds out, and follows; the denial is opposed to an *avowal* of that faith.

For their stronger consolation the Lord gives them His prediction with a γέγραπται—*It is written*. We know how precisely His quotations of Scripture are to be understood. The notion that He occasionally derived a figure, or a proverb, or a striking saying from the Scriptures, without reference to the real connection in which it originally stood, is altogether unworthy everywhere, but especially inappropriate to the holy solemnity of the season of the Passion.¹ We have not one solitary instance of any such unbecoming use of a scriptural word! Von Gerlach's remark is here strictly appropriate: "Jesus nowhere so often as in His sufferings quoted or alluded to passages of holy Scripture, as *fulfilled*; so in the desert He repels thereby the assaults of the devil, and obviates the offence of His disciples, as if something unexpected had befallen Him." Consequently, this reference to the prophet Zechariah is to be taken as a precise quotation; and thus that passage secures, to a believing exposition, its only true meaning.

The last chapters of the Prophet are, as is well known, very obscure, through their profound and often designedly-paradoxical expression; but the Christian reader, at least, is perfectly sure that they refer to the Messiah and His time. It is for us now, assuming this, humbly to investigate them; and, avoiding

¹ But that notion lies at the root of the very false supposition of Grotius, that Zechariah's subject is "*de aliquo non bono pastore*."

the presumptuous arbitrariness which can only confuse our understanding, to let the light of fulfilment shine upon the path of investigation. We now give the view which we believe that in this manner we have found.

The collection of Zechariah's prophecies consists (according to the preface, ch. i. 1-6) of two main sections, the former of which (down to the end of ch. 8), bases upon the then-renewed typical Jerusalem, a prospect of the essential *new Jerusalem*. In ch. vi. we have the new temple, a living temple, growing up from its foundation, which the Man, the Branch builds, who unites the Kingly and High-priestly crowns,—the typical circle of prophecy thus at the end returning into and coinciding with its beginnings in 2 Sam. vii., and Ps. cx. See further the high consummation of the prophet viewed in the realised glory of Jerusalem, ch. viii. But with all this we have not particularly to do; the second section, ch. ix.-xiv., more directly concerns us here. This pictures the future new Jerusalem *without* any typical connection or basis; but, instead of that, with a comprehensive glance over the history of its preparations in the counsel of God down to its full establishment; a glance, however, dim before its great fulfilment. Chs. ix.-xi. prophesy especially of its *preparations*, give us first a most general glance at the plan of the Lord's government, which looks upon *men* and upon all the *tribes of Israel* (ch. ix. 1), that is, embraces mankind as in its centre Israel; and then disclose to us purifying judgments inflicted upon the nations, the peculiar protection of the house and people of God, the consummation of the kingdom of peace for the Gentiles and for Israel. In ch. x. the prophet is more limited, having reference rather to Israel after the flesh, which will be restored at the end. Ch. xi. gives almost historically, in the manner of Daniel, the history of Israel down to the days of Christ, and even beyond.¹ This exclusion of those who re-

¹ We cannot abstain from endeavouring to set right the perplexities of Ebrard, Hitzig, and also Hofmann on this subject; but a few words only must be permitted. Antiochus had destroyed and laid waste, vera. 1-3. Then in ver. 4 the prophet comes forward in the name of the *Shepherd of God*, the Messiah, who, before His manifestations in the flesh, was the true Shepherd of this people, this flock of slaughter (and here belongs Acts viii. 34). To Him are opposed, in ver. 5, the wicked shepherds who possess and devour them—then follows, in ver. 6, as a punishment, the giving them

jected as rejected themselves, this laying waste and abandonment of the old Jerusalem and of carnal Israel, takes place first; but in ch. xii.—xiv. we have the founding and building the *establishment*, of the true and *new* Jerusalem. Ch. xii. glances forward preliminarily to the time when Jerusalem—which is to be a *burdensome stone*, a test for all nations—shall return from its blindness and misery, the spirit of *grace* descending upon it so that its people shall mourn as for an only child in whom was and in whom is their life. Ch. xiii. gives us several specific glances backward, yet only as from the final consummation; predicts the open fountain for all sin, the destruction of all false prophets and unclean spirits. It then describes, suddenly returning to the very centre of the time of foundation, how *the Shepherd goes before* into condemnation and the death of atonement; how the entire flock, even the true flock, knew Him not at the first; but how, finally, His true people, after separations and purifyings, shall come forth at the last. Ch. xiv. finally closes the specific prophecy of the Old

up, which followed as in Jno. xi. 48, xix. 15. I will no more pity and save them, as many times before—but why? For they have *rejected the best Shepherd*, Myself, when I came unto them! This sad history then proceeds more in detail. Not as if (according to Ebrard) the “flock of slaughter” was the community of peoples, and he who took pity on the flock, the people of Israel: this introduces a misconception which would run through the whole chapter. The people of God, who are to be judged, are called generally and as a whole the flock of slaughter; yet some among them are genuine and humble *sheep*. For the sake of these last, they are all pastured; but, because one staff is not enough, with alternate gentleness and woe. (For this, and not *Bands*, we hold to be the interpretation of מַלְאָכָא.) Thus had God dealt with this people from the beginning, and down to the last period of history (ver. 8)—but all in vain: the manifestation of the good Shepherd in the person of Christ turns to the cutting off of Israel, and the abolition of the covenant for a time—vers. 9, 10. Israel's treatment by means of the heathen had been hitherto *gentle* enough! But only the sheep who marked the prophetic word of the Lord *know the Messiah* in the fulfilled prophecy, ver. 11. And how then? In severe irony, which embraces the literal accomplishment in the general figure, it is so described as if the Shepherd of God, even the God of Israel Himself, when He laid down His staff and His office, demands His *hire*! As if He had served for reward, like the false shepherds! And they weigh out to him the slave-price of *thirty pieces of silver*. Are not these the high priests, when the Lord, as it were by the question of the traitor, asked them—At

Testament (for Malachi gives rather a retrospective *postscript*); and shows in the dim futurity that which the Apocalypse alone, itself interpreted according to the prophets, can interpret:—the last conflict and victory, vers. 1-3; the future coming of Christ upon the Mount of Olives, vers. 4-7; the new Jerusalem, vers. 8-11; the feast of Tabernacles for all nations, vers. 12-19; the sanctification of entire Jerusalem, the bells, and the pots, and the bowls, being like the High Priest's breastplate, *Holiness unto the Lord!*

The rightly-disposed reader will accordingly expect our Lord's citation to be exact; he will observe that Zechariah contains many distinct Messianic prophecies; and will perceive at the outset that the *Shepherd* of ch. xiii. 7, in whom Christ now discerns Himself, can be no other than the same who in ch. xi. was sold for the thirty pieces of silver, and whom in ch. xii. 10 they pierced. Immediately before our passage, there is something obscure in ver. 6, where we may hang in doubt concerning the wounds between the hands (according to Maurer, who compares 2 Kings ix. 24, on the breast). Whether these refer

what price do ye value Me? In mockery they *sell* the Lord as a slave, while they *buy* Him; and Judas is the seller as the representative of the whole of wicked Israel, which rejected Him. Then says the Lord in *His* counsel wrathfully—*To the potter* with it! Mire and clay, to be redeemed by this price of shame and mockery! But *this* potter's field lay, according to Jeremiah (ch. xix. 2, hence the reading in Matt. xxvii. 9), in the valley of Hinnom; and by a frightful requital for the rejected price at which they estimated their Shepherd, Jerusalem becomes as Tophet (Jer. xix. 12; Isa. xxx. 33). Thus, "to the potter!" is equivalent to "to the tormentor!" or "to Gehennah with it!" And yet Judas threw the money first in the *temple!* He does this for a witness in his despair, for the temple itself is a place of scorn. Their rejection of the "price of blood" avails not to the hypocrites; their counsel, Matt. xxvii. 7, only fulfils the counsel of God. The price of blood is to perform a work of charity "for the burial of strangers"—but who was first buried there? According to Acts i. 18, Judas himself. The field of blood becomes a name notorious; and the guilt of Judas, to whom *they* say, See thou to it! (as Pilate again to them, Matt. xxvii. 24) falls back upon them; so that soon the whole of Jerusalem, of whose doom the field of blood was the last prophetic symbol, became one wide, waste grave, where to this day—strangers are buried in spiritual death. For, according to vers. 15-17, the guilt and punishment of wicked shepherds over Israel, now rejected, goes on (as it is here darkly intimated):—they are given up to blinded leaders and oppressive lords.

to the marks of idol-worship (which is not clear to us), or, as we prefer, to the stripes of the parents¹—in any case there is a *transition* in the parallel of עָשָׂה and הָיָה, ver. 6, with the הָיָה of ver. 7, which signifies—"In a quite different sense will the *true* Prophet and Shepherd *suffer* for the guilt of others; let Himself be smitten by them who hate Him because He loves them!" (For which transition to bitter lamentation, as the undertone, יָדָיו, יָדָיו must mean *the hands* literally.) That which now follows in ver. 7 consists of three clauses: the death of the Shepherd marvellously decreed of God; the immediate result of this paradox, a rejection of the whole flock, which knew Him not and refused Him; and, thirdly, the leading back of the true and humble sheep by the hand and power of God.

"*My Shepherd*"—thus in this prophecy the Messiah is plainly termed:—He whom I have promised and will give, *whom I have set*, comp. Ps. ii. 6. But He has, besides this first name (which unites in one the title most appropriately and in the highest sense God's own, with the closest relationship to God, as in Ps. ii. *King and Son*), yet another term applied to Him, and here alone in the Old Testament. He is a נָבִי, that is, a Man pre-eminently, a human hero—how else could He suffer the death which is here recorded? But God calls Him עֲמִיתִי נָבִי—*the Man that is My Fellow*—and this most lofty word of the Old Testament says more in its anticipatory letter than our New-Testament dogmatics allow to it. Gesenius gives the word in this passage its first, indefinite, and slenderest meaning of *fellowship*, but without authority. For, even admitting that the phrase was originally derived from this etymon, why must we in this single passage of the later Zechariah return to its most general fundamental meaning? The word is, as much as any one word, a fixed term from Moses downward; besides this place it occurs only eleven times in the Pentateuch for *neighbour*, fellow-man, πλησίον—thus in the same meaning as appears in the related root of נָבִי and נָבִי, *juxta, pariter ac*, equal, by the side of. Certainly, עֲמִיתִי in the giving of the law is equivalent

¹ For see ver. 3. Thus it is not, as Kimchi thinks, a punishment for idleness in youth; but, as Jerome seemed to discern, a chastisement for false prophesying, which the humbled delinquent acknowledges as a testimony to truth.

to *thy equal*; and let it be well considered what it means, when Jehovah terms a man His עֲמִית, His *fellow-man*, at the same time His *fellow-God*! . Hofmann, who better understands ch. xiii. 7, and on the whole hits the point well, declares, however, that "this is far from declaring a connection of the Divine and human natures, but rather a community of spirit, one *related to God, His Son*." And he is right as far as that the doctrinal statement is not yet unfolded; but it is undeniable that in the Mosaic עֲמִית *equality* is more prominent than mere fellowship or relationship:—thy neighbour is on the same level with thyself, is as good as thou.¹ Consequently, עֲמִיתִי—the *Man My Fellow*—is stronger, and nearer to the plain "God and Man," than for example the rather typical אִישׁ יְמִינִי, *man of Thy right hand*, of Ps. lxxx. 17. And, moreover, we hear in Isaiah of a Child born, which bears the high names of God; in Micah of Him whose goings forth were from everlasting; in Jeremiah of the name of Jehovah given to the Messiah; in Ezekiel that *the Lord Himself* will come as the promised *Shepherd* (ch. xxxiv. 11-16, 23, 30). And in Zech. xii. 8, as *God* is strictly parallel with *as the angel of the Lord*; and in ver. 10 Jehovah says, *Me* whom they have pierced! Thus this *Man, the Fellow of Jehovah*, is at the same time distinguished from all *His hosts* as being one equal to Himself.

Christ, indeed, very significantly and designedly *left out* in His citation this name of high dignity, given to the Shepherd surrendered to death, because His primary object was to speak of the *sheep*; but it was necessary that we should thus perfectly explain the passage, and place *the Man My fellow* in its true light, that we may rightly estimate the blindness of our recent Christian commentators, who, like the darkened Rabbins, interpret this Shepherd to be a common man!²

Most wonderful and paradoxical is the Divine counsel concerning this Man, His Fellow, that the sword should awake

¹ This was so clear to the Targumist that he preferred to make the one person into two: Concerning the King and the Prince his fellow, who is as *He and equal to Him*—יְהוָה וְעַמִּיתוֹ.

² Jarchi makes him the king of Moab; both Kimchis, another Gentile king who devastated Jerusalem; other commentators an Israelite hero or king, Judas Maccabeus, Jehoiachim, or the like.

against Him and smite (that is slay) Him. Instead of the protecting legions which the Lord of *Hosts* might have provided for His *Fellow*, He calls for the sword! But the *sword* is primarily a general designation of *death*, as in Ps. xxii. 21. (The cross could not yet appear in the Old Testament.) But then, looking closer, it signifies, not indeed "the power of this world, in its judicial rigour," although God did accomplish His purpose by that, but still a *judicial* infliction, comp. Zech. xi. 17, and see the normal passage Job xix. 29.¹ The sword of God had as it were rested and slept till now; this suffering, this death, this judgment had been yet in arrear; but now a *נֶפֶשׁ*, a sword, is called for, and the *Shepherd is slain for the sheep*.

And now its *immediate result*. This is very natural as its consequence, but yet another paradox. The flock is scattered instead of being collected together; the sheep flee as if there was no longer a Shepherd! Thus is it again a starved and dispersed flock? Assuredly, but only as the first result and only in part. The shame of the death of condemnation into which the Shepherd falls, cannot be other than a stumbling-block (the offence of the cross, Gal. v. 11) to the *whole* flock, *כָּל הָעָם*—it turns away from its Shepherd, not being able to discern Him in such a form and condition. What, according to the meaning and connection of the prophecy, is this flock? Certainly *now* the people of God, all who belong to this Shepherd as His flock, not merely Israel, but mankind (Ezek. xxxiv. 31). The unbelieving are dispersed, turn away from the Smitten One down to this day (Isa. liii. 1-3, 1 Cor. i. 23)—but so are also at first those who believe, as the disciples of Jesus in the night of His delivery to His enemies. Even John, who lay upon His breast and apprehended His heavenly discourse as no other did,

¹ Where Luther's translation, though not literal, hits the sense, that by the sword judgments fall upon evil deeds. For *נֶפֶשׁ* does not mean, as the Jews expounded it, the wrath or the wrath-provoking contention of the friends of Job, who would thus fall under the sword-deserving *נֶפֶשׁ*. But, there is an anger (of God), which rests upon the misdeeds (deserving) of the sword! Such sins as yours will be avenged by the sword (death), that thus ye may know that there is a *judgment*! We would not therefore remove the *judicial* element from the work of atonement; but it is another question whether the common view which the juridical theory of substitution takes is justified by such passages of Scripture as this.

is offended ; and through the faithful heart of Mary the sword passes. It is finished with Him ! Thus, when at this season of crisis and decision all forsake Him, so that He is left alone, it first becomes plainly manifest that the flock would be utterly lost without the return of this Shepherd.

But now comes the third point, the solution of the mystery. Thus is the counsel of God accomplished ; and, in a sudden transition, we have as a *further result* His return and the gathering together of His faithful ones. Thus or then *will I turn My hand upon the little ones*, saith the same Lord of Hosts. Let it be carefully observed : Not they first of themselves turn back, but the hand and power of God in the *risen* Shepherd, restored from death, is turned upon them and gathers them together. That is what the Lord, without direct literal citation, means in the words which follow. Mark further : Not all the dispersed flock ; but that difference is now made manifest which existed from the beginning. The remnant remain in dispersion ; they still more and otherwise are offended, and deny yet more wickedly their Lord and Shepherd. The whole of Israel is first fully *scattered*, and in their flight from the cross they are perpetually followed by the unbelieving part of the called nations of mankind. But the *little ones*, plainly distinguished from the whole *flock*, are His true sheep from the beginning ; not merely the "needy," but the עֲנִי הַצֹּאֵן—the poor of the flock, ch. xi. 7, 11 ; that is, the miserable, the *humble ones*, who wait upon the word and the hand of God, just as עֲנִי has this signification included in it in the Psalms, *those who ask for the Lord*, Ps. xxii. 25.

Thus is the great distinction made through the death and return, the cross and the resurrection, of the Shepherd ; they are *His* sheep among the great flock called back from the first universal offence and brought to Him. This progressive purification and separation נִכְלֵהָאָרֶץ (that is, at the same time, in the actual type—in all the land, throughout the whole earth), is finally predicted by the prophet in vers. 8, 9. "The shepherdless flock is indeed scattered ; but Jehovah Himself fetches back His little sheep. The greater part of the peoples is indeed sifted away, but what remains is the true People of Jehovah."

Let it now be observed how far this prophecy is from being

a mere prediction of the isolated contingent circumstance of the disciples' leaving Jesus on *this night*. The prophecy does not indeed speak merely of this night and of these disciples, but of the general destiny of dispersion which was to befall the entire flock, so that no restored one should ever be able to boast that he had been exempted from this offence and this general turning away from the Shepherd who was slain. And this is made especially prominent in the addition found in St Matthew—*τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποιμνῆς*—the sheep of the flock. The specific fulfilment in this one historical event is thus here, as it is often, itself an embodied prophecy, a type of the universal fulfilment. It is, as remarked upon Lu. xii. 31, an allusion to Amos ix. 9. As the whole of the genuine house of Israel must be sifted without the loss of a single grain of corn, so is it with the first family of the discipleship, the Apostles. What Zechariah prophesies of the entire flock has its luminous fulfilment in the first and nearest circle of the sheep. Bengel: "The disciples were like the whole flock to be afterwards collected by them." Less correct, and only looking at one side of the matter, is von Gerlach's note: "When the Jewish people had rejected their last Shepherd, the judgment of dispersion fell upon them; this was as it were foreshadowed in the dispersion of the disciples upon the death of Christ, just as their final deliverance and salvation was foreshadowed in the bodily deliverance of the disciples when Jesus was taken, Jno. xviii. 9." For, although this is really connected with it, yet the dispersion of the disciples did not typify the judgment of unbelievers, but the preliminary and apparently equal offence of all believers.

The translation of the Seventy was not to be used on this occasion; for it did not perfectly understand the passage, having given *ποιμένας* twice in the plural, and similarly *παράξω*—*καὶ ἐκονάσω*.¹ Therefore we have the quotation according to the original, and with certain alterations which are strictly appropriate.² The first person *παράξω*, *I will smite*, became necessary when the invocation of the sword and all the first part was

¹ Not to speak of the unintelligible *πολίτην μου*, which falls away from the citation.

² Not arbitrary, to bring out what was suitable, as Döpke thinks; who, moreover, refers to the agreement of Barnabas, Ep. cap. 6 with St Matthew.

omitted, because it was not the Lord's purpose to speak of Himself now as the Fellow of God, but simply that He was *the* Shepherd of the flock: hence also we have not τὸν ποιμένα μου, *My* Shepherd, continued from the previous words. But Grotius is quite wrong: "Nor does that, *I will smite*, indicate a certain person, but the first person is put for any indefinitely;" for *God* is the subject of the verb, as afterwards in the *I will turn My hand* of the original text, and thereby the whole is defined to be a Divine decree and purpose. And after the resurrection Jesus appears again, Jno. xxi. in the figure of a *Shepherd*: He is the centre and rallying-point of all His own; all who forsake Him are scattered every one to his own (Jno. xvi. 32), like the foolish wandering sheep, Isa. liii. 6. And in the Apostles themselves, as the future shepherds, this must first become manifest!

We have already seen that the consolation in Matt. xxvi. 32 was derived also from the prophecy of Zechariah, and is no other than an interpretation of what followed there. As there the Lord God was to turn His hand to His little ones, so now Christ comes to that end in His own person, that the meaning of the whole may be conclusively established. In the *after I am risen* He refers, as if it would be self-understood, to all His earlier predictions. He teaches all investigators of His word to understand that here in Zechariah (as often elsewhere) the *resurrection* of Him who was given up to death, and yet retains His kingdom, is silently *prophesied* as the necessary transition. The *going before* is consistent with the figure of the Shepherd: I will then first truly be your Shepherd, and gather you around Me after your dispersion! And in this the forgiveness and removal of their offence is necessarily to be understood—Ye forsake Me, I forsake not you. That Galilee is made the rallying-place (the same Galilee where He began His teaching, and for the most part continued it), we cannot regard, with Schleiermacher, as "highly improbable and a later addition." This does not exclude our Lord's intention to see His disciples more than once in Jerusalem; it rather confirms it: *Before* ye return from the feast to Galilee, I will as risen be with you, and lead you in the way thither. And the direction is contained in it, that they should not set forth alone, but remain in Jerusalem until He

had risen. But the same intimation, that not Jerusalem (now rejected!) but the still and distant Galilee should be the place of meeting for the regathered flock (the place for the last commissions to the Apostles, Olshansen more doubtfully adds), is repeated by the angel at the sepulchre, and immediately afterwards by the Risen Lord Himself, Matt. xxviii. 7, 10, 16.

Peter, to whom (according to our view of the whole) Lu. xxii. 31-34 had been already spoken, will hear nothing of being scattered and offended, at least as far as concerns himself: the *all* is said to no purpose. With that uncharitableness which is always inseparable from presumption, he admits it as regards the remaining *all*; but concerning himself he makes the unconditional boast, extending far beyond this same night that had been spoken of, *I—never*. He makes himself stronger than a whole company of men, and knows not how soon the questions of women will turn him from his mind. Then he receives for the second time the emphatic notice which he still rejects, *Ἀμήν λέγω σοι*¹—*I have told thee!*

St Mark on this occasion gives us from Peter's lips the exact words which were spoken by Christ: He alone has the two cock-crowings, and he alone the swift succession of predictions as they reach their climax," *Thou—to-day—this night—before the cock crow twice! Thou,—who sayest, I will not—and for that very reason!" This day* (as Lu. xxii. 34), because the day was reckoned from the evening. "*Even in this* already-commenced and fearful *night* of universal confusion and tumult around Me." Finally, the most exact definition of the time, as a previously given *sign* of the prediction; the second *crowing* of the cock, the mystical warner and crier of the night! Baum.-Crus. is quite wrong in his indefinite interpretation of the thrice denying. "*Thrice*, indeed,—who knows how often?" For, apart from the recorded fulfilment, and the fitness that a prediction thus enforced should be thus convincingly specific, the *twice* and *thrice* of St Mark indicate that we are to take the reckoning as exact. *Denying* is the acted expression of offence; both, as we have already said, are the same in principle and feeling, yet one alone *will* deny, as one alone betray; but he is the

¹ In St John also the first time *Verity, Verity*.

confessor pre-eminently, and he denies, warned and yet unwarned, *thrice*!

The mention of the cock-crowing might be, first of all, a simple definition of time; as in Mark xiii. 35 the ἀλεκτοροφωνία, elsewhere also ἀλεκτροφωνία, the Latin *gallicinium*, among the Hebrews צִמְצִימָה נִקְרָא. The cock crows once at midnight; then again toward morning, that is, very early, midway between midnight and morning. The first, the earliest crowing, is not heard by most, hence the *cock-crowing* generally signified the second;¹ yet we also find *gallicinium secundum* mentioned. Hence in Aristophan. Ecc. the expression, *ὅτε τὸ δεύτερον ἀλεκτρον ἐφθέγγετο*—and the like in Heliodor., Synesius, Juvenal, etc. Hence the proverbial saying adduced by Erasmus, *πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἀλεκτρον ἐφθέγγετο*. And we may accordingly say, with Meyer's note, "What elsewhere (in Matt.) and even here seems to be only a general definition of time, was afterwards literally fulfilled." But this admits that it only *appeared* to be a proverbial expression, and, consequently, as the result showed, *was meant* literally at first; and the latter is all the more important, as the time of the cock-crowing was not invariably fixed. But here, as the climax given above shows, the exactitude of the prediction was designed for Peter's especial conviction.

But there is, in addition to this, something mysterious which envelopes the mention of the *cock* in this place. It is a strange and significant creature;² its cry as a nocturnal watcher (*vigil nocturnus* in Pliny) is a specific token among men. Cicero de Divin. lib. 2 records it as a saying of Callisthenes, that the gods had given to cocks the sign of their crowing. Its voice affrights even lions, as was observed in very early times with wonder. "In the crowing of a cock," says the venerable Bochart (*Hiero-zoicon*, in the chapter *de galli cantu*), "there are two things remarkable: one, that so small a creature should cry with so loud a voice, as to be heard at a vast distance; the other, that

¹ According to Censorinus, follows the *conticinium*, *cum conticuere galli*.

² Whose names in all languages (as Augusti, in his treatise concerning ecclesiastical animals, shows) are very diverse and obscure. The derivation in Eustathius seems plain; but, as far as it regards ἀλέκτωρ alone,—*who goes not to bed, the wakeful*.

it sings at *stated hours*, and at such time as other birds are silent in sleep." That is—He is the watcher and crier in nature. As such, the ancient Christians often referred to it, in relation to Peter's history. Ambrose magnifies the cock even as the comforter who proclaims mercy to those who return from their sin. In the hymn *Æterne rerum conditor* the cock is said to cry to us not to deny our Lord. In that of Prudentius *Ad galli cantum* the cry of the cock is represented as driving away the evil spirits of the night.¹ Though all this arose after the fact, yet it points back to a typical significance of the cock in nature, of which antiquity had a universal feeling,² and which the Lord in His word to Peter recognised. It is as if He had said, "*The watcher in the night* will finally awaken thee, yet (as in the case of most who sleep and hear not) not till the second crowing in this night; although thou bodily watchest—and sinnest—the first cry will be in vain, and the second find thee already a triple sinner!" And all Christian people should learn to be sober and watchful while God is making His cock crow in our ears. There are many appointed to confess His name who deny it, and the very cock on their church-towers should remind them of Peter. But the question has been asked—Were there cocks in Jerusalem? It is certainly strange, since their connection with Egypt might have led us to expect otherwise, that the Jews from the beginning seem to have known nothing of fowls: in the Old Testament at least they are unmentioned.³ But that may be explained as a fortuitous circumstance, like many other words and things which do not happen to occur.

¹ We are told that a figure of the cock which crowed at Peter's denial is had in reverence in one of the Armenian convents! (Baseler Misionsmag. 1847.)

² Those who are fond of the like may find the Rabbinical fables about the gigantic *gallus silvestris* in Buxtorf, *Lex. Thalm.* s. v. תרנגול; and in Bochart, *Hieroz.* l. c., the Arabian myths about the white cock by the throne of God, whose voice gives the signal to all the cocks upon earth. We do not, however, refer to these fables, but to the fundamental feeling from which they sprang.

³ The old translations so termed the collective תרנגולות Prov. xxx. 31, and תרנגול Job xxxviii. 36, but this was incorrect. The Chaldee and Talmudical name is תרנגולא (of doubtful derivation); the cock was also called תרנגולא (the man), and the hen תרנגולת.

Further, the Mishna records that the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the priests everywhere, could not possess them, because they scraped up unclean worms! Accepting this in good faith, many have resorted to the strangest expedients to account for Peter's cock;¹ but Winer may well say that the saying in the Talmud has no force against the evangelical narrative. Certainly, a cock might crow at any rate outside the city, or in the Roman precincts (we do not find the definite article, as might have been expected, in any of the four gospels), and we may say with Bengel: because cocks were unusual among the Jews, though the Romans could not of course be prevented from having them, *so much the more wonderful* was the prediction of our Lord. But we prefer to seek the wonderful or the more wonderful not so much in these externalities, as in the natural significance of the cock-crowing generally; and connected here with the precise appointment which showed that in the Divine counsel all was arranged for the awakening of Peter at the hour.

The *crowing of a cock*—and in how many ways has nature, overruled for our salvation, provided such cock-crowings!—may suddenly awaken the deafened sinner,² but only when a *word* has preceded which it impresses upon the mind. Again, the most powerful and convincing word may be in vain, as we see here in Peter. He is not to be instructed by mere words, even from the lips of his Master; he goes beyond his Master, as he goes beyond himself, in assurances of his fidelity. As according to St Luke and St John he had once already spoken in contradiction, he does so now again. The *ἐκ περισσοῦ* in St Mark (another reading *ἐκπερισσῶς*) may mean the strength of his affirmation, and the repetition of what he *said*; but it may also mean *yet once more*, with a hint that this was not the first time. Yet we prefer, comparing Mark vi. 51, the former, connecting it with *μᾶλλον*:—the more determinately the Lord had spoken,

¹ As, that *ἀλκτωρ* was the Roman *Buccinator*, or the watchman of the Jewish court of judgment, or some other human watch—see Winer in *Reallex*. On the other hand, Sepp (iii. 477) refers us to *בִּצְרִי*, as also to other Rabbinical sayings, which imply that there were cocks in Jerusalem.

² Hiller: Jesus might have astounded him with thunder! But His love wakened him by gentler means.

the more express was his contradiction! And now the rest will not be worse than he, but suffer themselves to be led away into equal presumption. *All* the disciples, that is, all who remained (for Judas' removal is silently taken for granted since ver. 61) say the same. And the Lord says nothing more, but leaves them the last word, till the approaching hour shall convince them of their folly; and also (as Wesley remarks) that He might not provoke them to greater guilt.

CONCERNING THE SWORD.

(Luke xxii. 35-38.)

The Lord spoke yet one serene word to His disciples, before the anguish of His soul began; and at the time of their going forth. For His mind and heart was full to the last of all that He had to say to them at His departure: and He continually poured out of that fulness by degrees, as they might bear it. His own destiny less occupied His soul—what self-renunciation!—than the future trials and dangers of His disciples in the world, which would begin with the withdrawal of His earthly presence. This great *But now* is ever before His eyes in its aspect toward *them*, and it presses upon His heart as the critical hour approaches:—the less they anticipate its issues, the more constrained is He to speak of it. He had already spoken of their impending *temptation* and sifting, and therein of their spiritual perils, with the melancholy fall of the denier: it remains now that He should utter a warning of their coming *external dangers*, exhibited by a few emphatic touches. He thus returns to the theme, variations upon which had been heard in John xv. 18-21, xvi. 1-4; but now with most decisive explanation of His meaning, bringing into sharp prominence the contrast between their previous and their future condition. This is the saying, so naturally to be expected, which St Luke preserves. The "*and He said unto them,*" as a formula for the indefinite compilation of the various sayings of this evening (as in ver. 31), leaves us quite free to place these words either here or there; but we have found the order of time hitherto so specifically marked that we

may probably regard this word concerning the sword as the last before Gethsemane. It thus actually followed (after a pause in the going forward) upon the *second* prediction of the denial, as it stands here in St Luke after the first. But if St Matthew and St Mark are right that that *second* intimation of the denial took place when the going forth had already begun, ver. 39 in St Luke must be a supplementary notice that this also concerning the sword was spoken *during* the continuous journey. Nor do we see anything to oppose it; for St Luke does not write *καὶ* or *τότε* or *ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐξῆλθε* (as Jno. xviii. 1), but rather, *καὶ ἐξελθὼν* (after thus speaking He had gone forth) *ἐπορεύθη*, etc.

We saw before, when giving St Luke's summary, how perfectly the words harmonise with the position of things at the time, and with the circle of thought in which the Lord's discourse moves. He had predicted to them, in contrast with their previous circumstances, and especially with their earlier mission, a *time of need and danger* for His disciples; He gives the reason for this, ver. 37, in His own going before to a shameful death. But, as we saw before and shall now see again, while there is a similarity, inasmuch as the enmity of the world will be shown against His followers even as it was against their Leader, there is yet also an important difference:—He alone surrenders Himself to pure suffering; they may use foresight and prudential defence. When the disciples misunderstand His strong and sharply-defined word—as if it referred to the present time, and the question was His own defence,—He breaks off sorrowfully and abruptly. For, the experience which will teach them all is as near as the denial of Peter.

Ver. 35. It must be admitted that their wise Teacher does all that He can to awaken His disciples' attention and understanding. It is His intention to tell them—But now it will be otherwise! He therefore requires them to say how it had been before. He catechises them upon their past experience, just as in Mark viii. 19. The *when*, with its backward reference, points to something distinctive, "*when* I sent you forth"—not, as Luther translates, *as often as*. For He had sent forth disciples generally only twice, and the Twelve only that once which St Luke reports in ch. ix. 3, and to which therefore the reference here is plain. The Lord does not ask them if *with Him* they had ever suffered

want; for *præsentēs eos aluit Dominus*, as Bengel says, and there had been always something remaining for the poor. But, “when I sent you away from Me into the world (as the type of the mission now approaching), without provision and with the express prohibition to make any¹—had ye *need of anything?*” Mark that not to have need was then at the outset enough; superfluity was to the Lord’s disciples too much. And He may with confidence so ask; for, although in that itineration there might have been occasionally mockery and rejection, slight necessity and self-denial, yet on the whole they never really lacked anything; certainly they were never in absolute want and peril. His accompanying protection, His Father’s Providence, had gently led them through all, protected them sufficiently, and cared for all their necessities. It would, indeed, have been no wonder if these preachers of repentance and of faith in a kingdom of God which came without observation, and in a Messiah different from the general expectation, taking nothing with them, moreover, had fallen into great necessity: and therefore the Lord points to the wonder of their successful course *when He sent them*. The disciples perfectly well understand Him in this; and, unlike those who have complaints always ready that this or that has been wanting to them, they admit joyfully, thankfully, sincerely, and in the same sense in which they were asked—*Nothing!* No Christian but may and must for ever make this symbolical word his own, even in the hardest times, and “looking back upon his past, whatever may have been its character, utter nothing but contentment, thankfulness, and praise.” (Nitzsch.) The Lord has been our Shepherd, we have wanted nothing—see further Ps. xxxiv. 10, 11, lxxxiv. 12. The Lord sends us and leads us all at first in such a manner that this admission is rendered easy; many so gently and graciously that they may go further and be disposed to think they have been lacking in no spiritual gift. (1 Cor. i. 7.) But this is only the discipline of children: the sterner sequel must follow.

Ver. 36. The Lord does not proceed as probably many expected—And so shall it still be, ye may still reckon upon the

¹ See the explanation on Matt. x. 9, 10. *Βαλάντιον* (there ζώνη) stands here for the provision of money in the purse.

same! O no, *from this time* they are not only to use purse and scrip, but, before all things, even if at the cost of their garments, they are to have a *sword*. How can that be meant? Certainly not in the special literal sense which the word seems to bear, and which has found its tame and unworthy explanation in Seiler's remark—"The Apostles would now have, in part at least, to travel far beyond Judæa, and in regions where they would require provision of sustenance and even weapons to defend them against robbers and murderers." He who has in any degree entered into the spirit of these last sayings of our Lord will presuppose a more comprehensive and profound meaning in these words. It is obvious that there is a correspondence between the preliminary, typical "*when I sent you*" and the now-approaching period of their new and proper *mission*, as Apostles; consequently, the Lord speaks here of the entire future of these Apostles and of His disciples in common, of that new and different time which should follow the *now* of His death;—and in the same symbolical and general sense as He had spoken to them on their first mission. It is still more certain that He does not speak concerning the few days immediately at hand. Hitherto there had been no lack even in external things, but an easy well-cared-for course, with rest and protection from above; *but now* their way would need provision and prudence, and would even involve *conflict*, in which they themselves must provide for themselves protection and defence:—*this* is the plain meaning in general. Thus will it go on, before ye (ver. 30) sit at My table, and on your thrones! That must be said in some form as the complement of His farewell-discourses; as we shall see if we take this occasion to glance over the whole.

We must now observe the individual expression a little more closely, in order to proceed more safely in the investigation of the meaning of the whole clause. The *he that hath* seems to intimate that there will be many who will *not* have purse, and scrip, and shoes; thus preparing the way for what follows—that there will be something else still more needful to them. But he that hath these must not leave them at home, as was enjoined formerly, but must *take them with* him as prudent provision against lack. This interpretation of *ἀπόρο* is plainly

demanding by the antithesis; it was only an exegetical necessity on account of the *μὴ ἔχων* (which can be much better explained) that gave birth to the artificial rendering—Let him who hath purse or scrip *take*, that is, *sell* these to procure a sword! It was scarcely needful for Olshausen to remark that the weighty contrast with ver. 25 would in that case be lost: it may be added that *everything* would then be made to depend upon or be subordinate to the sword. *He that hath not* must sell his garment and buy a sword instead!¹ The saying is thus made very singular, and there is some difficulty in the first words of it *μὴ ἔχων*. Many take it to be, *He that hath no purse*, consequently *no money*. So Grotius: “He who hath, that is to say, no such purse as those carry who have money.” Similarly Bengel, “no money wherewith to buy it.” This seems very simple, but is not correct; for that concerning the *scrip* is not simply interposed, the “likewise his scrip” must be also completed by “he that hath, let him take.” But the interpretation of the *μὴ ἔχων* by the following *ἀγοράζειν* (he who hath not what is necessary in order to buy) is forced, and forgets that *ὁ ἔχων* preceded. Equally forced seems the other method of solution, “He that hath no sword,” let him buy one at any cost; although the Peshito translated at once *וְלֵית לֵהּ סִיפָא*, which is followed by Stolz, de Wette, van Ess, and confirmed by Lange, “he who is not yet provided with a weapon.” Olshausen hits the right medium, and gives the only true sense, according to which *ὁ μὴ ἔχων* is as it must be the antithesis of *ὁ ἔχων*, but without any further specific reference to scrip, purse, and shoes. The contrast is now, *He that hath* and *he that hath not*; consequently, *μὴ ἔχων* is equivalent to *οὐδὲν ἔχων*, having *nothing*. Lange says correctly, *He that is not provided beforehand*: but it is to be supplied by—with that which is necessary or commanded. There is thus a *sudden advancement* of the thought—To him I will recommend something still more needful, yea the thing *most needful*; let him by all means take care to have a sword! For that he may even sell the garment, that which was otherwise necessary—for such is the meaning of *τὸ ἱμάτιον*

¹ Bengel prefers the reading *καὶ ἀγοράσαι*, which would make little difference, even if admissible: he takes that for a *futurum consecutivum* as in Mar. iii. 27, and adduces several examples.

αἰρού, and it does not merely refer to "decency" which must be made subordinate. Consequently: A time is now at hand, when—in certain circumstances—it may be more necessary for you to have with you weapons of defence, than to have gold or bread and be fitly clothed, etc.¹

Thus the Lord speaks in startling contrast with Lu. ix. 3 or Matt. x. 9, 10. But, as we saw there that the prohibition of any equipment and provision for the way had a meaning for all times and all circumstances, so also the direction now decisively changed must be understood in consistency with that. And there must be a mediating interpretation sought here, as in all those places where the Scripture, and the Lord in the Scripture, teaches thus paradoxically by rigorous contrasts. If He now says to His disciples, "Henceforward understand not My former words in their strict literality"—without thereby contradicting the spirit which was in that letter; so we must be similarly on our guard in the present case lest we take the words in their strict literality alone.

It must be perfectly plain to every one who understands our Lord's manner of speaking, that He does not intend literally to ordain that whosoever among His disciples had no sword must, even at the cost of selling his garment, procure one. What then does He mean? He expressly and concretely says, "Henceforth be it not merely permitted, but My command, that ye avail yourselves of all natural means of provision and defence in your way through an opposing world and all its oppression." All this is very well, if we can content ourselves with such fleeting generalities; but when the expression is so sharply defined as it is here, it must retain its literal significance. But how is this to be defended in connection with the obvious truth that Christ's disciples, as such, and in His affairs, are not to bear or use the sword? Orthodox expositors have with one consent, from Chrys., Theoph., Euthym., downward to the present day, explained it as by a firm tradition, that the Lord spoke figura-

¹ Finally, that *μάχαιρα* stands here in its common acceptation for a sword, is incontrovertible from the gradation in the sentence, and its connection with the subsequent swords, and especially that of Peter. It is only through despairing of the meaning that the idea of a "sacificial knife" as necessary in travelling could have entered into the mind

tively or proverbially concerning spiritual armour. "Using a proverbial and figurative mode of speaking very familiar in those days, He intended to say—It will now be as when men in times of peril are wont to say, thinking of their defence, Whosoever has a purse with money, etc." Thus runs the confident comment of the Hirschberg Bible. Pfenninger, too, regards this as the evident meaning: "We know already that He by no means designed to put swords into the hands of His disciples for defence. This, therefore, is one of His bold and penetrating sudden turns, and expresses the fundamental idea—*Danger must now be provided against by all.*" If we think no deeper, nothing seems clearer than this; for although the external sword has its proper place and occasion, yet it cannot be used in the affairs of Christ, and by His messengers as such, who are here especially spoken of. It is altogether inconceivable that the Lord would give *such* counsel to *every* disciple who was not so provided.

Yet, when we look more closely, everything is against this cursory spiritual interpretation. Not, indeed, because it might be asked—How could the sword of the Spirit be bought? for Rev. iii. 18 would answer that. But first: If the Lord meant spiritual defence against an evil time, He used a very perilous word to signify it, and one which was necessarily open to misunderstanding. It has, indeed, been solved thus: "The heaviest persecution was now about to begin; enemies were at hand with swords and scourges; so that if a man should wish to depend upon human defence and take care of himself in the manner usual among men, he could not do better than, selling all things, provide himself with a sword. By this sign, therefore, was given to be understood the thing signified. By the necessity of the sword He *symbolically* intimates the greatness of their impending danger." But, to our feeling, it is strange and perfectly unjustifiable to introduce this "if a man should wish" where such a wish was to be *forbidden*; and this "usual manner" where it was to have no place; and the "*necessity* of the sword" as explaining *great danger*. We ask, If the Lord will have no use of the external sword, why does He speak to people already too much disposed to it in a manner so misleading? Lange gives an acute answer, which does not seem to

put the full force of the question: "He knew that *Simon* had already been thinking of the means of offence and defence, and that his heart was set upon the evil method of physical violence. This He would now bring to light. He used the expression *sword* when He exhorted them to the use of spiritual armour, in order to make them disclose and exhibit their provision for earthly violence." However ingenious this is, it is manifestly wrong. Who would not immediately reply that Christ could rebuke the disciples' hankering after the sword in a much more fitting, intelligible, and piercing way than by the use of such irony as *must* fail of its object? Again, who can imagine that even Simon, not to say others with him, would provide *secretly* swords against the enemies of Jesus—and moreover precisely *two* swords? According to this view, they produce their weapons triumphantly, and their "*behold Lord*" means, Thou hast rightly spoken, and we have already cared for this! I confess that this is to me perfectly irreconcilable with the whole character and relations of the disciples; and hold that their wise Master could never have corrected their great error by a seeming requirement, masking a spiritual meaning, to provide themselves swords,—and then, when they have shown the swords they had, have said merely, *It is enough!* In truth, He must have foreseen not merely the misunderstanding of His "prophetic, figurative words," but also the utter insufficiency of His rebuke—and therefore could not have spoken in this sense. "It is true (says v. Gerlach) that the misunderstanding had evil results; but it was better that they should be produced, and the roots of the evil thus disclosed and corrected." And did the Lord then speak in anticipation of Peter's drawing and using his sword, that so he might be condemned? How can it be so easily forgotten that this rash use of the sword was a heavy disgrace to the cause of Christ, and as such a not-insignificant element in His passion? Most certainly, this will not, any more than the other methods, warrant our supposing the Lord to have spoken of "spiritual equipment."—But, secondly: As the scrip, and shoes, and purse are to be understood, so and not otherwise must the sword be understood. But these things are in Matt. x., and here also, prominent examples of many other things of the like kind; figures therefore which, however,

represent *external* provision for need, corporeal resources, unless the whole connection of thoughts is thrown into confusion. (Or are we to think of heavenly treasures which are current in the kingdom of God, of provision in spiritual purses of spiritual virtues?) To this corresponds only external corporeal defence, though "sword" as the strongest expression of it includes very much. As the Lord permits from this time forward, yea in a certain sense commands, that all the earthly good which a man *has* should be used in His service for provision against *need*, just so He appoints, yea commands, the provision of external defence against threatened enmity. For *need* through enmity even against life—is the climax of the *lack* which they did not experience. Olshausen indeed contends, in order to bring out a fully consistent meaning, that *sword* must be, like *purse* and *scrip*, taken in a figurative sense; Lange carries that interpretation so far as to make it say, "What is now requisite is an entire relinquishment of and departure from the old world!" But how does this suit the directions of Matt. x., from which the whole discourse takes its rise? It must be maintained that the resources of provision are primarily external against earthly need, consequently the resources of defence are similarly against earthly danger.—Thirdly, and finally: The entire development of the connection, as we have laid it down at the outset, carries us not back to spiritual armour for spiritual conflict, which had been already spoken of in vers. 31, 32, but leads now to a warning word of counsel as to the *external danger* of need, yea rather of persecution. This critical point, which has its essential importance and reality, would be altogether omitted in the farewell-discourses of our Lord to His disciples, if these last words are interpreted simply in a spiritual sense. Hence we can perceive how precipitate is the conclusion of Lange, who generally is so peculiarly penetrating and original, but here falls in with the predominant exposition:—"It is almost superfluous to observe that the words can be understood only in a *figurative sense*." When he mentions his only reason, "that in this late evening-hour no man could think of buying a sword in the proper sense," this does not by any means hit the point. For it is plain enough in any case that the Lord is not speaking of a defence on this same night; this was the specific misunder-

standing of the disciples. Between the reference to His disciples' appeal to the sword in that which *must yet be accomplished in Him*,¹ and the mere inculcation of spiritual defence for all His future disciples, there lies much which must be His only true meaning. That they were to arm themselves with faith, prayer, patience, and wise provision generally for all spiritual emergency (Matt. x. 16, 17), was not the thing which He intended in this connection by the mention of the sword.

When, however, the Lord speaks thus strongly of the sword *alone*, all kinds of defensive armoury being in question—when He so plainly declares, as it were, that *every one at every cost* must procure a sword—that must be referred to the proverbial, vivid tone of the expression, to the living feeling and profound earnestness with which He would bring into contrast the evil time coming, as well as the necessity of being armed against it. *Such* a proverbial character of expression, from the mere letter of which a spiritual interpretation has something to deduct, is quite in harmony with our Lord's manner of teaching elsewhere; but that cannot be said of a spiritual sense alone, excluding all externality, when the words and the entire connection pertain to external things. It must be especially remarked that the progression of His words even to their most rigorous climax has led Him to this *buying of the sword*—and this indicates the worst contingency, of course, not the ordinary rule. In fine, the Lord's very remarkable saying concerning the sword,² as far as our most careful and well-considered exegesis can apprehend it, is intended providently to recognise and appoint for the future of His disciples *the employment of earthly means of protection and defence*, in opposition to what we may call, for brevity's sake, the Quakerish view. And is there anything untrue or needless in this? It is of itself perfectly plain that the death-dealing sword has nothing to do with the things of Christ's kingdom, the spread of His Gospel and Church (how-

¹ *Sword, awake against My Shepherd!* This word our Lord had still in His thought, from the former discourse. This gives a new explanation, how He came to express it here so strongly, and also a new evidence that He did not mean it simply of spiritual weapons.

² Its paradoxical form is proof of itself of the authenticity of St Luke's tradition.

ever earthly power may be sanctified to its preservation and defence); it is no other than a wilful misunderstanding to think that the Lord's word has any the most distant Mohammedan sense. This is manifestly shown afterward in the case of Peter in Gethsemane (as we shall develop the consequences of His word), and still more expressly in Jno. xviii. 36. And it is equally self-evident that the counsel or commandment of our Lord must be followed in *the spirit and meaning* of the commandment *not to resist* evil, in Matt. v. 39 (which, however, itself leaves room for counter-defence, see vol. i.). To this Bengel's subtile remark in his Germ. N. T. points: "a sword, not (so much) to kill any other, but to *keep another's sword in its sheath.*" In other words, for defence always and only, never for the first assault; the sword as the *necessity of a traveller*. Nevertheless, when we have made all due concessions and deductions as to the sense of this concrete and progressional utterance, the actual mention of the actual sword remains as a testimony of Christ to us all:—that His disciples, servants, and messengers in this evil and unfriendly world must no longer reckon upon that miraculous protection and gentle course which His Apostles experienced on their first trial-mission, but *that they must for their personal protection of the life which belongs to the service of Christ* (that alone is here spoken of!), in certain circumstances and times of intenser danger, even have recourse to the equipment of the *sword*. The sword here stands on the same level with the purse and the shoes, and is in certain cases the most pressingly necessary of all. As we must not neglect care of the exchequer (and the Moravian Brethren understand now better than they did how important is the care of the finances), as manifold provision for the pilgrim's need in the service of Christ is by no means unimportant, when the necessity of that high service is studied alone, and there are many *ὑποδήματα* which might assist and expedite his way through the world; so it is right and proper that he should be armed, not only when he carries the peace of Christ among the wild Battas of Sumatra—where the fate of Munson and Lyman are examples—but even in carrying the Bible through Christian Spain. Generally speaking, every one should consider that the promised protection of the Lord is vouchsafed by

Him ordinarily according to the course of this world; and where his life is in danger, he may confidently and without scruple defend it, since it is the Lord's commandment that he should not throw his life undefended away.

Ver. 37. The first *For* which connects the new clause shows that the Lord is here giving the *reason* of what He had said, and we understand it at the outset: "For with Myself the way leads to dire ignominy, through the bitterest enmity raging against Me; thence learn to estimate how much hatred ye may expect from the world as the followers of One thus singled out." (Jno. xv. 18.) This is the first time that the Lord Himself directs us to the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, that pre-eminent and complete text of the Passion; but it will scarcely be expected by our readers that we should here, as in the case of Zechariah, investigate the Messianic character of the entire section, and show the connection of this individual passage in the unity of the whole prophecy. That would lead us into too discursive disquisition; and if anywhere it is here permitted to us to fall back upon the ecclesiastical and scriptural interpretation which has prevailed from the beginning. The later theology, after all its investigations of the עֲבָרֵי יְהוָה, and its occasionally-useful correction of the onesidedness and disjointedness of former views, must needs come back to the old reference to the Messiah. Call it type or prophecy, and develop the ultimate meaning as it points to a fulfilment in the New Testament, as you will—but do not contradict the supreme authority of Him who between the sacramental Passover and Gethsemane places this γεγραμμένον among the prophecies, of which He decisively says—τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ, that is, in this connection, *the things written, spoken, appointed concerning Me*.

Chs. xlix.-lv. of Isaiah announce most clearly to all open eyes the Divine *plan of redemption*, according to which He acquires, prepares, and glorifies His true Israel in the Messiah, and by the means of His atoning, regenerating *sufferings*. Israel is God's servant, but only because the Coming One is Himself the true Israel. (Ch. xlix. 3.) Thrice in progressive development we have exhibited before our eyes the conflict and victory, the sufferings and the glory, of the Future One; then the following of His people in the same way, and the covenant

of grace thus established. The third of these recurring sections embraces ch. lii. 13—to the end of ch. lv. The same Lord and God who, according to ch. lii. 12, is in the van and reward of His people's new deliverance, accomplishes this prudently by *His servant*, in whose person He comes and is Himself with them (ch. lii. 6). He who was deeply abased is nevertheless exalted; His suffering is an offence and cause of rejection, but His suffering heals the offence; after the patient endurance of a sacrificial death He lives again in many. This great transition appears under three points of view: The despised root-shoot grows up to a rich harvest of seed; the labour of His soul obtains the fulness of recompense; He who conquered in death carries with Him His great booty. And so in vers. 10–12, the *exaltation* of Him who was humbled is described specifically at the close:—He bears and takes away the sin of many, Himself dying the death of a sinner; He enters as Mediator and Intercessor for evil-doers, *even as* He is reckoned one with them. This is the crown, the τέλος of this chapter, compact in itself. To the sublimely comprehensive יְפִיעַ לְפָשְׁעִים corresponds finally, as the way and means, אֶת־פְּשָׁעֵינוּ נִמְנָה. As certainly as the same יְפִיעַ, which in the most general and fullest sense means “*He interposed for*¹ the transgressors,” was specifically and visibly fulfilled in His *intercession* upon the cross; even so was it concretely fulfilled that He was reckoned among the transgressors (Niph. *He submitted to be reckoned*, parallel with the הִעָרָה, נָשָׂא, יְפִיעַ, יִחַלֵּק of His own personal act), when in His crucifixion He was placed between the two murderers as the third.² Therefore the Lord Himself cites this word, too, in the same manner as that other in Zechariah.³ When He says, ἐτι τοῦτο (this addition must be accepted as genuine), He makes prominent the disgrace thrown upon Him as the climax of His suffering in its external manifestation. *It must be accomplished in Him, because it is written.* But what means the apparently superfluous second clause with its repeated *For*? Τέλος ἔχειν,

¹ The continuous future of His exalted state, the ἐπισημαίνει of Heb. vii. 25 parallel with the יִפְּעֵי, ver. 6.

² Although the fulfilment already begins in Jno. xviii. 30; indeed, still further back, Jno. ix. 24, viii. 48, etc.

³ Again μετὰ ἀνόμων more exact than the Sept. ἐν ἀνόμοις.

have an end, is generally regarded as one and the same with *τελεσθῆναι*, *be accomplished*, and this again is made the same as *πληροῦσθαι*, *be fulfilled*; but all this is flat tautology—It must be fulfilled because it is fulfilled. The turn of expression receives, indeed, another sense when *τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ* is emphasised as meaning *all things* concerning Me:—Because *all* that was written concerning Me must be accomplished down to the last, *this* also is accomplished, the last word of that most eminent prediction of the Passion. And this gives the words their true meaning; only that *τέλος ἔχειν* must have a more exact application:—If this *τοῦτο* is *yet* accomplished, because *all* must be accomplished, then the fulfilment of all has thereby an *end*. It is useless here to make the petty objection that many later circumstances of the Passion, and many things concerning the resurrection and ascension of our Lord, were also predicted, and that therefore the reckoning among the transgressors could not be the last thing. Nor should this objection itself be explained away by weakening the force of the simple expression, as if it meant only that all things tended thus to the end, and when this took place were not far from the final close. For, on the one hand, the Lord speaks here, as is evident from the significant *Δεῖ*, *must* (which always has this reference), only of His *sufferings*; and, on the other, the *being reckoned among the transgressors* continues the abiding indignity even to the end, is itself the climax of His reproach, the lowest depth of His humiliation. The *τελεσθῆναι* had already implied this; and the words concerning fulfilment here must be taken in the same sense as the *τετέλεσται* upon the cross.

But we must now look more closely into the twofold *for* and the *end*, in order to bring out what most expositors have overlooked. If it is rightly regarded as saying generally at first—“Prepare yourselves for danger and enmity, think of protection and defence, *for* your Lord must die the death of a malefactor;” we must add that *this* “*for*” plainly intimates also—“*But not on My account*, to protect and save Me, provide your weapons!” That was so plain that the misunderstanding of the disciples can only be explained by their habitual tendency to overlook all the announcements of the Passion. That which must be accomplished in Him cannot be averted by any sword of theirs!

Thus it is in the future and for themselves, as the disciples of a rejected Master, that they are to provide defence; and *for this* the *second* "for" brings a new reason, and plainer explanation. For if all that was written concerning the Passion has primarily *its end* in the personal, patient, and passive atoning sufferings of Christ, it follows that *we* are by no means appointed to a *similar* perfect renunciation of all defence and resistance, as if all was binding upon us as by an equal *Act*, and therefore to be passively submitted to. Presupposing and admitting all that fellowship of reproach, and suffering, and patience, which is our badge as disciples of Christ, there is yet a *distinction which is here signified*. Concerning *us* this or that has not been specifically *written*, and therefore at once to be yielded to with submission, as in the case of the Lamb who was led to the slaughter and opened not His mouth. If our Lord, according to the special and sole decree which was upon Him, was under the necessity of devoting Himself to the sufferings of redemption, that had its end in Himself; we, who suffer not for atonement, but for our own purification and the good of our brethren, may and ordinarily should spare, protect, and even defend our life—that so we may spend it the longer and the more effectually in love for our brethren, and make it a sacrifice in the only way which is permitted to us. It will be seen what light now falls upon the words concerning the sword: the Lord does not speak of spiritual things, but certainly of need and danger to befall His disciples, just as of His own sufferings and death; He does not mean how they are to defend Him, but how every one is in due time to preserve and take care of himself. He has in view the great and important distinction—that while He yields Himself to the sword which God had summoned against Him, His disciples are in the future in His name, in His spirit, and in His service, to contend against an evil world, and in cases of stern necessity to resort to the defence which His kingdom of grace justifies—*Sword against sword*.

The disciples do not understand their Master; they seize the *word* concerning the sword, but without perceiving the whole connection and meaning of His whole *saying*: "when it con-

cerns natural things, man is apt and prompt enough"—says the Berl. Bibel. Their gross misunderstanding is the opposite extreme to the "spiritual interpretation" of later Christians. But their misunderstanding did not lie in their assuming that actual swords were meant, but in the supposition that He was referring to the present night and the defence of His person; therefore they produce the two swords—*See here they are*—thus giving Him to observe that they already *have them*.¹ This has introduced a needless difficulty in accounting for the disciples' being provided with swords. Chrysostom, though he regards the Lord as speaking of a sword, thinks that the instruments of the disciples were large sacrificial knives for the passover! Bengel first states as more probable what is in the highest degree improbable—"which they had found in the chamber;" but then he adds, "*or* had brought with them." Nothing is to be objected to the latter, since the Galilæans (a quarrelsome race) were accustomed and necessitated to travel armed. The road between Jerusalem and Jericho was never safe from robbers and murderers (Lu. x. 30); and, according to Josephus, even the peaceful Essenes bore arms.² And this the Lord, as we see here, had silently *permitted* to the disciples—a new confirmation of the meaning of His word concerning the sword! Thus, both swords were brought with them from Galilee; Peter (as we might expect, and the sequel in Gethsemane shows) had one; and so had another disciple:—hence the question, Shall *we* smite with the sword? Thus all is clear. But the notion that the disciples had provided themselves now first with weapons against the threatening enmity of Jerusalem, and for the defence of the Lord's person, is far more unreason-

¹ Certainly not now first procured, or even brought in the strict sense—this is opposed by the simple *and they said*. They had the two swords with them, and merely said, See, we have them already! Thus the narrative was not intended, as Schleiermacher thinks, to account for Peter's having the sword when he afterwards used it; though it does give rise to the natural question—Whence and wherefore they had them. Friedlieb's remark that Peter's having a sword in Gethsemane was the result of their having misunderstood the Lord's words, might be true, if those words had not been uttered, as we have seen, in the way.

² See Sepp *Leben Christi* iii. §. 40. Compare also Grotius *de jure belli ac pacis*, lib. i. cap. 3, § 3, Nr. 4.

able than that they should now impetuously and without reflection produce the weapons which they already had. But we cannot attribute to them the folly of supposing themselves sufficiently provided in this little arsenal; the explanation of Hess seems more correct: "Alas, Lord, would that we were now better provided—but here we have only two swords!" (What are these against so many threatening Thee and us, in such a time of danger as Thou speakest of with such ever-increasing earnestness?)

It is probable that the Lord's answer connects itself with this meaning of their *here are two*—so far, that is, as His answer has an ironical reference to the swords. Indeed, the fundamental force of *Ἰκανόν ἐστι*—*It is enough*—is by no means that which is given by the London Heb. New Testament—יָכִינִי; for that, standing alone, would be quite insufficient to express the Lord's regret at the lamentable misapprehension of His profound and far-reaching word. But with look and tone of sorrow He breaks off and says, "It is already enough of this: I will no further speak of this, since ye are so entirely without understanding, ye will better apprehend it *soon*." This is in harmony with the use of the phrase,¹ comp. Deut. iii. 26, יָכִינִי, Sept. *ἱκανούσθω σοι*. If it is not just the "common Oriental form of speech, when any one has said anything very distasteful or palpably false," yet it is the common style of breaking off a subject, in some circumstances with anger, as here in sorrow—Enough of it! let it be so! We need not ask *for what* it was enough; the word of our Lord ceases to speak and to explain, because the disciples do not cease their misunderstanding and perversion. Inasmuch as this *It is enough* is His last recorded expression before Gethsemane (followed, if not by perfect silence, yet probably by only monosyllabic utterances), it may be regarded as involving the *generally* significant meaning—"Enough of *speaking* and *not understanding*, now follows the

¹ But highly artificial is the interpolation of Grotius—*satis ad significationem*, the two are sufficient to illustrate My parable concerning spiritual weapons! Not much better is Lange's turn: "Enough to bring to light your ignorance, to explain your approaching fall, to bring Me into suspicion with My enemies, as if My cause was connected with that of the transgressors." This is a plentiful exposition of these short words!

accomplishment of all, and all things will develop and explain themselves!" Still more: In these two swords the Lord's all-comprehending glance beholds all the misunderstanding and perversion which will lead to the use of the sword on the wrong occasion, and as Lange very pertinently says (more to the point than the note just quoted): "*It is enough*—this is a sigh of the God-man, which sounds as a wail of lamentation over the Romish swords and stakes, over the Paulician and Hussite butcheries, over all the terrors of civil power which His religion should witness."

Further, although He thus means in sorrow—"Enough of speaking in vain, enough of misunderstanding! (enough, alas, of all that your swords show Me, as typical for the future!)" yet He also knows that the disciples had signified, when they exhibited them, Are these two swords enough? or rather, Alas these two are *not* enough! Therefore, when in His reply He uses such an expression as this, it seems obvious, as Olshausen says, "that the phrase *it is enough* involves a sort of *double-meaning*, since they might refer its meaning to the two swords—Two swords are sufficient! as well as to the whole matter in hand—It is enough of this subject, I see ye do not yet understand Me!" But on two points we differ from Olshausen; we view the former as only the *second* and concomitant meaning, and we do not hesitate to call the other what it really is, a *sacred irony*. As such it retains its most solemn earnestness, since the insufficiency of even a general equipment of the disciples against the Lord's enemies was at the same time *proof* that He could not have spoken of His own present defence.

Finally, the Lord does not, as some might have expected, peremptorily repel them, and command the swords to be left at home or to be *taken away*. But His patiently breaking off with *It is enough* seems to permit, or even require, them to take the swords forward to Gethsemane. The Lord thereby acted in the spirit of His own words; for He thus teaches in act and symbolically that He would not have every sword unconditionally taken out of the hands of His disciples. He leaves it for the present till the consequences of their misunderstanding will appear, and give Him occasion to interpose more intelligently in word and deed. He did not speak from the beginning with

intent to bring out that future act; but He now keeps silence, in expectation of it. Thus *the history*, as we know it, brings fresh light, and in view of it we may reflect upon the words of Jesus—Yes, verily, the two swords were enough for our Lord's protest against the violent misuse of them! Although, on the other hand, His first word concerning the use of the sword was necessary in order to prevent the subsequent words, *Put up thy sword into its place!* from being pressed beyond their legitimate limits. Before the actual commencement of our Lord's Passion, where all defence was utterly forbidden, there was given a word which intimates to us, His disciples, another course than this unqualified all-suffering submission. But, because the right understanding of this, the drawing the line between commanded and forbidden self-defence, and the giving the *sword* especially its proper place, is one of the most difficult things to our ignorance, and never can be taught in words—*therefore* the other saying is given, which points us to the teaching of the Spirit in actual experience.

THE CONFLICT IN GETHSEMANE.

(Matt. xxvi. 36-42; Mark xiv. 32-39; Lu. xxii. 40-42, 46.)

The synoptic record of Gethsemane now follows, in strong contrast with the seventeenth chapter of St John—a contrast, however, which has its Christological, that is, its Theanthropological propriety. A mediating transition between these two extreme limits of His Divine-human emotion we have already seen in the going from the chamber of the testament to the place of betrayal: he who can in a reverent spirit go out of himself and transpose himself into the humanity of the Lord, will understand what we mean. Hence the words which were spoken *in the way* strictly correspond to this character of transition: *this night*, out into which all things now go, is the preliminary fundamental theme which gives its aspect to all, even as the *glorification* had been before. The Shepherd must be smitten that “the Scripture may be fulfilled”—and its dark counsel, particularly as it respects the lost one, is present even to the High-Priestly

prayer, as its gloomy background. And before the glorification in heaven can take place, it must come to pass, as the end to be accomplished upon earth, that the Holy One be reckoned among the transgressors—not merely before men in appearance, but in harmony with Divine justice, which has in this a profound truth. If the question is still asked—and to ask is the prerogative of the wise as well as of fools—why St John has not recorded the mysterious and profound conflict which preceded the Lord's captivity, there is at least answer enough at hand to convict all doubts about the truth of the synoptical account—utterly inexplicable as an invention without historical ground—of being the offspring of wilful perverseness. If it is sought to reconcile the contradiction which has been needlessly found between the first three Evangelists and St John, it only requires to be observed that the latter gives in ch. xii. 27 the oft-repeated beginning and prelude of the agony; and moreover in chs. xiv. 30 and xvi. 21, records the plain prediction of what was impending; and even, ch. xvii. 19, in the very midst of the glorification-prayer, utters the Lord's own consciousness as to how He would *sanctify Himself* for His own. While the Synoptics have sufficient anticipations and prospects of that glory which would follow the Passion, introducing the consummate feast, and the kingdom received and bestowed after His conflicts should be past.

Suffice that there is so much deep reason for the historical truth of the soul-conflict in Gethsemane—at least to every true believer in Christ—that we may leave all discussion about it to the unbelievers. All right understanding of the previous life of Jesus is prepared to expect that *when* the hour of suffering comes, that hour of which John also was not ignorant, His suffering would have an internal commencement before the assault from without began, and that the perfect obedience of the spirit in the flesh would thus approve itself after sharp conflict. For our own part, and to speak as fools, we should sooner be able to doubt the elevation of His consciousness which the High-Priestly prayer exhibits, than its depression as shown in Gethsemane. Though, when we look into it, this word is itself a foolish one, for what appears to be depression is only the same profound intensification of inward emotion which before appeared as elevation; and the two feelings are represented as necessarily alter-

nating according to the law of true humanity. As Lange has excellently said: "The same spirit which uttered there the High-Priestly prayer, brings here the High-Priestly sacrifice."

This proper commencement of the sacrifice is therefore indicated in that most important apostolical commentary upon Gethsemane which we have in Heb. v. 7, 8 :—in which words, although they at the same time embrace "all the days of His flesh," there is an undeniable reference to a known and acknowledged event, the strong crying and tears of Gethsemane. The High Priest is tempted at all points like ourselves, in the weakness of the flesh assumed in fellowship with us. Otherwise than in this infirmity He could not undergo atoning sufferings; He could neither be crucified (2 Cor. xiii. 4), nor consummate that obedience which alone was the internal and essential validity of the sacrifice of the cross. And here there is nothing of the wrath of the Father against His beloved Son, nor of any sinfulness in the Just One. Nor can there be, in the sense of the old theology, any Divine anger and pains of hell for Him who still cries *Abba* in Gethsemane, and even upon the cross *My God*. But "the grief of the Holy One over sin takes the place, in the *Saviour*, of condemning wrath"—as Ebrard says. And this recoil of the human nature from the cup of sorrow is no disobedience, nor is the weeping in which the obedience of faith found its expression unbelief; but, as Luther once said, "Christ loved His Father with all His powers; but these agonies being beyond His powers so oppressed His guiltless infirm human nature that it was constrained to sigh and fear and cry: just as when a beam is tested beyond its strength it gives way because of the weakness of its nature, not through anything wanting in itself."

Thus might even the willing *spirit* of the man Jesus not have conquered the *flesh*, which recoiled by reason of weakness, and the overpowered *soul* might have given way to an internal death before the external death of the body, had not a strengthening accession of Divine power into His human nature (according to that *right of grace* which avails for every praying man, and found place even here) been earnestly sought in prayer. But that prayer cries most loudly, *Strengthen Me, Father!* while it follows the question of anguish permitted to the Son, *Is it*

then truly Thy will? by the most entire filial resignation to that will. *The way to Golgotha leads by Gethsemane.* So was it with Christ Himself, as the way of voluntary surrender of Himself to the deepest agony of soul in sympathy with our sin and our consequent death:—and thus Gethsemane teaches us to *understand Golgotha.* Similarly is it with us, as the way of fellowship with His sufferings, through that faith in Him which brings down even into our flesh that power of the Spirit which He has obtained for us:—and thus we surrender ourselves also to the inevitable conflict, without which the redeeming judgment in our fallen human nature cannot be brought forth unto victory.

Thus much beforehand for the general direction of our thoughts of the wonderful and transcendent object of exegesis which now lies before us. If we look more closely at the three records, we find the most sufficing agreement. It is only natural that, in relation to *such* words, and words which no man at the beginning could clearly hear, there should be found a certain variation; but the reminding Spirit has given the essential substance to the record of the Evangelists with perfect and unqualified certainty; and the differences of the independent narratives is itself a new proof of their truth, speaking after the manner of men. We shall see in detail that the first two Evangelists mutually supplement and agree with each other; St Luke's peculiarity here (as in the Supper and elsewhere) regards the whole without exact relation to the order of time, which must be supplied from the others. He records in brief and in the most general manner the *words* which the Lord spoke on this solemn occasion, but he retains the *three essential points* to which they may be reduced:—the prayer which passed from a supplication to be spared into an act of entire resignation; the word which exhorted the disciples to like prayer; and the final "Rise, let us be going." He lacks, indeed, the first "Tarry here!" the selection of the three nearer witnesses, the immediate prediction of the agony, the threefold repetition of the same prayer; and that which he in vers. 40 and 46 places both at the beginning and the end has probably lost its right place. But, on the other hand, that we may not be misled as to his authority as an Evangelist, St Luke, at one remove from an eye-witness, adds those most important facts in the historical record

—the removal to the distance of a stone's cast, the strengthening angel, and the bloody sweat.

He has also at the beginning the important word, "Jesus went as *He was wont*, to the Mount of Olives"—see chap. xxi. 37, and compare John xviii. 2. This *wont* might refer more immediately to these last days, in which He retreated before His enemies until His hour came, and took refuge there; but there is also something more in it, which is not on that account to be overlooked or denied. The Lord knew, more or less clearly and specifically, and felt in the presentiment of His spirit, that here was the appointed place of the commencement of His sufferings: and therefore He had consecrated it beforehand by many assemblings with His disciples, and by many seasons of solitary prayer. *To-day* at least He knows in the strictest sense all that should befall Him (Jno. xviii. 4)—and therefore does not go directly, at so late an hour, to Bethany, as if to "sleep and take His rest," or, as on other occasions, to watch and pray there; but He turns aside to the garden of *Gethsemane*, under the Mount of Olives. He not merely knows that the betrayer was acquainted with the place, and would seek Him there to deliver Him up, but He experiences also, as His first word shows, a presentiment of that agony which awaited Him before God, previous to His being delivered into the hands of His enemies. St John gives significant prominence to the brook Cedron which they passed over—the dark brook in the deep valley, over which David went in his deep humiliation on account of his sin, and where in old time the abominations of idolatry had been thrown (1 Kings xv. 13; 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 6, 12), as in later times, according to Jewish accounts, it had carried away the blood of the sacrifices and the refuse of the temple. From Gethsemane to Siloam stretched the valley of Jehoshaphat, the place of graves and of judgment. Thus, surrounded by such memorials and typical allusions, the Lord descends into the dust of humiliation and anguish, as His "glorification" had taken place upon the top of the mountain. St. Matthew's emphatic *Τότε ἔρχεται* (comp. ch. iii. 13, *τότε παρυίεται*) designs to give prominence to the place as well as to what took place there; St Luke, although he first spoke indefinitely of the Mount of Olives, expresses it still more plainly, indicating a well-known tradition

concerning Gethsemane—"and when He was *at the place*"—ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου—(where this mystery was to take place, and where, as is well known, it did take place)—*He stood on the scene* of His mysterious conflict. Let us then now enter into the Holy Place! "And His disciples also followed Him." Not all indeed are prepared to follow Christ hither even in devout reading and penetrating apprehension of the words; still fewer in the fellowship of His suffering way. May the Divine Spirit make me and my readers fit, and guide us into both the right understanding and the spiritual fellowship of this scene.

St Matthew and St Mark give us the first word on coming to the place in almost the same terms; the latter being, however, more concise, and the former more exact, even to the ἀπελθών and ἐκεῖ. The Lord feels the near approach of His anguish—so much is plainly expressed; but the Berleberg Bible gives a too human explanation of the choice of a place apart from the disciples: "Those who are in deep anguish go here and there, etc., etc." O no, with all the commencing anticipation of His conflict when He came ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου—*was at the place*—there is to be observed the most calm collectedness; as this first word testifies, and the selection of the three witnesses *before* His beginning to be exceeding sorrowful. Καθίσate obviously includes their sitting down and waiting; it does not, however, mean this sitting as such, but corresponds to the μένωτε of Matt. ver. 38. In this meaning καθίζεω occurs sometimes in the Sept., as the translation of נָח; and similarly in the New Testament, Lu. xxiv. 49; Acts xviii. 11. St Luke (as we shall see further on) represents the Lord as already bidding them *pray*; and we must therefore understand that He did not enjoin upon His disciples to *sit peacefully down*, while disquietude and horror were assailing Himself! Dräseke confuses the scene when he describes the Lord as having first entered into a *house* (whereas we read χάριον, τόπος, κήπος), and then says, "Here in the dwelling of faithful and devoted friends Jesus counselled His disciples to take their rest. He Himself must go again into the open air." Tarry ye *here*—I will and I must go forth apart: this is the sole meaning; αὐτοῦ

being in Matt. instead of ὧδε, αὐτόθε, according to the well-known phrase (as οὐ for *where*), comp. Acts xviii. 19, xxi. 4. Tarry—sit ye down if ye are weary—here wait for Me—"this is now the best that ye can do, *I must Myself go forth alone!*" He gives it plainly to be understood that something earnest and solemn awaits Him, and therefore that the question was not about simple rest for themselves:—until (or while) I *pray*; in Matt. more distinctly—*Going apart pray there!* This is now, as His seclusion from them shows, an altogether different praying from that which they had heard immediately before their setting forth. As *knowing all things that should come upon Him*, the Lord certainly had a special presentiment and anticipation of everything as it *came*; He could not be taken by surprise or be overcome suddenly by anything: hence He now knows the approach of the conflict, and orders all things with regard to it in the fittest manner, and with the utmost collectedness. But that which He now feels to be approaching He speaks of, and with perfect propriety, as His going generally to *pray*: this was the gentlest expression for it, and used in order that the remaining true disciples, whom He designs at this time to keep further from the mystery, might not be at once affrighted. We cannot but be involuntarily reminded of that similar word, which the Lord doubtless had in His thought, on occasion of the offering up of Isaac. As there, Gen. xxii. 5, the faith of Abraham termed the sacrifice, looking forward already to its being given back, an act of *worship*, so in like manner does the Lord speak concerning His own bitter soul-conflict at the commencement of that sacrifice in which not the Father binds *Him*, but He lays Himself upon the altar, uniting in Himself both the faith of Abraham and the resignation of Isaac.

Tarry here! was said at first to all; but in the *going yonder*, deeper into the recesses of the garden, He calls three to accompany Him, those ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτοτέρους—those elect of the elect—who had been witnesses of the transfiguration, and had been otherwise distinguished: Peter, who would know nothing of *falling in the time of trial*; and the two sons of Zebedee, here so termed in allusion to His former prophecy to them of a *fel-lowship* in His *cup* instead of the places of honour. And what was it that they might have expected? Certainly no scene of

high revelations and glory, for the evening of the Supper had not pointed that way, nor did the words of the Lord *while I pray*; but rather something in harmony with the prayer of Jno. xvii., and which they should have the privilege of seeing and hearing. On the one hand, the sacred event must have *witnesses* for the future of the Church; and, on the other, the Lord would not in His tribulation be left quite alone. Both lie at the foundation of the selection of the Three; but we must give the pre-eminence to the latter, as the Lord afterwards plainly says—*Watch with Me*, could ye not watch with Me? The others He left behind in their weakness, but from those Three He expects something more, or rather might have expected something more; and to bring *this* to their humbled consciences, their impotence, which deceived His expectation, is made manifest. We must be on our guard against laying an undue and exclusive emphasis upon either of the two things which here seem to be opposed, but are strictly consistent:—the Lord's design to solace Himself with the presence and devotion of these His nearest disciples, and His foreknowledge at the same time that He should look for comforters but find none (Ps. lxi. 20). Indeed, the latter thought is not strictly and entirely true; for, this passage in the Psalm, which is so often adduced, prophesies only of His enemies. We think it is very obvious that the three beloved disciples, the nearest to Him of those whom the Father had given, *were*, notwithstanding their weakness, an actual consolation and strength to Him by their being at hand. He could pour out His soul to them in the intervals of His prayer, and make their very unsusceptibility strengthen Him in His devotion and resolution to offer His sacrifice for mankind; and in this we have reason enough for the wisdom which permitted them to accompany Him.¹ Although He must now urge His prayer alone before the

¹ See Dräseke's original sermon on Gethsemane concerning Christian deportment in *soul-conflicts*. And Rambach (whose valuable reflections upon the Passion generally we shall henceforward amply quote) makes a sound application here: "He would consecrate and hallow Christian fellowship as a means of consolation and strength in suffering. Those who too studiously seek retirement in their heavy conflicts act not wisely, especially if they despise the encouragement, consolation, and prayer of other children of God—resolved to fight their battles altogether alone."

Father, it belongs to His humiliation in our likeness that He should seek and take with Him, if not companions in prayer, at least companions and helpers in His watching.

Before the eyes of these men thus taken with Him, and at a distance from the rest, *He began to be sorrowful and exceedingly dismayed!* This ἤρξατο—*He began*—has here an impressive emphasis: Now as never before, as no man had previously seen Him! At the same time there is some intimation here of His own predominant voluntary energy in relation to the sufferings which came upon Him. Not to the extent to which Rambach carries it, resting on the words: "In the expression '*He began to become sorrowful*,' we have the *active* and the *passive* together. The Redeemer is exhibited as One who *in suffering acts, and in acting suffers*; and this pervades the whole Passion." But the *thing* itself is correct, and may be so far found in the *began* as this would say—"He did not begin to *surrender Himself* to the pressure of His anguish *until* place, time, circumstances, witnesses, and all things, were appointed and ready."

The expressions which indicate His emotion are at the outset exceedingly strong, exhibiting after all something sudden and most vehement. The translation "sore amazed and very heavy" might seem in St Mark to refer, one to the body and the other to the soul, while St Matthew's "sorrowful and very heavy," might seem to refer only to the soul. But in the original both speak only of the soul; although its emotions would obviously exhibit themselves in the body also—how otherwise could they have been discerned? *Αντίσθαι* takes the lead as the most general expression, corresponding to the Lord's own word (*My soul is exceeding sorrowful*); but as the Lord had strengthened even that word, so St Matthew adds an intenser expression. St Mark in his vivid and graphic manner places first *ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι* (see his ch. ix. 15, xvi. 5, 6), which might represent amazement as if in the presence of something unexpected, a manifest shuddering and recoil—though not terror or horror in the ordinary sense. The second expression, common to both, leads us deeper into the reality, but requires to be carefully examined. *Ἀδημονεῖν* (Phil. ii. 26) does not mean, "to feel oneself forsaken;"¹

¹ According to Buttanann's false etymology from *δημος* and the privative *a*: "Primarily the feeling of being far from home and country and friends,

but the word is derived through ἀδήμων from ἀδέω—to be weary, exhausted—primarily *tædet me*. Thence it signifies any deep anguish and extremity of soul generally; Suidas explains it by λῆαν λυπούμαι, ἀπορώ; Hesych. by ἀγωνιῶ; Eustath. gives it thus fully: ἀδήμων ὁ ἐξ ἁδου ὃ ἐστι κόρου τινὸς ἢ λύπης ἀναπεπτωκός. ἀδημονεῖν τὸ ἀλύειν καὶ ἀμνησθεῖν. Aquila puts it for נִפְּחַ (Niph. of נִפְחַץ) Job. xviii. 20. Symmachus for נָחַר Eccles. vii. 17, נָחַר Ps. lxi. 3, נָחַר Ps. cxvi. 11. Thus this latter is equivalent to *not knowing where to get help*. But the former, as well in its lower degree λυπεῖσθαι as in the more express ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι, indicates the *positive* reason of this negative abandonment of spirit.¹ As Bengel says, *incursum objecti horribilis*; and Lange, very properly, “the experience of a positive opposing influence, which restrains and oppresses the soul in its living energies, as if it would take away the spiritual breath. The first result of this is grief; the last *anguish*, fearful, amazing, and vehement wrestling of the soul with the evil.” This last, being, notwithstanding its negative character, a positive counter-influence of anguish, is the ἀδημονεῖν. For the rest, we shall soon see in the unfolding of our Lord’s own words, what was the *object of horror* which at this time came upon Him.

He said to them, that is, to the Three—My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death. As He had been accustomed to reveal to the men who were around Him similar emotions of His soul, so now He bears testimony in their presence to the experience of His heart at this crisis. In silence and in secret He had often suffered and wrestled; and he who would picture to himself the Lord’s internal life of prayer as equally tranquil and even with His external life of word and deed, does not estimate rightly the true humanity of the God-man. That which He teaches us concerning being instant in prayer, came assuredly from His own inmost experience. Thus the Lord had been accessible from the beginning to sorrow for sin and death: that which Mark iii. 5 records of His grief over the hardness of their hearts, and Jno. xi. 33-35 of His anguish generally the feeling of being forsaken, spiritlessness”—thus “the experience of a negative opposition.” (Lange.)

¹ *My heart hath failed Me*, Ps. xl. 13.

over the curse of death, are only isolated examples which testify to the deep reserve of His soul's emotions, whence many other such mighty exhibitions proceeded. Nevertheless, all this was but the slight preparation for the fulness and strength of that suffering, of which His word *now* gives evidence. What a most simple testimony is this declaration of His horror and amazement; and yet how profound in His lips, and how sufficient a witness of the inexhaustible depths of His anguish! A thousand times before and since have men uttered this word, expressing it still more strongly in their immoderate, sinful lamentation, or in their insincerity; but how different is this simple word as He utters it in all its fulness and unfathomable meaning!

It has a proverbial character; but it would be simple folly to understand it as used by Him in its common proverbial meaning. There are to be found echoes of this lament in the Scriptures, especially those which refer typically and prophetically to the suffering Messiah; but it appears to us needless and inappropriate on *this* occasion to refer the Lord's immediate and most simple expression of His internal emotion to any one word of Scripture, consciously appropriated.¹ It is more important to understand in their fullest, deepest solemnity of truth, the two things here expressed—the amazement of His *soul*, and that even unto *death*.

Only in John xii. 27 and here, does the Lord say concerning Himself, *My soul*. He thereby avows Himself to be a true human person in the likeness of ourselves, just as He afterwards speaks of His *spirit* and of His *flesh*, according to the scriptural trichotomy of human nature. We therefore are justified in speaking of a soul-conflict and of soul-sufferings at Gethsemane. Assuredly in a certain sense every suffering is soul-suffering, inasmuch as bodily pain affects the soul, and is experienced only through the soul; and, further, the most spiritual anguish passes over to the as-it-were bodily feeling of the soul which mediates between spirit and body, and constitutes the personal consciousness. Nevertheless we rightly distinguish, as to its pre-eminent seat and origin, the *sufferings of the soul*

¹ Thus the Lord's word is not taken from Ps. xviii. 6, cxvi. 3, or from Ps. xlii. 6, 7 (Sept. *ἰνατί περιλυπος εἰ ἡ ψυχὴ μου*), or from Ps. xl. 13.

both from bodily pain and anxiety of spirit; and all which follows shows that such a distinction must here be maintained. In Jno. xii. 27 it was simply ἡ ψυχὴ μου τετάραται (it was this, rather, which might have been taken from Ps. xlii. 7 Sept.)—but here it is more intense περίλυπός ἐστι. This word (in Mark vi. 26 concerning Herod, and Lu. xviii. 23, 24, concerning the rich young man) is not to be rigorously and literally interpreted—*surrounded with difficulty and sorrow* (as in Ps. xviii. 6 נִבְּרַב, περιεκύκλωσάν με)—but, although the signification of this frequent περί intensive starts from the “round about” or “wholly and entirely,” this meaning is not to be pressed, as classical Greek phraseology shows, and the Sept. for נִבְּרַב in Ps. xlii. But this intense expression of *exceeding sorrow* is followed by one yet more intense—even unto death. This is, at the outset, not the same as the נִבְּרַב of human oppression and despondency—*Oh that I might at once die*; though the expression in Jonah iv. 9, σφόδρα λελύπημαι ἐγὼ ἕως θανάτου has been inappropriately compared—but see its explanations in vers. 3, 8. Such a sense is self-evidently unworthy of Jesus; but the analogy of the ordinary phrase, as in Judg. xvi. 16, נִבְּרַב נַפְשִׁי, *his soul was vexed unto death*, comes nearer to the point, as also that of Eccclus. xxxvii. 2—a sorrow bitter as death, grief like the anguish of death. Only that this *bitterness of death* must have, as it regards Jesus, a quite specific sense; and His *agony* (Lu. xxii. 44) must not be understood as in the case of a sinful man.

Luther rightly supplied the meaning of that ἀγωνία as His contention with *death*—for Heb. v. 7 speaks of His being *saved from death*. But how is this to be understood? It has been generally referred to painful anticipation of death, the shrinking of nature from dying; and there is truth in this at the outset, as representing the Lord's feeling when He said—My anguish is as if I was about (now already) to die: This is the most obvious meaning of the ἕως. Death is to every one that lives, through the operation of a law of nature, an object of shuddering and fear: how much more to the pure, mighty, and infinitely susceptible life of Jesus, against whom death came as a strange thing and a perfect contradiction! And, moreover, there was, what we must not forget, the *shame* of His approach-

ing death, as numbered among the transgressors, as also the grief that He was to be given over to death by the hand of sinners (see afterwards Matt. xx. 45). All this must have, humanly speaking, mightily moved Him, *now that it has come near*, notwithstanding that He had long contemplated it in spirit, and had already overcome it all in perfect resignation. For, as Lange says, "there is a great difference between the consummation of victory over extremity in the spirit, and the consummation of the same victory in the *soul's actual endurance of it*." Those who are stoutest-hearted and strongest in the courage of faith often find their heaviest trial just when it comes home as an actual reality. And such experience is by no means inglorious, as arguing any deficiency of strength or courage; it is rather a clearer consciousness of the object and the character of the opposition, and the process of the victory, as the mocker Voltaire said—*C'est la vraie grandeur de l'ame, courir à la mort, en la rebutant*. Or still better Beck: "It is divine heroism, to feel and to see the whole burden and danger, and yet not to shrink from it, or evade it." But all this—the anticipation of death bitter in itself, and thrice bitter to the holy and loving Saviour as a death of shame and unrighteous suffering—is far from satisfactorily explaining the deep emotions of His soul. All *that* might have excited in Him grief, the *λυπέσθαι*, but not the exceeding amazement and anguish of the *ἐκθαμβέσθαι* and *ἀδημονεῖν*; that could not have driven Him to the extreme in which, as His prayer illustrating His word reveals to us, He, recoiling from the cup, asks that it may be removed. While we concede in His case the universal human shrinking from death, we must, on the other hand, expect from His consummate typical human virtue, and much more from His Divine *φρονεῖν τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ*, that He would not encounter death with less courage and power than many sinful men have actually exhibited. But here there is exhibited an anxiety, an amazement, a horror of an altogether peculiar kind (*εὐλάβεια*, Heb. v. 7), for which an altogether deeper reason is to be sought. Fear, again, in the sense of unbelief or the feeling of guilt, can have no place in relation to this Holy One; hence the Apostle takes care not to speak in regard to Him as in regard to us of a *fear of death* (Heb. ii. 15). But still there is

the dismay and anguish; and what is then its specific ground? Assuredly no other than *sin*, the penalty of which is death, the *judgment* upon the sin of men in man's death! If that is the significance and meaning of the atoning death upon Golgotha, it must apply also to the internal commencement of that death in Gethsemane: this alone must be the sting of the "absolute grief of His soul" through experience of sin. The Lord does not say—My soul is sorrowful *on account of My death*, or *in prospect of My dying*, in dismay at encountering it; but He declares Himself by the *εως* to be already translated into the *Θάνατος*. What this involves and includes *as it respects Him*, we must learn from the entire tenor of Scripture.

We quote the words of Kleuker against the rigid juridical theory of wrath and satisfaction: "Away with the thought that Gethsemane was the hell of the Son of God—horrible notion! God measures not with such measure as this." But we cannot go on with him: "It was His deep emotion, that the members of His body, which He had kept pure and undefiled for God, should be put to shame by the hands of an adulterous generation." Our protest against the false satisfaction-theory which pours out wrath and the condemnation of hell upon the Beloved Holy One of God, in virtue of an impossible substitution of persons, must not rob us of the irremovable truth that in another, and much more real, sense, in the only actual and possible sense, the *sin of the world* lay upon the Lamb of God. This holds good of Gethsemane as the beginning of the great *hour* of the Passion, of the soul-sufferings in Gethsemane as the first drops, giving, however, the entire and full taste of the *cup*. The Lord felt the bitterness of death, *He tasted it as the wages of sin*; and this alone is the bitterness of death:—not as His own, but so much the profounder and keener as the sin of the whole world. Thus it was to Him *more bitter* than to any believer; for, as the Lord's pure and perfect bodily life (in which sin had never introduced corruption) would resent bodily death in an immeasurably higher degree than our organism, invaded and marred by sickness, so the same holds good of His holy sinless soul in its experience of the condemnation and judgment of sin. The words of Ebrard may be too intense: "In the deepest internal suffering that we know, in the torment

of conscience, which is a smart for sin, there is mingled a minimum of complacency in sin ;” but those of Lange are true and striking : “ As the death of an unanxious child in the house is related to the death of a man—he being the head of the house—so is the death of Christians related to the death of Christ.” For, the child is without care either through ignorance, or, as in this application to believing Christians, because it is conscious of being well cared for in the bosom of parental love, and has no anxiety ; but Christ, as the Father of the house, who had to take the place of entire humanity, which He carried in His bosom for its regeneration, contended in anguish for that peaceful victory which we enjoy. In this He did not and could not by any means feel what the woe is of him who is condemned for his own guilt ; but more keenly than any damned soul in hell did He in His purity feel the righteousness and the judgment of God. His horror in the presence of death was a pure and absolute horror in the presence of *sin* ; and this, finally, was at the same time no other than the purest, deepest awe and reverence before God, the righteous Judge and Father ; hence in Heb. v. 7, the religious *εὐλάβεια*, the same which occurs again in ch. xii. 28.¹ Thus alone, but thus truly He takes the place of us evil-doers, in an equality of condemnation ; in His voluntary love submitting to be reckoned among the transgressors by a death of shame in the Father’s presence. This was so overpoweringly hard to Him, that He recoils with fear through the weakness of the flesh. In this mysterious fellowship with us, and interposition for us, there remains something *judicial* ; hence in Isa. liii. 8, *distress* and *judgment* come together, where, despite the being delivered by God (חַסֵּד), the same God, according to ver. 10, imposed upon Him this חַסֵּד, even as, according to Heb. ii. 9, Christ, *by the grace of God*, tasted death for all. Justice in mercy requires, since not otherwise was it *possible* to redeem mankind, that the Mediator

¹ Luther’s translation, *darum dass er Gott in Ehren hatte*—therefore because He had God in reverence, is absolutely incorrect in the *Darum*, and relatively incorrect in erecting a subordinate into the principal idea. The passage is untranslatable ; inasmuch as it declares that Christ, in this His horror and amazement at death and sin, offered to the righteous God the deepest reverential fear, intensified into the *εὐλάβεια* of our fear.

should enter into this judgment; *grace*, with and before the judgment which here is exhibited, *heareth* the supplication of the humbled Son, and *strengtheneth* Him to endure.

He was troubled *even unto* death. Not only, that is, would an ordinary man have succumbed and died in such anguish, but He Himself, according to His humanity, must have, before the time, become the victim of death had He not been strengthened from above. This is the deep significance and necessity of the *angel's* appearance, as in St Luke. In receiving this grace the Lord, on the one hand, humbles Himself, as we have already said, to be partaker of the right of appeal which every petitioner has to the help of God; but, on the other hand, He receives in His own person for us all the highest and most decisive of all ministrations of help from above. In the wilderness the angels ministered to Him only after the first and lighter victory; but here the messengers of heaven appear in the very midst of the conflict. And why? That He might be enabled to wrestle and to pray *ἐκτενέστερον*—*the more earnestly!* But how and by what means did the angel strengthen Him? Was it by holding out to Him the prize, or by a "message and assurance from the Father at this point concerning the necessity of His Son's sufferings and His own complacency in them," the Lord being at this juncture in darkness? This may or may not be; but the main thing which St Luke intimates by *strengthening Him* (comp. Acts ix. 19), was a miraculous accession of strength in body and soul, or rather a summoning up of this strength from its concealed and oppressed spiritual ground, by the heavenly manifestation. For this appearance of itself, without word or message, would at such a crisis have this influence. "A ministration like that after the temptation which served to invigorate His sinking bodily energies. All the previous and subsequent ministrations of angels chiefly referred to the condition of His *body*." So Hess, and again very excellently: "This strengthening had reference to the physical part of this deadly conflict—it was an augmentation of power." We cannot understand Pfenniger's "*words* of consolation and power" which the languishing soul of Jesus eagerly received from the angel's mouth!

Before this heavenly strengthening (between the first and

the second prayer) came, the Lord felt His weakness and need of help so sorely, that He not only sought His consolation in announcing beforehand His coming agony, in the pouring out of His heart to the three disciples, but, moreover—like a brother, weak and supplicating help!—seeks to take refuge in the sympathising neighbourhood of the men whom He loves, and by whom He is beloved. This lies in the added clause—*Tarry ye here and watch with Me!* The repeated *μελῶτε ὧδε* is in contrast with the previous *καθίστατε ὧδε*—But remain ye here, near to Myself, leave Me not! Your presence is a stay to Me in My tribulation! But, because He feels in His own soul what power of darkness, obscuring and oppressing, is breaking in upon the scene, and will on His account invade His disciples also, He adds the strong exhortation to them to *abide watching*. This *watch* rests at first of course upon its physical meaning; for the disciples sank into bodily sleep; but the bodily waking or sleeping was only the outward expression and *figure of the* wakefulness or sleep of the soul. The watchfulness here first required already includes the praying which He afterwards added; but it very properly stands alone at the first as the fundamental word of that exhortation to His present and future disciples which springs from this conflict of their Master.

Watch with Me—thus we have it fully in St Matthew. They had all, like Peter, promised to die with Him! As here the Three are brought forward into symbolical prominence, so there are times ever recurring when some elect spirits are called before others to watch with the Lord in His conflicts in His Church. That, however, does not affect its universal meaning for us all; His meek request—*with Me*—becomes a most mighty exhortation and a most precious promise—*See then how I watch, and thus abide with Me!*¹ He does, indeed, mean, as we have said, to include their praying; but here, where the emphasis falls upon “with Me,” He cannot add that word, for He could not be supposed to say—*Watch and pray with Me!* There could be no strict fellowship and equality between Him and sinful men in relation to His prayer generally, and especially in regard to this prayer of Gethsemane. “He had never

¹ H. Lössel: “To watch with Him is watching indeed.”

prayed with His disciples, nor could He; He challenges them not to pray with Him in His sharp conflict in Gethsemane, but only to watch with Him." Least of all could He summon them to share His amazement and horror! That is never matter of requirement or exhortation; so far as it is demanded by our communion with His sufferings, it comes of itself at the appointed time; but only so that His mediatorial redeeming pre-eminence remains alone and without parallel.

Tarry here—in My neighbourhood, indeed, but at the same time as it had been said before to the others—*Follow Me no further!* For, His prayer, to which He now has recourse in the extremity of His soul, needs separation even from the Three, and perfect solitude with God. Hence the προσελθὼν (another reading in Matt. προσελθὼν) μικρόν—the same which St Luke records in ἀπεσπάρθη ἀπ' αὐτῶν. For although he does not specify the selection of the Three, his narrative being more concise, he cannot mean by this ἀποσπασθῆναι—*being withdrawn from them*—the same as that first ἀπελθεῖν of Matt. xxvi. 36, which took place in perfect tranquillity. The former word does, indeed, occur as a Greek phrase in the enfeebled meaning of a mere *going away or departing*; but its connection here gives it the emphasis of a violent and vehement *rending Himself away*: compare the impetuous ἀποσπασθέντας of Acts xxi. 1, on which Grotius says, *as if torn away by force*.¹ It is here, therefore, opposed to the *with Me* which clung to them before; and now we perceive that fluctuation of anguish which the Berlemb. Bible assumed too soon: He had just asked them to tarry and watch with Him—He must then immediately tear Himself from them to pray. The removal *a stone's cast* appears to be more exact than the *little* of the others; but both are perfectly accordant, since St Luke's proverbial expression means only as far as a stone goes when thrown without any force or design. For, it is plain in the whole narrative that the disciples heard His words; and even saw His knees bent, and His bloody sweat.²

¹ Schöttgen: They are said ἀποσπασταί or ἀποσπασθῆναι, who are hardly withdrawn from the embraces of their friends. But he incorrectly asserts that in Luke xxii. 41 it must be taken according to a common usage, simply for χωρισθῆναι, to be separated.

² I asked in the first edition, And why not that they saw the angel?

This was a very different prayer from that which St John records as having gone before! But it proceeded from the same spirit, from the same Son of God and Redeemer of men. The glorification already begins in the Passion, as we have been prepared to find it since He first began to speak of the coming hour. His power over all flesh manifests itself first as the power of His contending and victorious spirit over His own flesh, by means of which He belongs to us.

The Incarnate Son, who had already prayed Himself up to the Father and into Heaven, now first truly experiences that He is still in the world, that its prince is coming against Him, and that the righteous Father had appointed to the Son that He should sanctify and offer Himself for His own. With what other incense could the great offering be presented, than *such a* prayer? If it had not been recorded, our own profounder understanding of the person and work of Christ must have led us to assume such an internal conflict in the sanctuary of His soul. But it is revealed to us; and we have only to read and mark it, that we may follow our Forerunner.

"*He prayed*"—thus is it twice in St Mark and St Luke, and thrice in St Matthew, preceded too by *while I pray*, and with *pray ye also* intervening. "This word is so often repeated in the history that it might seem as if the Evangelists had concerted it that no man should fail to be impressed with this prayer of our Lord." (Rambach.) It is very natural that these words of awful prayer should not have been literally heard or retained in their exact form by the affrighted, sleep-oppressed disciples, themselves sorely harassed. Yet, the Spirit has given to us in their divine records the three principal elements in it, with perfect unanimity: the preliminary and confident *appeal* to the Father; the urgent *supplication* of the first recoil; the instant and entire *resignation* to the Father's will, which closed all.

St Luke has merely *Father*; St Matthew, *My Father*; St

Hofmann (Schriftbeweis i. 343) appears to me, however, to go too far: The fact could not have been recorded, unless the disciples had witnessed it. The *appeared* indicates a plain manifestation, but the *to Him* seems to exclude the disciples. How then did St Luke know it? May it not be that this among other things was told to the disciples during the Forty Days?

Mark preserves (as his wont is) the very language of Jesus *Abba*, with *Father* then added. Not that he thereby, as Grotius thinks, indicates a redoubled cry as a testimony of deep passion; and certainly not, as the Berlenberg Bible inappropriately says, because He appealed to God as a Father in His twofold nature! No, he does not give either the *Abba* or the *Father* as repeated; but only interprets for the reader the filial voice, which still urged its claim. In this present obscured humiliation, with which the Passion commenced, there is still "a ray of filial confidence," otherwise than at Golgotha, in the noontide darkness, when the consciousness of Christ passes entirely, through the *My God* of the Psalm, into the level of unity with mankind. But here the Son approaches still the Father, though in deep prostration: when He takes the edge of the cup to His lips, this first taste of bitterness throws Him upon His *knees*, as St Luke reports the commencement—upon His *face*, as St Matthew proceeds—upon the *earth*, as St Mark most impressively closes. "The only Son of the eternal Father is now found in the dust—the supreme Good is weighed down with our weak flesh and blood!" Yet in His profound weakness there is still the clear consciousness—*My Father!* He who lies as a worm upon the earth, nevertheless appeals to the Almighty as a Son! Thus, let it be observed, there is here no *fear* of a punitive justice as in our stead, nothing of this Father's *wrath* against the person of His beloved Son.¹ We wonder at Beck's lapse into the old error of an unsound theology, when he says: "When that is taken away from a man which is the sole dependence of his heart, that in which he lives and moves, his heart and spirit is broken. The soul-conflict of Christ in Gethsemane could have no other ground than this, that here that was taken from Him which was the treasure of His heart, that in which His whole heart rested,

¹ This protest does not contradict what was said before of the mysterious mediatorial fellowship with us in the condemnation of God. There is exhibited even here in the depth of the mystery, the rigorous distinction according to which the Mediator sorrows for, feels, bears, and even appropriates the sin of the world, but still as the sin of the world, for its *salvation*. There is indeed judgment here and punishment; but not as only punitive, not as wrath which rests upon the Son personally, who can still say "*Father.*" We must once more say, The vial of wrath in Rev. xiv. 10 is very different from the cup of Gethsemane!

that wherein He lived and moved—the *love of His Father, unity with Him*—the feeling that the Father's complacency was in Him, and that He was in the complacency of His Father. This was to Christ as indispensable as His breath." How can that vital breath be regarded as taken from Him, when at the beginning it vehemently cries *My Father!* and still more victoriously cries at the end in submission *As Thou wilt!* Verily, in this "Abba" the Father's complacency is retained and not lost; in this "Not as I will," unity with the Father is preserved absolutely inviolate.¹ We see *here* at least that the full feeling of what sin is in all its consequences before God—*this* assuredly was Christ's experience—consists strictly with the consciousness, But I am, and I remain *Thy Son*. And then, through the communication and implanting of His Spirit, we also may adopt the same cry of *Abba Father* in the midst of the sorrow and condemnation of our sin: hence we regard the apostolical sayings, Rom. viii. 15, and Gal. iv. 6, as having direct reference to the personal example of Christ, and probably even to the scene of Gethsemane.

To the *Father* He might freely put His *request*, even though with strong *crying*—not merely with *desire and confidence*, but in the profoundest urgency of need. But, because the Almighty Creator is the Father of Christ, His faith places first the appeal to the *almightiness* of this Father, that it may be the foundation and the sole restriction of His request. We must now, in considering the whole, invert the order; and hear first what the request is, in order that we may then understand in what sense He makes His appeal to God's omnipotence, as able or not to grant the request. Thus the Son of the Almighty, come into the world in order to suffer and die for mankind, *asks* the Father now, when the crisis is coming, out of the dust—for *what?* That this cup may pass away from Him, may be taken away, that He may not drink it! So wonderful is this when we hear it first that we may well ask in doubt—What can *here* be the meaning of this *cup*? St Mark gives us, before he introduces

¹ "The *blessedness* of His life in unity with the Father was absorbed through His anguish for sin" (as Ebrard more cautiously says), but not the unity itself; its *feeling* was invaded, but its *consciousness* was far from being obscured, rather was it brightened.

that word of Christ, the first tone of which is so incomprehensible to many, an introductory explanation—mentioning the *hour*, and moreover that the request was urged *only if it were possible*. That explanation is certainly most important and decisive; but it must not be interpreted in any such way as to separate the present hour of anguish from the coming suffering of death, and oppose the one to the other.

Does then the Lord here shrink from suffering and dying for the world? Would He, at this crisis, be delivered, if it were possible, from the sacrifice of death, *or* does He pray only for the taking away of the present overpowering burden of His soul's anguish? Thus must the question stand at first, until its right answer corrects the question itself, and makes it intelligible. The predominant opinion among practical orthodox expositors may be seen by the following quotations: "It was not, most assuredly, a supplication for the turning away of that which had been long predicted, and which He had always known to be essential to His one vocation; but it was a prayer, urged by deep distress for the taking away of that which *just now* pressed so heavily upon Him." Or again, more plainly still: "*I will willingly suffer*, if only I may be delivered out of this anguish, and this suffering be shortened!" Again: "Thus He does not, properly speaking, ask it of the Father that He might be saved from His Passion as a whole; but He only supplicates for an alleviation and shortening of His internal anguish in the present *hour*, of that terror and fear which He felt, and which might have been an offence to the disciples, who understood not the mystery." In support of this, they appeal to all the previous definite predictions of our Lord, and to the impossibility, which He therefore knew, that His Passion should pass away from Him; and further to the fact that it must, according to Heb. v. 7, have been a supplication that might be *heard*, and therefore that this cup must be no other than "the present feelings of anguish which the wrath of God excited," or whatever else may be substituted. Hess carries all this to its climax when he says: "The Lord prays for the removal of this anguish, even in order that *He might be able to suffer*. As the physical element in this feeling took such form as He could not struggle against, and would if it continued render it impossible that He

should sustain the remainder of His Passion with the composure and dignity which were required of Him. For supposing Him to be thus full of anguish before Caiaphas and Pilate, would He not have assumed the appearance of one consciously guilty, or, in a sense inconsistent with His character and work, fearful of death?"

But such a view of the matter is altogether wrong, whether put in this most rigorous form, according to which the prayer would mean, "Father, give Me back only the strength and dignity necessary for the drinking of that cup which it is My will to drink," or in any other application of it whatever. For the Lord had Himself just declared His *sorrow* to be the beginning and the fearful approach of *death*; and He had spontaneously given that offence to His disciples by exhibiting His anguish. But what now, to be more definite, is the meaning of the *hour* and the *cup*? We have already seen that by "the hour," Jno. xii. 27, nothing else is to be understood but what the Evangelists, like the Lord, from the beginning call by that name—*His entire suffering of death*. And here in Gethsemane the Lord Himself testifies in His word of invigoration after the anguish (Matt. ver. 45, Mark ver. 41—thus in the same Mark who previously explained *the hour*), that the hour had *not* passed away, but drew near still, and was come. Further, in Jno. xviii. 11, He describes His passion as the *cup* which He is to drink of; consequently His prayer means the same cup of the suffering of death which now is at hand after He has appointed to His disciples its fruit and benefit through the institution of another cup. Finally, as it respects the decisive parallel, Matt. xx. 22, in which He similarly spoke of the cup, we must appeal to what was said there in exposition; only adding Bengel's note: "When baptism is mentioned with the cup, the cup is the internal passion, baptism the external."¹ *When the cup alone is mentioned*, the universal passion is to be understood; but so that under the internal is also included the external passion." That which God offers to men to taste in suffering, is called a cup in the ancient Scriptures; that which the Father presents

¹ Which however, as we have shown upon St Matthew, must be more deeply understood and fundamentally distinguished, than might seem to be the meaning here.

to the Son to suffer is the cup, concerning which Christ speaks here as elsewhere. And this suffering is an indivisible unity, so prepared, *mingled*, and *presented* in the cup by the Father, that it must be drunk and altogether drunk by the Son.

Certain it is, that the question is here of *drinking it altogether and all*. But—and we now recognise the truth in the error which has been mentioned—this recoil, which revokes while it expresses its own utterance, refers, in its declining to drink the cup, to the *present experience of its first drops*. And having tasted—*He would not drink*. In “*this cup*”—τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο (which τοῦτο St Mark still more emphatically isolates), so much is condensed, that in the present anguish of His commencing passion and death, the entire cup is, as it were, presented to the Lord. Is it then such suffering, Must all this come upon Me? Father spare Me! would My soul fain cry. Thus the distinction in the former question—*either* the suffering of death itself, *or* the present *hour*—was baseless, for the latter retains with the former its distinctive force and meaning. It is the will of the Son to be saved by the omnipotence of the Father from *death* (to *Him* that was *able* to save Him from *death*—is the word of the Apostle):—This is marvellous, but natural for Him who is the Life, the *Son* of the Almighty! But, according to the feeling of His soul, which urges Him to this strong crying and supplication, He beholds and experiences death now only in *this* horror of death which falls upon Him. When the Father strengthens Him, and takes away this anguish, His request is assuredly *heard* and answered (εἰσακουσθεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας); but He is equally heard in that the Father accepts and fulfils His cry of resignation—“*As Thou wilt.*” As a present oppressive burden the time of suffering generally is called the *hour*, and so is it now in specific reference to *this* particular present.¹ Hence the language of the request, to which St Mark’s explanatory phrase points, παρελθῆτω, ἵνα παρελθῇ (which must mean no other than *pass by* or *pass over*,

¹ Else we may say generally: The Passion is called His *hour*, first as one definite and measured suffering; secondly, as the final and most decisive suffering (*passio extrema* as distinguished from the *passio inchoata*) of His whole life; thirdly, as *transitory*, though while it lasts, an *oppressive present*.

notwithstanding the *from Me* connected with it; for St Mark joins it with the *hour*)—*παρένευγε, παρενευσεν* in the same meaning. The *cup* must be drunk, *internally* tasted in voluntary acceptance of it—that now takes place, and this accepting obedience is consummated in the struggling, lamenting prayer which urges the conditional petition in the prerogative of a Son. As in this *prayer* the whole Passion appears as it were condensed in the present anguish (*sub internâ passione connotatur externa*), so afterwards in Jno. xviii. 11 the word of victorious resignation embraces in the drinking of the cup the beginnings even of the *external passion*.

If we have thus far apprehended with any clearness the meaning of our Lord's petition, it will be still further cleared from all objection by going back again and observing that it is offered only *under a becoming condition*. According to St Matthew, the Lord, before He laid the *let it pass from Me* upon the Father's heart, had said—*If it be possible*. St Mark begins with the same expression, and in the prayer itself makes the Lord's word still stronger—*All things are possible with Thee*. We will not distract our understanding of the words by the gratuitous question, How and with what precise words did the Lord speak? No single word literally pressed would suffice for the profound, immeasurably *concentrated* meaning of this petition; the Holy Spirit therefore teaches us by St Mark to unite and spiritually to understand a double formula. If, on the one hand, *all things are possible unto Thee*, as an urgent appeal to the Father's omnipotence, only makes the petition the more intense—*Almighty Father, is not then this possible to Thee?* yet, on the other hand, this urgency carries with it its own humble *limitation*, as St Mark has already given it—*If it be possible to Thee!* Again, this *if* itself is an urgent appeal, and has for its undertone—And before Thee all things are possible. Whether the Lord said the one or the other,¹ in either case both are implied. St Luke's words are certainly not intended to be verbally exact—*If Thou be willing to remove*. That might be, as Grotius says, O that Thou wouldst!

¹ Scarcely both in succession: such an unfolding of the thought would be contrary to the vehemence of the condensed petition, as it is well preserved by the Evangelists.

But this would introduce an element of fearful desire, almost unworthy of Christ, into the confident petition of the Son to the Father ; it would further interfere with St Luke's perfect accordance with the other Evangelists, which depends upon the like signification of the *if* in them all ; and it would remove from his record one of its three main points, the conditional strengthening of the prayer or its strengthening condition. We cannot, therefore, agree with this *utinam—oh that*—and the reading *παρένεγκε* shows, at least as a gloss,¹ the true explanation. That is, it is either the Infinitive for the Imperative, as Bengel's Gnomon at first preferred, and as Luther translates—*If Thou be willing, remove* ; or, as we prefer, there is an *aposiopesis* of the verb *παρένεγκε*, by which St Luke would express the “meek submission of Jesus toward His Father.” So Bengel in his Germ. trans. : *If Thou wilt remove this cup from Me* (the conclusion is withheld) ; and similarly de Wette marks the *aposiopesis* by a line. But what is it that we learn from St Luke's words thus taken ? That most important truth, which first solves the whole, and which the Holy Ghost teaches as the truth, though it seems to differ from the rest, viz., that the Lord's *if it be possible* really meant *if Thou wilt*, and spoke of the Father's almightiness only under this modification. Christ's not suffering was indeed *absolutely possible*, if He had not voluntarily laid down His life (Jno. x. 18), but had called in the legions of angels ; *but*—as He then said Himself—how would then the counsel of God have been fulfilled ? Thus that possibility alone was intended which was *relative*, and within the scope of this counsel. This variation of the word is its interpretation : the Lord speaks of no other possibility to God than is consistent with His will and decree—*But let all be, if, and as, Thou wilt*, which the subsequent clause fully brings out. Thus this following word of entire resignation was already included in the first utterance of the petition ; and the *πλὴν* or *ἀλλὰ*—*but*—contains no direct antithesis. If it be possible *in Thy will*, let this cup pass away ; for My will is not other than Thine, even though I will otherwise than what now befalls Me ! Grotius says very correctly : If Thy counsels admit that in any

¹ For the more difficult Infinitive is certainly genuine.

other way Thy glory and man's salvation may be consulted and attained. Thus the Lord's thought, in these words of shrinking, does not border on the idea that humanity was not to be redeemed; this great decree, this *will* of the Father and of the Son alike, is rather *presupposed* in *If it be possible, if Thou wilt*. The petition *asks* only with urgency—Is the accomplishment of Thy counsel, O Father, is the redemption of mankind not otherwise possible than by My thus suffering, My drinking this cup? Such a question and such a petition were possible to Christ through the hard *conflict*, under the pressure and in the midst of the darkness of which His otherwise clear insight into God's counsel, into the *thus it must be* (Matt. xxvi. 54), was for the moment obscured. Braune is right, that in the "Father, is it possible," there is the expression of *wavering*, more awfully strange than in His previous dismay; but however strange it is, it is perfectly intelligible through the oppression of our Lord's humanity under the dread weight of His present *suffering*, which He must endure, that He may learn, approve, and consummate His *obedience*.

And He was and continued obedient. It was not otherwise possible to redeem the world than through the sufferings of the Son of God in human nature—*This* testifies Gethsemane! The Son had no other will, in the unity of the Father, even here where His human *I* opposes itself in order perfectly to submit—*This* is testified by the closing clause of His prayer. Here again we have a threefold phraseology which retains, while it varies the expression, the same fullness of meaning in all. St Luke gives the most general, and for us all prototypical, form of it in the abstract, the accomplishment of the *will*; and thereby anticipates the repetition of the prayer which passed into that expression (Matt. ver. 42). St Matthew and St Mark preserve the original aposiopesis of the *γὰρ ὅτι*, and place the *I* and *Thou* in living and concrete opposition; the former adding the *as*, and the latter the *what*, both including comprehensively every appointed speciality in the decreed and inevitable suffering.

As or what I will—most profoundly significant words in this place, which must not be qualified away! The Lord does not say merely—As *My flesh* will; for that, strictly regarded, would be saying too much, and would assume even in Him such

a *dividing* antagonism of the contradicting flesh as could not exist in the harmony of His sinless human personality. But, although the *velle non pati*, or *non velle pati* proceeds from the weakness of the flesh, yet this θέλω or θέλημα is mediated by the *soul*, which unites flesh and spirit in the personality, in the entire ἐγώ. Hence Lange says truly, "the exclusion of Monophysite and Monothelite heresy from the doctrine of the Church, finds here its firmest foundation." Two wills declare themselves here in Christ: the one full will of the particular human I; but at the same time another, distinguished from the former as its contrast, and yet one with it in the unity of the one praying person, which says—*As Thou wilt*; that is, *let it be*; that is, *I will*. Although this last *I will* obtains and preserves the victory, the first is not on that account to be reduced, with Grotius, to the level of a mere θέλωμι—I *might wish*¹—for see the same full opposition of a continually renounced will as the universal law of Christ's life in Jno. vi. 38; and compare the law for His followers in Jno. xxi. 18. That may be termed, on the one hand, a merely negative passive will, a not-willing of the flesh, of nature, which the spirit must endure; yet there is, on the other hand, so much of positiveness in it as to make it an opposition to be overcome, a contradiction to be resisted. It is not the individual personal will, which every personal creature (and therefore the true humanity of the second Adam) has and must have, which is sinful; but the power of that individual will in act, then first man's *own* will, against the will of God. The natural tendency to shrink from suffering, and specifically the horror which life has of death, is in itself sinless and innocent; and must have existed in Christ, in order that He might truly suffer and die:—only in us is "the touch of original sin connected therewith." Suffering and dying is "a strange work, and one for which human nature in the beginning was not created;" therefore it was all the more abhorrent to the pure humanity of Christ. "Death was to Christ a total contradiction of nature, so that His sanctified soul must have experienced the deepest woe in the taste of death; it must have been all the

¹ Or, with Lange (iii. 510) distinguish artificially θέλωμι from θέλησις (which occurs in the N. T. only, Heb. ii. 4), as the natural willing! For is not the same θέλημα used of the Father's eternal counsel?

more fearfully such, because His conscious spirit penetrated the mysterious affinity and *connection between death and the wrath of God*¹ and the power of darkness; moreover, because of the dominion of wickedness and hatred to which His soul must now offer an extreme submission in His death.—It is the sacred spiritual energy and power of His own holy human nature which is roused up² in opposition to the appropriation of the curse and death of sin as His own, resisting as it were the surrender of His own flesh to this dark power of nature.—Thus He had to reconcile the two things, His great vocation to lay down His life as a Saviour, and His horror of death.”³ Thus the flesh, or more strictly, the *I* in the flesh, so far as that had become flesh or man, wills otherwise than the Father, wills not—negatively—to drink the cup; but *at once and at the same time* His spirit (the creaturely human spirit), in unity with the eternal Spirit, with God as His Father, takes that cup; the *I will* is uttered only as preceded by *not as, not what*, and thus is denied and renounced. Thus He sanctifies and offers *Himself* in an entire self-surrender to God on man’s behalf, such a resignation as was not disturbed but rather glorified by that dreadful conflict;—and the issue is—*As Thou wilt!* “For our heart is as a vessel full of water, at the bottom of which there lies mud and uncleanness, which rises to the top when the vessel is *stirred*. Thus, the impurity of our original sin clinging to us, it needs only some slight agitation or temptation, and all that we do is rendered impure. But the soul of Christ, which knew no sin, is as a crystal vase of purest water. No agitation, temptation, or disturbance can make it impure, or in the slightest degree trouble it” (Rambach). That is to say—The *counsel* of God may become obscured to Him to such an extent as to allow the question whether He must thus awfully suffer, but this only brings out from the spiritual ground of the disturbed soul its unshaken unity with the *will* of God. Again, as the subsequent word teaches us, not the less was the whole

¹ We might venture to say: Christ tasted the wrath of God as *death*, under the form and experience alone possible to Him of death; the unreconciled sinner, on the contrary, tastes of *death as the wrath of God*.

² That is, appears as weakness in relation to this.

³ Beck, *Lehrwissenschaft*, S. 514.

power of the spirit, wrestling in watchfulness and prayer, necessary for this great victory, for the firm fidelity of the spirit under the assault of the weak flesh. For, voluntary suffering demands more energy of the ἡγεμονικόν—the ruling spirit—than acting, as contradistinguished from it; patient resignation is itself the strongest *action* of the spirit.

This first *word of prayer*, which we have now slightly considered, is followed by a *word of instruction*, which is added in order to be the ground and confirmation of our apprehension of the former. In all essentials St Matthew, vers. 40, 41, agrees with St Mark, vers. 37, 38, and literally as it respects the fundamental word; but St Luke has only the abbreviated foundation for the saying as repeated in quite another position, vers. 40 and 46. If his account is chronologically exact, the Lord must have said these words twice, at the beginning and at the end of the whole transaction; moreover, as the others give it in its certain connection, a third time between His prayers. This might have been the case, but it is scarcely probable; since the plain motive cause of the saying appears in the connection which they give, and the words which begin and end the transaction in St Matthew and St Mark are quite different. We may therefore set this to the account of St Luke's less immediate record; but a spiritual insight will justify his statement, inasmuch as in ver. 36 and vers. 45, 46 of St Matthew, the same *pray ye* appears as the groundtone of the whole.

We have now *first* the specific reproof of the disciples, Peter especially, for their sleeping at this time;—*then* a general word of instruction for all the future of all His disciples, the Lord's exhortation to all His own given at Gethsemane in word and act. This resolves itself to our consideration into three parts: the matter, the design, and the reason of the exhortation. Or, *what* we should do (watch and pray); *to what end* we should do this (that we enter not into temptation); and *wherefore* so (because the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak).

According to St Matthew, the Lord (as Lu. xxii. 31) turned to *Peter*, but spoke in the plural for all; according to St Mark (which seems the more exact), He addressed in the singular *Simon*, not *Peter* now. He returned, after the first prayer, to His disciples; partly to see how it was with them, and partly to

strengthen Himself in the interval by their presence. He *cannot* and *will not* be entirely sundered from them, and continue thus separate in prayer:—this interchange of praying and returning, as we said above, shows us both the necessity of His weakness, and withal the zeal of His love. For when He finds them *sleeping*, with what was indeed deep sorrow, He does not omit to utter, from the depth of His own need, a stimulating word of exhortation; so that, as Rieger says, “the labour of His soul in the obtaining of our salvation never forgets the solicitude for the appropriation of it to the hearts of His own.” —*Could ye not watch with Me one hour?*¹ Many whole nights they had toiled with their nets; but in this night of temptation they are stupified and smitten down by an invisible power—even Simon, who made such lofty pretensions, and John, who so profoundly loved! The *οὕτως* in Matt., as the humbling reference to their sleep, corresponds in its meaning to the *sleepiest thou?* of St Mark: it is to be translated, with Erasmus, by *adeo*, as in Mark vii. 18, Gal. iii. 3. Are ye *so very*, to such a degree, sleepy, so impotent in body and soul for that “watching” which I asked of you? Physical is here only the expression and figure of internal sleep; hence He connects with it at once, by such a transition, His mighty WATCH AND PRAY!

This He says assuredly first for the immediate present, with reference to the temptation which was coming upon these disciples; but this word of instruction reaches out to all the future of His Church, represented to His eyes by these disciples. It is remarkable that we understand it naturally enough and without any explanation, when we are spoken to about “watching” in other than a bodily sense; we thereby acknowledge the sleepfulness and the slumbering of our souls. What this essentially is, and on what principles it proceeds, are questions which belong to the most difficult investigations of psychology, or rather of the nosology of the natural man. For, as in the physical domain, so also in the internal, *sleep* is connected with the *weakness* of

¹ We very much doubt whether, as many think, an actual and full hour had transpired in Gethsemane. It is rather a general expression for the present period of His trial; and so far an involuntary prophetic utterance of the presentiment of His hope, that this would be no more than a *transitory* hour.

the flesh: this is evident in us all, though not alone and not necessarily, as the example of Christ shows. But to proceed with this is not the province of exegesis, which has here to do only with the signification of the expression in its general application. It may be remarked that in the entire Old Testament we have but few references to "watching" in the sense here intended by Christ.¹ The watching and keeping of Ezra viii. 29 (שָׁרָה), the wakeful, watchman-like observation of other persons and things, which is often alluded to (and anthropomorphically of the Lord Himself, Jer. i. 12, xxxi. 28), as, *e.g.*, in the case of the watchmen appointed by God, is essentially very different in its idea from absolute "watchfulness and sobriety" in the sense of recollectedness, readiness of spirit, self-conscious and self-ruling determination of mind toward the good and the right.² It is only in a few passages, such as Ps. lxiii. 2, lxxvii. 5, Isa. xxvi. 9, and particularly the significant Cant. v. 2, that the Old-Testament phraseology seems to border upon the New-Testament injunction of *νήφειν καὶ γρηγορεῖν*, be sober and vigilant, 1 Pet. v. 8 (i. 13), 1 Thess. v. 6.

Watching and praying are here set before us as twofold; but they are essentially one, and inseparably united. To watch is first of all not the same as to wake (Eph. v. 14 comp. ἐκνήφειν, 1 Cor. xv. 34), and is required only from him whose being awake is already presupposed. When our eyes are opened (Acts xxvi. 18), then it imports us, and then most solemnly, to keep them open. But the inability of man in himself for such continued watchfulness is exhibited in the disciples as types; hence the Lord's universal word, with the reason of it first given,—*Could ye not? We cannot watch*, however much the injunction may be pressed upon us—*Watch ye!* Therefore the essential and inseparable—*Pray!* Again, he who shall pray, and thus lift up his soul to God, must assuredly be already awake. Thus for what do ye watch? That we may be able to pray! (*Be ye sober and watch unto prayer*, 1 Pet. iv. 7.) For

¹ As He had paved the way for His words in Gethsemane by the parables of the householder, his servants, the virgins, etc., see particularly Mark xiii. 37.

² Hence in Isa. xxix. 20, comp. Micah ii. 1, the watching unto iniquity can be ironically spoken of.

what, and wherefore are we to pray? That we may continue watchful through help from above! Hence in Eph. vi. 18, *watching* and *praying* are blended and interchangeable, *εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο* and *ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ*. Prayer without watchfulness—what is that but self-deception and a vain thing, improperly so called? An imaginary watchfulness without prayer—what is that but a delusion and a dream? Thus we may say—Prayer to God is itself the true and perfect wakefulness of man in the spirit. (I wake *unto Thee*, Ps. lxiii. 2, with my *spirit* within me, Isa. xxvi. 9.) Only when the spirit—to anticipate the following word—watches in and unto God, that is, prays, will the flesh inclined to sleep remain wakeful. The two are in their reciprocation one; for the commencing watchfulness, which must be presupposed, sees the danger and remembers the weakness, and the prayer which follows brings down help and power for watching, then become perfect. But we may further say—*Gethsemane* provokes and awakes the soul, but *Golgotha* first gives confidence and power to pray in the name of Him who hath obtained for us the filial cry of *Abba, Father*. *Gethsemane* coming before has for its fundamental word the exhortation *Watch!* for it shows us how needful it is in the heavy conflict of the Lord Himself. This thought prepares the way for the right understanding of what is afterwards said concerning the flesh and the spirit.

It is however introduced through the medium of the transitional clause—*that ye enter not into temptation!* (This saying is singled out by St Luke, and impressively placed at the beginning and the end of the whole scene of Christ's present trial—its superscription and postscript at once.) Thus *this* is primarily the important matter, this is the *first* object and reason of the necessary watching and praying—Temptation is near, and will draw us into itself. And when the *weakness* of the flesh is afterwards spoken of, we are to understand—It is too weak (*ὀκλύει*) to stand in the temptation. Indeed, the *temptation* which assails us is something different from and more than the *weakness* which it, alas, finds in us. But what is the temptation of which the Lord *here* speaks, and why does He thus speak of it here? He Himself was assuredly at the time in heavy temptation; consequently, this word spoken to the disciples out of His own

present experience and condition gives us a new *explanation* concerning the trouble and anxiety of His soul. The *hour* which came upon the Lord was from this time forward specifically the time of the assault of the *power of darkness* (Lu. xxii. 53), of the *prince of this world* (Jno. xiv. 30). The temptation came not to Him *from* the flesh, as it comes to us in whom the tempter has something already; but it assaulted Him *in* the flesh, which He had in common with us even in its weakness. Yea, it fell upon Him as the Champion, with whom Satan now decisively contended for the world, all the more vehemently; not only as human temptation, but according to the righteousness of God, as the temptation of the God-man. The tempter who was permitted thus to come to Christ, and desires us all, is the enemy against whom we have in watchfulness and prayer to stand on our guard;—and what is the evil and hurt from him which we have to fear? Not temptation in itself, for that came upon Christ, and being overcome issued in the salvation of the world; we must all enter the sieve, as we have already heard. Thus the emphasis must not be laid upon *temptation* in the interpretation of *that ye may not*, as if we were to pray for the removal of temptation, or our exemption from it; but upon the *entering into*, which all the Evangelists have remarkably retained, and St Luke has strongly emphasized. Thus the preachers do wrong to exhort that we should pray against the coming of temptation, and that it should be altogether spared to us; for its inevitableness is demonstrated in the example of Christ. His word to the disciples is far from saying—I alone contend and get the victory for you, that ye may be under no such necessity. It says precisely the contrary. But what means the emphatic *entering into temptation*, the *falling into it*, or, as it assuredly indicates, the *falling in it*: how can that be entering into temptation? Neander's note is not enough, "that external may not become internal temptation to you. For, a *merely* external temptation would be none; and to Christ Himself, though it sprang from without, it became internal; and Neander, in the parallel place of the Lord's Prayer to which he refers, says, "Save us *from* or *out of* the *inward* temptation through the might of the evil one!" Thus *Ἐισέλχεσθαι*—to enter into—does not mean the coming of temptation or the being tempted, which is altogether independent of our watching and

praying, but the falling into it or being involved with it in such a manner as not to come out of it; the remaining in it and falling. Grotius compared very properly the ἐμπνεῖν of 1 Tim. vi. 9, falling into temptation and a snare, the end of which is the *being drowned*, βυθίζεσθαι. We have given our explanation upon the sixth petition of the Lord's Prayer, referring there to these words: this *that ye enter not* is in fact an interpretation of that *lead us not into*.¹ However near the enemy may come to us, and however seductively he may come even in us, he can overcome us only if our will make common cause with him; that is, if we "enter into" his mind and will, as our own idiom very appropriately speaks. But we enter into it and are victims, not merely when we *despair*, but in the far more perilous circumstance of our thinking ourselves secure and strong when we are not. Thus the Lord, who well knew our nature, the *weakness* of which at least He had experienced, does not counsel us to make ourselves (that is, to think ourselves) strong—but the very reverse. To know our weakness in sincere and wakeful thoughtfulness, to bring it before God in self-renouncing prayer and supplication for strength, that and that alone is the perfecting of our strength, 2 Cor. xii. 9, 10. Wake and continue awake to prayer—then, but only then, temptation brings no fear. At once to pray—and to sin,—is impossible. Who could with a wakeful and recollected spirit say unto God—*Not as Thou wilt?* Who, when the word of Jesus bids us watch, and the Spirit of Jesus teaches us to pray, may answer Him and say—Lord! but I cannot, I am too weak!

All this has sufficiently paved the way for the third word concerning *flesh* and *spirit* by which the Lord's saying profoundly closes, opening up to us the inmost of the matter. Τὸ πνεῦμα, ἡ σὰρξ—the spirit, the flesh—it runs; not *My* and not *your* spirit and flesh. Which of these are we to supplement? does the Lord speak of Himself, or primarily of these disciples and then of us all? It is sufficiently evident that in the obvious connec-

¹ Witsius, on the Lord's Prayer, p. 359 (Clark's Biblical Cabinet, vol. 24). "*To enter into temptation* signifies to be so involved in snares and dangers as *not to be extricated from them*. The Hebrew phrase expresses it more fully, to enter into the hand of temptation, that is, into its power and dominion, so as to be subjugated and absorbed by it."

tion a reason is given here for *our* watching and praying; and the application of the assertion therefore to ourselves is not to be controverted. But at the same time we must unconditionally reject as erroneous and misleading the common opinion which confines the reference of our Lord's words to others, to sinful men. Of course, if the words are so interpreted as to be a definition of our natural fallen and corrupt condition, the Lord could not have intended to refer them to Himself; but this, as we shall show, is wrong in more than one aspect. At the outset, is it natural or conceivable that He, after His own sharp temptation, and speaking to us of temptation, would altogether in the conclusion forget and omit Himself? No, although He appropriates the saying to us, He speaks it on the ground of His own condition and feeling; consequently we must admit that He pre-eminently and in the first place refers to that which was just now made manifest in Himself, of the willingness of the spirit and the weakness of the flesh. Once more, this final word gives an *explanation* of the reason why His soul was so troubled, how death could thus assault Him, in what the conflict consisted, which they had marked in Him and His "praying:"—in order that they might not be offended in Him or doubt of the willingness of His spirit, but at the same time that they might definitely know His own experience that—*the flesh was weak*. He by no means speaks this word as a gentle *apology* for their sleep (it rather urges watchfulness), as if He would say—*I see how it is with you, that your spirit is indeed willing*, etc. For in strict fact, as we shall see, that was not true of the disciples. But, conversely,—*Behold ye in Me*, how it is and must ever be, even supposing the utmost willingness of spirit, with you men! Thus He presents Himself to us as a type and pattern; He says no more than what the event itself says, but *interprets* to us by this word the nature and character of His conflict in this *temptation*. *My soul*—thus He had spoken in full appropriation; but He does not now expressly say *My flesh*—for, it is properly speaking *our* flesh, to the spirit in Him alien, which He had taken on Himself, see Rom. viii. 3. Nevertheless, as certainly as *the* spirit, which was absolutely willing, can be only His own, so also *the* flesh is now intended of His own person. The interpretation of this Gethsemane-word has been very loosely dealt

with even by profound thinkers, and the fatal habit of superficial exposition has led most of our commentators astray. Daub supposes that this was said at the same time of "*every mortal*," but this in his case is an inadvertency. Jul. Müller appears to refer this saying of the willing spirit and the weak flesh to the *disciples* alone; though he rightly admits that *spirit* here is not to be understood as in Jno. iii. 6. It is not the Spirit of God, but evidently a constituent part of human nature. We found on this admission the question—If Christ is true man, does He not speak all this of Himself? Nor are we content with the form in which Rieger admits the truth; "The Lord Jesus at this solemn time experienced even in Himself the difference between the willing spirit and the weak flesh." We maintain, rather, that in the pure experience of this *distinction* without admixture, He, the sinless man, stands alone; and the reference of this subsequently to ourselves can hold good only through the impartation of His own Spirit.

Gethsemane gives its most specific and strong testimony to the true humanity of Christ; and His own words plainly declare the same. He had said before—*My soul*; and when He now adds *spirit* and *flesh*, we have complete the scriptural trichotomy of human nature and personality; for, although *flesh* is not altogether synonymous with *body*, it has an undeniable reference to *body*. We would add that *σάρξ*, flesh, has a somewhat different meaning here from that which it has in all those passages which connect with it the idea of sinfulness. It is assuredly only that "constituent part of human nature" in itself, which, though unaffected as in our case by the fall and sin, belonged to the second Adam. The Lord therefore means no more than to say—*My spirit*, which ye shall receive from Me; *your flesh*, which I also have received from you. Bengel's words, relative to the *second* clause, "this saying, sin being taken away, held good *also* of Jesus," are wrong in the assumption that sin must first be conceived to be removed in the clause *the flesh is weak*. It is no more involved in this, than in the former concerning the *spirit*; it is more correct to say concerning both clauses together This—saying apart from sin in us, *also* holds good *now* of ourselves.

How can then the natural man as such go on at once and

say that his spirit is *willing*?¹ In Jude, ver. 19, we read of *sensual men having not spirit*, that is, whose human πνεῦμα is, through entire separation from the Divine, no more than as if not existing. Even the θέλειν, the willing, of Rom. vii. 18 is far from meaning the πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, the רוח נרציה Ps. li. 14, the *willing spirit* in all its New-Testament reality and truth. In Rom. vii. it is, as the sequel shows, an impotent and biassed willing, no better than none at all—but here it is evidently such a willing as through watchfulness and prayer may maintain its prerogative and get the victory. It is only in that condescending, prophetic, and proleptic sense in which the Lord always and especially addressed His disciples as the representatives of His future Church, and only therefore as He beheld in them the germ of regeneration, that He ascribed to them, in fellowship with Himself, a *willing spirit*:—had the full truth applied to them, they would have watched and prayed. He had only said—Ye *could* not, graciously assuming in them a certain willingness; but He cannot now mean in the full sense—I see that *your* spirit is perfectly willing, and that there is nothing lacking there! They had indeed vauntingly declared that they would go with Him whithersoever He went, would suffer and die with Him; but do we not know, do we not see even here, how much self-deception there was in that? In its full truth the spirit of Christ only is entirely and absolutely willing and prepared, as Ps. xl. 9 expresses it; and therefore—let this be carefully observed!—it is only *His* flesh again which is nothing but weak. *In the humanity of Christ alone* are the willingness of spirit and the weakness of flesh purely distinguished and separate entirely each from the other; on the other hand the *I* in us is *carnal*, and in the *flesh* itself there is a *will*, a *positive* tendency to sin. We say rightly with Schulthess against a false theology: “He Himself experienced most perfectly what He said in Gethsemane—the *flesh is weak*—and *all the more* in the degree in which His *spirit was willing*.” But we utter our strongest protest against his unscriptural combination of *weakness* with *sin*, and the fearfully foolish conclusion which he

¹ Πρόθυμος occurs again in the N. T. only Rom. i. 15. It does indeed oppose itself to a hindrance (as there κατ' ἐμὴ); but it also expresses an independent and full willingness of the spirit.

draws, "*Ἀμαρτία* is an essential attribute of the flesh (how with respect to Christ who was *made flesh!*), just as humidity is of water,—*where flesh is there is sinfulness.*"¹ Most certainly not: there is weakness, indeed, but where with that weakness there is not merely a gradual preponderance of the *willing spirit*, but the willing spirit in its absolute predominance,—as in the case of Christ,—there can be no room for any sinfulness of the weak flesh. It is only *when* and *as far as* the spirit of Christ enters into us, that we can appropriate the truth which is here spoken to the disciples. Bengel's concise hint—"Hence the frequent mention by the Apostles of *flesh* and *spirit*" must be taken with much emphasis upon the *Hence*; the apostolical phraseology actually rests upon this appropriation of his words by Christ to His disciples. *Flesh* consequently does not signify *here* the entire natural man, "corrupted nature" or the like; for, what would then be left for the *spirit* which is evidently also a constituent element of human nature? *In my flesh*, Rom. vii. 18, is quite identical with *in me*, in spite of the *willing* and *delighting* which were present to him. Therefore *sin* dwelleth in *me*, wholly and entirely established within me; even in my spirit and *will*, the impotent assent of which to that which is good is itself a bias toward and vote for the evil. For sin must be in the will; it cannot be in the *flesh* as such. But here, where the spirit stands in contrast, the *soul* (before mentioned) is not included with the flesh; and the meaning is, that the soul, standing between the spirit and the flesh, must, in watching and praying, itself derive strength from the spirit and overcome the weakness, although through sharp conflict amounting even to convulsion, as their eyes had seen in Him. The gracious anticipatory equality assumed between His disciples and Himself holds good now of His saints, but only in as far as they are in Him; no man may absolutely glory that *his* spirit is only willing, *his* flesh only—*weak!* In the background there is a most solemn application, at least *similar* to the saying—If this be done to the green tree, what will it be to the dry? If *such* prayer is needful to Me, the Holy One, on account of weakness,

¹ The same, from another point of view, is that which Apollinaris affirmed. on account of the freedom of choice, which is necessary to the *νοῦς*: "where there is perfect man, there is sin."

how much more will it be needful to you sinful men, with your *confusion* of flesh and of spirit? Alas, with us even as standing in grace, the flesh is willing, that is, to evil. It is not *weak*, that is, in the sense of not willing because not able (rather thinking itself not able); but it is mighty, and proud, deafening the Spirit, and making common cause with the tempter. This is to be seen in the disciples themselves. That Peter could not now watch one hour was occasioned by the *sin* of his presumption. He slept most profoundly when with open eyes he first contradicted and then denied! But if we through the grace of regeneration are so far awake that to the willing spirit in us, as in Christ, sin, that is, the temptation to sin, is no other than a *suffering* and a *burden*, bringing no longer pleasure with it—then may we take the consolations of Christ's word, that the weakness, which feels the suffering, and which is exposed to the temptation, is no sin, any more than it was in Him. No more is then demanded of us than to watch and pray; but both with the utmost earnestness. *To watch* against the enemy, on account of the weak flesh exposed to his assault; *to pray* with a willing spirit for the strength of God which maintains and strengthens that willingness.

But nothing is more lamentable and more perilous than the perversion of this equally rousing and comfortable sentence, which in common with many such scriptures, Satan skilfully tempts men to misuse. He rends the latter saying from the former; separates it from the "watch and pray;" and makes that which was designed as an encouragement to watchfulness and prayer a pillow for self-deception. He persuades the sinner to regard it as enough that his poor imaginary willingness of spirit (his good heart, right intention, etc.) is enough of itself; and apologizes for sin and entering into temptation as "weakness of the flesh!" Just as in Phil. ii., ver. 13 is wrenched from ver. 12; and in Rom. iii., ver. 23 from ver. 21. We trust that all such perversion has been thoroughly guarded against throughout this exposition.

We turn to the *second, repeated* petition of our Lord, which St Matthew alone records in words. We have already given the reason of our Lord's interrupting His prayer, and going in the interval to His disciples: let us now quote the words

of the Berlenb. Bible: "Among other things we may here learn that in all times of sore conflict we should not continue in one uninterrupted strain of prayer in order to prevent our devotion from being feeble and lukewarm; we should rather pause, and take breath, that it may be urged with all the more vehemence." When the Lord, yielding as it were for a moment to the weakness of His flesh, sought the society of His disciples, their impotence must itself have invigorated His strength to still more ardour in the conflict. Πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου in St Matthew is an emphatic tautology, specifically enumerating. St Mark's *saying the same words* (explanation of ἐκ δευτέρου) is in the general right; but they were not entirely the same words. St Luke refers to the second prayer as ἐκτενέστερον, *more earnestly*, not, however, as more *urgently* supplicating for the removal of the cup, but, according to St Matthew's sense, even if we had not his words—more vehemently struggling for the victory of submission in His agony.¹ Christ knew that the Father always heard Him (Jno. xi. 42); He therefore understands the *not* passing away of His anguish as the granting of His last word—*As Thou wilt!*—as the confirmation of the Divine will that He should drink the cup. He therefore comes to the conclusion in the second prayer, as if an answer had been received. He no longer says—If it be possible, *let it pass*; but—*If it may not pass*; and girds Himself to obedience. His willingness expresses itself still more strongly in *unless I drink it*—"He now addresses Himself more directly to drink." Similarly, the more general and definitely spoken—*Thy will be done*, in this as in all things—corresponds now to a perfect submission; but this does not exclude the continuous *conflict* in the praying utterance of this determination.

¹ This became so severe as to cause the bloody sweat in the cold night (Jno. xviii. 18). We would not, with Athanasius, pronounce a ban upon those who deny this sweat of blood. "The force of the particle *as* falls upon the *drops*, not the *blood*," as Bengel rightly remarks; for it is καταβαίνοντες not καταβαίνοντες. "If the sweat had not been *bloody*, the mention of blood might have been omitted; for the word *drops* would have been sufficient." Rambach remarks that the driving out of the blood from the heart is contrary to the course of nature, as anxiety and fear drive it inwardly to the heart; but here all is alone of its kind, though after human kind, and we therefore doubt the correctness of his remark.

The *third* prayer is at least intimated by St Mark also—*He cometh the third time; that is, after a third departure and prayer.* St Matthew adds—*Saying the same words*, that is, as on the second occasion. That which He had taught His disciples concerning the fewness and the simplicity of their words in prayer, finds its exemplification in His own case, through the weakness and the oppression which made more words impossible. To repeat the same few words is before God the deepest earnestness. The poverty of the words pertains to the weakness, their perseveringness to the sincerity, of prayer. And before even this third prayer He found the disciples once more sleeping! Their eyes were heavy, pressed down (*βεβαρημένοι* Matt., *καταβαρυμένοι* Mar.); according to St Luke He found them sleeping for *sorrow*, which last addition would almost seem to be a doubtful and inadequate reflection in some way inserted into the record. For, although this uttermost impotence of man here where the God-man treads the winepress alone, may be humanly explained by their exhaustion in the deep night after such a day, by the reaction after *so much* excitement, and most decisively as St Luke says, by the stunning power of a sorrow which was too great for them; yet was there something more than all this assaulting them, as the Lord Himself had intimated—the *temptation* of the power of darkness, the satanic sifting, *without* which their sympathy with the sufferings of Jesus would have held their eyes waking. But this prostration under the assault of the enemy is itself part of the impotence of men. The Lord knew this; He beheld it with compassion, and was urged by it to perseverance in His conflict for these poor men: *He left them* (*ἀφείς αὐτοὺς*) and continued in watching and prayer, until He had overcome in this commencement of the hour which had come; until, with returning power, serenity, and peace, He could deliver Himself up to the betrayer and the hands of sinners.

THE INVIGORATION.

(Matt. xxvi. 45, 46; Mark xiv. 41, 42; [Lu. xxii. 46.])

This last word before His being taken, while He was speaking which (all three unite in this) the betrayer came near, as the Lord had just intimated, is given with precision only by the first two Evangelists; St Luke has retained only *καὶ ἀναστὰς—ἀναστάντες*. It falls once more into a threefold arrangement—the final, and most sorrowfully-gentle reproof of the disciples' sleeping to the last; the announcement of the time of His being delivered up into the hands of external enemies; the voluntary surrender of Himself to meet it, through the vigour which His conflict had given Him.

Are we to make the first clause, which the first two Evangelists give us literally alike, a question, or not? We find indeed in St Luke the question—Why sleep ye? But we have already seen that his account gives up all literal exactness, and condenses the whole: we might say that this *Why sleep ye?* in his record is but the echo of the earlier *Simon, sleepest thou?* or, *Could ye not watch?* The *τὸ λοιπὸν* of itself scarcely allows the idea of a question here; for that does not mean, properly speaking,—Do ye then sleep *on still?*¹ but the *indicative* character of the whole sentence decidedly contradicts such a notion. It might be possible to take them at once as in the Indicative—Ye sleep and take your rest *still*; and, behold, it is time to awake, and stand up, and go forth! But this does not content us;² this would require for the connection *and, behold*, whereas we find in St Mark an abrupt *ἀπέχει* which can be fitly rendered only as an *Imperative*. We therefore, with Winer, take the words as in the Imperative, and regard them as noting an advancement beyond the previous question, and thus being more in harmony with the Lord's present invigoration of spirit. He had previously lamented that they slept, while oppressed Him—

¹ As Winer observes, resting on the phrase itself.

² That is, our own individual feeling; for in the interpretation of all such dubious and pregnant sayings there cannot fail to be more or less of the subjective element.

self with need of help; but now, so far as regards *His* need, He permits them to sleep on: He requires and demands their watching for Himself no more. Thus much of permission there is in this conceding Imperative; but it is far from being a permission or direction to sleep, expressly intended, as it were, to intimate that now for the rest—τὸ λουπὸν—they were exempted from the necessity of watching and praying! (For Bengel is right—As sleep is opposed to watching, so rest is opposed to the labour of prayer. The ἀναπαύεσθαι is not synonymous with καθεύδειν; but this double-saying corresponds to the former double-saying.) On *His* account, indeed, and as it respected the previously urgent *watch with Me*, they might now continue to sleep, and cease from prayer for His strengthening. But does He not go on to say that His *being betrayed* would soon awake and arouse them, and make them watchful in earnest? Bengel: “Shortly others will come, who will awaken you. In the meantime [we would add—as it respects Me] sleep, *if ye can!*” Or Neander: “Sleep on still, I will no more awake you, no more ask you to watch and pray with Me; but ye will soon be roused out of your sleep by violence, *for behold,*” etc. Quite true—but may this be called irony or not? Bengel says, “It is not irony, but metonymy.” Winer maintains that the assumption of irony is contradictory to the whole tone of our Lord’s mind at such a juncture. This is true also, if there is to be connected anything like his *levis irrisio*. But there is a sort of irony, at least in the expression, which has no mockery in it, and which is consistent with the most sorrowful gentleness; and such Bengel’s “*si vacat,*” and Neander’s *sleep on*, seem to express. For if I give permission to do a thing at the same time that I say “but you will not find it possible,” what is that but the language of irony?¹ Glassius was right in the main: “This is by no means the *time* for sleeping and taking rest (this lies in *the hour*), but for watching; but because My

¹ The translation—“Sleep afterwards, at a future time, but now it is inappropriate,” is altogether contrary to the language and the connection. For Wahl, who gives *posthac*, i.e., *alio tempore*, forgets altogether that in all the parallels for *posthac* (Gal. vi. 17; 1 Cor. vii. 29; 2 Tim. iv. 8 in the New Testament), the time must be reckoned from the moment of speaking—ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν.

words have been lost upon you, *I shall cease to exhort you now*: however, though you may sleep on as it regards Me, there are enemies who will not permit you, but will constrain you unwillingly to watch." Winer would evade this connection by sundering the two clauses thus: In the first clause the Lord would in all earnestness let them sleep on, and knows nothing yet of the *Behold*; but scarcely has He said so when He beholds the traitor approaching, He speaks to Himself the *Behold, they are at hand*, etc.; and then, retracting what was spoken first, He says to the disciples—*Arise!* He who can may content himself with this: *to us* this sudden surprise of our Lord,—which assumes Him to have really thought that the disciples could have slept on during the remainder (that night being so far advanced which He knew to be the night of His sufferings, and of their offence and denial!),—and such an intervening monologue of the Lord's surprise, are altogether insufferable.

But it is certainly a "*rebuking word*" (as Lange says), taking it as a question—"Do ye thus sleep through the time and take your rest? meaning, Are ye then thus full of sleep throughout to the end?"—but, a rebuking word in the most rigorous sense, this final, and sorrowfully-gentle, condemnation of the Lord cannot be called. It is His sorrow and His gentleness which dictate the ironical form; and only in this latter is the reproving element, which cannot be evaded. In Bengel's "with tenderness and severity" the former must have the emphasis; there is no anger to be thought of, now when immediately after His own sharp conflict the Lord's heart has no room for anything but the deepest *sympathy, and feeling for our infirmities*. Thus Chrysostom is wrong when he says (Hom. 71 in Joh.)—"It is not the voice of command, or of counsel, but that of reproach."

Much more ambiguous than the former clause would be the ἀνέχει which St Mark adds, were it not that the one illustrates the other. We must first reject the interpretation (in Wahl's Lex. again): *transiit scil. anxietas, My anguish is over, has passed away for this time*.¹ That would involve a perfect chasm between this word and that which he goes on to add, without any *Behold*,—*The hour is come*. We cannot suppose Him to

¹ The Syr. and Arab. express it—*It is over*—but it remains doubtful what they would supply.

say both in one breath, who had previously prayed *that the hour might pass*. And it is a very inapposite record—"There is no more anguish for Me"—at the moment when His whole language and deportment attest it much more strongly. Applying the same interpretation of the word another way, it might be said, with Grotius—"The time is gone during which the Apostles might have been a solace to Christ." More plainly, The time in which ye should have watched and prayed with Me, is past; ye have slept away the hour of probation! But this would be too stern a rebuke, and such severity we have repelled already. Or, if ἀπέχει must retain the meaning of *abest, transiit* (which Grotius maintains, appealing to the passage in Anac. afterwards to be quoted, and to *peractum est* in Seneca), it only remains that we render it with Lange, "there is now an end of it," that is, of your sleeping; "your rest must be broken, others are coming to disturb it!" This comes near to the fact, the subject of the impersonal verb being the *sleeping and taking rest*; but in this sense the ἀπέχει makes the irony too keen in the sudden change: "Sleep on yet? It is now *at an end with sleep!*" What then is our refuge? We confidently decide with Bengel, for the interpretation *It is enough*, according to the Vulg. *sufficit*; and understand—*Enough now of dreams!* This interpretation of the word appears to us established by the passage quoted from Anac. Od. xxviii. 33; and thus only do we obtain a *gentle* and fit *transition* between the two opposite clauses. The Lord would indeed say *sleep on*—but He is constrained at once to proceed—*Enough of sleep!* This parallel Imperative is more appropriate than the rigorous announcement—There is *nevertheless* an end of it!¹

The remainder of the word needs but little explanation. The ἦλθεν or ἤγγικεν says strongly enough that there is no sudden surprise at this sacred crisis, in which this victory of resignation has been fully gained. Even if the first *Behold* coincides with the visible appearance of the multitude, and referred to that (but, *because* the behold occurs twice, we cannot but think

¹ The attempt of Sepp to interpret it as a misunderstanding for ἀπείχοι, μὴ γίνεσθαι, the translation of a ἡμῶν, is no better than the correction of the difficult ἀπείχοι in the marginal gloss ἀπείχοι (as if it was spurious, and sprung from the remark of an expositor—*Here He restrains Himself!*)

that the *second* only points to that circumstance)—yet it is plain that the Lord had felt this very *hour*, and all that it would bring with it, to be near throughout His conflict; and to our mind it is very impressive that in the Father's counsel the *first moment of the Lord's invigoration should coincide so exactly with the first instant of the external assault upon Him*.¹ The reading *appropinquabit* in the Vulg. deranges all. The *καί* after *ἤγγικεν* in St Matthew is not to be resolved into *that*; but the *hour* stands alone in its pregnant fulness of meaning, as in St Mark also. To be betrayed into *the hand of sinners*—this is still a thought of dread to the Holy One of God, even after He has overcome, and devoted Himself to this fearful horror. By this, however, we are not to understand, according to the common Jewish phrase, the Gentiles; the article in St Mark might lead to that conclusion, were it not that its absence in St Matthew gives the more general and appropriate sense. Even in Gal. ii. 15 the word has by no means this meaning, if it is closely considered; the Apostle says—Sinners of the Gentiles, but the antithesis is—Sinners of the Jews; and his ironical allusion is to the proud word of the Jews who called all heathens *sinners*. And very different from that is the *ἄνομοι* of Acts ii. 23; 1 Cor. ix. 21. The Saviour in Gethsemane knows only of *sinners* in simple contrast with His own holiness; so that He here, as everywhere, places Himself, as the One *Son of man*, in contradistinction to all *sinners*. If it had been said, The *Messiah*—we might have been justified in thinking of the heathen. Those to whom He was immediately betrayed were rather the Jews, the high priests and rulers, to whom He Himself, Jno. xix. 11, ascribed the greater sin. The keenest point of the sin which was permitted thus to come upon Him was the fact of His being *betrayed* by the traitor, the worst of all sinners:—of him He thinks especially, he was in His mind when He said, “the Son of Man is *betrayed*,” before He directly mentions him as he draws near at the head of the multitude. To utter this with the deepest grief and yet with the calmest resignation, to *go forth and meet* this traitor and these sinners' hands,—this was the point to which He had strengthened His soul, as His

¹ Not till He had finished the struggle! Hence Judas *must* “keep the multitude till then quite in the background.”

invigoration is expressed both by word and act.¹ The disciples must be there for a brief space when their Master is seized, consequently to *them* first is addressed the solemn *Rise!* (which echoes in St Luke's *ἀναστάντες*); then follows the "*Ἀγόμεν!* *let us be going!*" which, while it seems to include them, really means only Himself. It is almost as if He would remind them of that first *Arise, let us go hence!* Jno. xiv. 31. This *Rise* entirely put an end to the *Sleep on now*; no one of the disciples found sleep or rest that night.

THE FIRST WORD TO THE MULTITUDE.

(Jno. xviii. 4, 7, 8.)

Notwithstanding the *immediately*—not only in St Mark, whose use of this expression we are familiar with from the beginning, but also in St Matthew, ver. 49—we are convinced that the whole of Jno. xviii. 4–8 took place before the kiss of Judas; and we shall hereafter justify this supposition. The increasing divergence of the Evangelists, as they go deeper into the history of the Passion, is quite natural on the human ground of their observation and remembrance, and makes all the more wonderful the absolute unity of their testimony throughout. That which, in the confusion and excitement attendant upon its occurrence, was viewed from various points of view, was not by any means left as the material which a human tradition might variously weave; but the Holy Spirit, without effacing the stamp of human credibility which is impressed upon their artless differences, has defended them from all incorrectness, and set upon the whole the seal of His own sure testimony. But only the unprejudiced perceive that human stamp; and to none but the partakers of that Spirit is the assurance of His testimony perfectly plain.—St John knew of the kiss of Judas, but it was not his purpose to record it again. He takes us immediately after the High-priestly prayer, out over the brook

¹ A devout remark has been made here: "The creative—*Let us make man!* did not cost so much as this *Let us go!* of the Son of God in His redeeming work."

Cedron (to the significance of which in the scene he alone refers)—into the garden of anguish and victory, where the second Adam began to make atonement for the sin which the first Adam committed in the garden of Paradise.¹ But his province was, prestipposing all else that had been recorded concerning the Lord's sufferings, to point out His *glorification in suffering*. When he now, in ver. 4, sets over against the Lord's *knowing* all things that should come and came upon Him, the fatal and wretched knowledge of Judas concerning the place; and, with a remarkable *second ἐξελθών*, went forth (after the ἐξῆλθε of ver. 1), immediately adjoins *He said unto them*—we can hardly suppose the betraying kiss of this Judas, thus mentioned in vers. 3 and 5, to have intervened. It is evident that St John would mention that *first* going forth of our Lord to meet the multitude, which anticipated *all that came upon Him*.

In the whole interval between the two dark periods of conflict in Gethsemane and upon the cross, the Lord exhibits outwardly the most sublime serenity and strength, although this might consist with the continuance of the conflict within. Before God, before the Father, He had obtained the first victory of resolution to *drink the cup* (Jno. ver. 11), the inmost contents of which His soul already tastes—Now may men and sinners come, and in them the whole power of darkness! And this is to us an example in our own appointed sufferings—that our preparations must not wait till the outward pressure comes, but that we must see to it that it find us prepared.

The multitude which comes against Jesus—*ὄχλος πολλός* in Matt. and Mar., briefly *ὄχλος* in Lu.—consists, as we apprehend it, of a combination of four if not five elements: soldiers; functionaries of the judgment or the temple watch; servants; high priests and elders themselves; and probably a miscellaneous concourse. St John rightly places first, as required by Judas and placed at his disposal, *τῇν σπεῖραν*, that is, as the article shows, the military Cohort of the Romans stationed in Jerusalem for any such purpose. According to Josephus there was such a body, established in the fortress Antonia, in order to prevent or suppress any insurrection, especially at the great feasts;

¹ Which obvious parallel we find in Cyril and Augustine.

and with this Acts xxi. 31 agrees. *Σπείρα*, in Ennius found as *spira*, cannot possibly signify the temple-guard; for compare Acts x. 1, xxvii. 1, and in Jno. xviii. 12 the *χιλαρχός*. Certainly it was not the whole Cohort of five hundred men, but a considerable part representing the whole. "To obtain this escort it was only necessary to inform the chief magistrate that there were signs of an insurrection, which must be put down by the arrest of the leader of it." (Hess.) Thus this escort had been obtained by those whom the matter concerned—that is, secondly, the *ὑπηρέται*, the officers of the council, which must be here one and the same with the (Levitical) temple-guard: for see Lu. ver. 52 *captains* of the temple, and compare ver. 4, as also Acts iv. 1, v. 24, 26. There was one chief captain, and several subordinate: the chief captain here corresponds to the *χιλαρχός*. Then come, thirdly, the common or private *servants* of their various masters, whom the "high priests," etc., had sent with the rest in their zeal: see John ver. 18, *δούλοι* and *ὑπηρέται* distinguished, hence Malchus the *servant of the high priest*. Both the official and the private servants are included in the *ἀπό* of Matt., *παρά* in Mark, which the Vulg. has rightly in the former supplemented by *missi*—*sent from*—and it is the same with the *ἐκ* of John. But, fourthly, as we shall see in Lu. ver. 52, there were some high priests and elders—but whether by or against the will of the leaders, whether they went in their zeal or met the company, is a questionable point.¹ Enough, this *ὄχλος* (*ὄχλοι* Matt. ver. 55), this multitude, as it is called, as if to lay the charge of tumult rather upon these His enemies, was to have the appearance of a united rising of all kinds against a most guilty and most dangerous man, an ecclesiastical and political delinquent. But the temple-guard is summoned against the innocent teacher in the temple, the prophet legitimated by many miracles, the Messiah and Lord of the temple, proved to be such by every sign! The Roman power is brought against Him as an insurrectionary and a murderer! St John mentions only *weapons* generally; the Synoptics have swords, and, more-

¹ According to Lange: "Already the beginnings of the mob-tumult which was later excited against Jesus—individual *fanatics*, who joined the crowd." As Nonnus excellently describes it: *καὶ πολλοὶ οἰστρομένοι παρ' ἀρχιερέων Φαρισαίων—συνδράμουν ἄλλον ἔχον κορυμβόφορον ἱερὸν δότιον*.

over, ξύλα, that is, stakes, sticks, or however else it may be translated—not, however, “clubs.” Either the soldiers had swords, the servants of the council or temple-guard only weapons of wood (*staves* as indicating office? but this is quite improbable); or, better, in this “tumultuously armed company” even the ξύλα had been hastily seized for help. So at least the Lord Himself seems to intimate, Matt. ver. 55. This exaggerated arming was in any case a pretence, out of dishonour to Jesus, and to mark Him beforehand as dangerous to Pilate. St John mentions also lanterns and torches, although it was the Easter full-moon; to seek diligently the object of their search, if He was not found in the indicated garden. We need not refer this to the locality of the valley of Cedron: on the one hand, there is in this light thrown upon these works of darkness an irony which condemns them; and, on the other, it was dealing with our Lord in a manner as contemptible as foolish—as if He would *hide Himself*! Similarly with the weapons—as if He would defend Himself! At the same time, as if He who called Lazarus out of his grave, could be taken with swords and staves! All this was as useless as the spices afterwards at the sepulchre—but this time all was for scorn and indignity.

But He had already spoken His *Let us go forth*—that is, indeed, *to meet them*! Ἐξελθών (or in Lachm. and Tisch. ἐξῆλθεν καὶ λέγει), does not mean the going out of the garden; for, according to ver. 26, the entire capture took place within the garden. Nor is it that “He went out from the midst of the disciples.” But the Vulg. *processit* rightly interprets this going forth to meet the advancing crowd, comp. Matt. xiv. 14. At the same time, the ἐξελθεῖν, if we supplement “from the inner part of the garden,” may contain a latent reference by St John to the secret conflict presupposed in the tradition. His first word, *Whom seek ye?*—the simplest and most sublime word at *such* a crisis—requires rather to be penetrated by feeling than expounded in other words. He knew that which He inquired; but He would be answered, in order that He might *surrender Himself to them* solemnly and formally; with the pure simplicity of the highest truth confronting their artifices and pretexts. When they would make Him a king He fled from them—now,

when His sacrificial death is come, He goes to meet them. He may not let Himself be *sought* as Adam among the trees of the garden. In this "*whom?*" there lies already the afterwards-expressed aim of His surrender—If ye seek Me, let these go their way. The people must bethink themselves; and, against their will, with as much becoming calmness as was possible to them, do simply that one thing for which they were sent by God and men, take His sole person into custody. If this *whom seek ye?* carries our thought back to that first *what seek ye?* Jno. i. 38,¹ we find much to ponder in devotion, and to apply. The sincere seek *Him* for salvation, when He asks *What seek ye?* for the true reply of their good conscience. But they who seek *Him* in enmity, are affrighted at His *Whom?* Alas, how many still there are who, as here, knowingly and yet ignorantly, are found among the crowds whom *Judas* leads!

Among those then present were many so altogether ignorant as not to know Jesus by person: this would apply especially to the Roman soldiers. They knew only that they were to seize "*Jesus of Nazareth.*" That Judas alone knew *who* was to be seized, and that the others were to know at the right time through his sign, is altogether improbable, and leaves the first answer with the name inexplicable, for it could not have then been at once—even *Thee!* If He had declared Himself to be the person sought when He said *Whom seek ye?* the amazement which fell upon them would not have waited for the *I am He.* And, moreover, there were many there who must have personally known the Lord, as He Himself says—I was daily *with you!*

Are we to assume, with Grotius (and so Chrys. and Cyril), that they were collectively struck at once with blindness, and thus confounded at the very beginning? This is an altogether needless assumption. Or, may we say that even those who knew Him could not recognise Him, in spite of their lanterns and torches, or through the blinding combination of their lights with that of the moon? We think that He stood before them visible enough, having come forward into the clear light. Many probably knew Him, but in these there was an anticipation of the

¹ And in St John's Gospel there are many such suggestive references from the conclusion to the beginning.

fear which threw them down, and no man *dared to say—Thee!* It remains, therefore, for those who knew Him not, to say artlessly to the man who comes forward and asks them as if to help them, and who therefore was *not* the person himself—*Jesus of Nazareth*. This was His common name, Matt. xxi. 11, xxvi. 71, not without contempt on the part of His traducers, but among others simply the full name and designation of *this* Jesus. But we cannot reconcile it with any thoughtful study of the whole scene to suppose that any man of the multitude could have given such an answer *after* the kiss of Judas. Our hasty expositors should pause a while and meditate in stillness upon the whole, before they enter into their details.

In the same simple tone in which the answer had been given, though more calmly than that answer, which the question of the unknown one had somewhat disturbed, He says again, and in the plainest words—*I am He*, if ye seek Him, ye need seek no longer, He is before you! This was the necessary and designed protest against the seeking, the most lowly and yet solemn testimony to His own voluntary surrender of Himself. But, according to the Father's counsel, the fulfilment of which was brought on by the nature of the case, there was to be a yet stronger protest—that no *violence* could have availed to take the Son of God, if He had not thus given Himself up. There proceeds from Him an unconscious power of the Highest, in connection with this lowly *I am He!* which strikes amazement into the whole multitude. First, *they went backward*—an involuntary retreat, the Old-Testament frequent נָסוּ אֹיְבֵי of smitten foes; but immediately afterwards still more—*they fell to the ground!* Then were *they* the evil-doers, whom *fear* in their deepest hearts, which the word of Jesus pierced, had sought and found! He stands before them, lately risen out of His own weakness; before these sinners, in whose likeness He has appeared, though far as heaven separate from them in their guilty fear, He is glorified as the Holy One of God *even while* He is giving Himself into their hands! Many have appealed to the fact that “even Strauss discerns a miracle here”—but we have no sympathy with this ambiguous acknowledgment. There was no specific miracle here, apart from *the* standing miracle of our Lord's personality itself; for it was not the purpose of Jesus to perform any, it

was not His conscious design to throw the people down.¹ Thus assuredly it was no "ray of His omnipotence" or His "divinity" which suddenly burst forth; for His Divinity and omnipotence were now most profoundly concealed and withdrawn in order to His *suffering*. Strauss has not well shown, as Ebrard thinks, that this falling of the crowd could not admit of a natural explanation; we see here most plainly a manifestation in the highest degree of that which has not seldom occurred in much lesser degree in the domain of human experiences. Enemies have been stricken backward in the presence of sinful men, in the sudden view of their own guilt and superior dignity; history has many examples, such as those of Marius, Marcus Antonius, Probus, Pertinax, the Polish bishop Stanislaus, Coligny; and there are many which history does not record. But here there is One who is Holy as no other is; and the consciences of most in this crowd were susceptible of such a sudden recoil before the majesty of that *I*, from the knowledge which they had concerning this "Jesus of Nazareth." And the impression would reach to us all by sympathy. He had not said this time, *It is I, be not afraid*—therefore did they fear, because they had gone out *against* Him. But *to us*, His own disciples, this *I am He!* should say much which must be left to be supplied and expanded by the believing heart.

Just as if nothing had passed, not surprised at this natural though undesigned result of His own word, Jesus in the transcendent elevation of His repose still *calmly hastens* to the goal—To deliver Himself up to them, and to secure the freedom of His disciples. He had waited uninterrupted in His composure, till they should rise up again,² and as soon as they can hear He

¹ "This is to be explained as the power of a good conscience over an evil, of faith over unbelief. For Jesus had no design to use here His miraculous power, rather in faith and obedience to render *Himself* up to the will and counsel of God, and save His disciples." (Brandt.) We think reason enough is found here for the rejection of the view which Krummacher, *e.g.*, and Luthardt still maintain—that it was the design of Jesus to throw down the people. To *our* feeling this is altogether inconsistent with the present position and spirit of our Lord.

² Which, through the predominance of the proud element in this multitude, speedily took place. The excellent Wesley unnecessarily interposes here a great deal: "Probably the priests among them might persuade them-

asks them once more, literally as at first, the same question. It is only in the compound ἐπηρώτησε, instead of the previous εἶπεν, that St John seems to intimate more urgency in the question. Whatever of humiliating or of ironical there was in the tone, resulted from the matter itself; their conscience would hear it, though Jesus meant not so to speak—What kind of man do ye suppose this “Jesus” to be whom ye seek, armed as ye are, yet without any courage to take Him? They are constrained to return the same literal answer, though its meaning is now different. No man dares, even after the “I am He” no man dares, to say—We seek *Thee*! The first time it was proudly, but now it is feebly, said, as if a confession of sin—Jesus of Nazareth, Him we should and would take, but cannot.

Hereupon the Lofty One says with the gentlest and most inspiring tone which He could adopt—*I have told you that I am He.* Merely *told*—wherefore then did you fall down at the sound? I say it once more, not to affright you, but because ye have found Me. Had He gone on to speak, no man could have laid hands upon Him, as we saw in the prelude of this scene, ch. vii. 44. The courage which enabled them to lay hold upon Him at last, sprang from the courage with which He surrendered Himself. Their falling before Him was doubtless, however, “a type of the world’s judgment.” “What will He do when He comes to judge, who did such things when He was judged? What will He be able to inflict from His throne, who had this power when about to die?” This is Augustine’s question; and still more suggestive is Bengel’s brief word, “He will say it a *third* time one day!” That is to say, So long as the limits of His forbearance are not reached, He ever repeats to His *enemies* as well as to His friends His avowal, *I am He*; until that day comes when the same words will cast down His foes for ever.. If it had not been the Father’s counsel that He should give Himself up for the *salvation of the world*—then would His deportment here at His capture lack its highest

selves and their attendants that this also was done by Beelzebub; and that it was through the providence of God, and not the indulgence of Jesus, that they received no further damage.” O no, all things passed much too rapidly for this.

justification ; but it is itself the strongest testimony for this counsel and will.

Finally, He omits not to say, what He had meant from the beginning—that they should do no harm to His disciples. In the terror-striking power and suppressed majesty which involuntarily as it were attended Him in His humiliation, He extends the hand of His protecting love over His little, feeble company. They did not watch with Him, but He is watchful for their defence. His collective disciples are now around Him ; for, the *going forth* of ver. 4 reached to the entrance and forefront of the garden, to the place where He had left the remaining Eight. The description is very false which represents them as “attracted by the noise,” and so forth ; for there was no tumult at the first, the multitude came with cautious silence. And now when they had recovered from their fall and confusion, which of course would not take place without some noise, the Eleven were already there, drawn by the first, loudly-uttered, *Whom seek ye ? If ye seek Me*, He says,—thereby once more plainly confirming what they could not apprehend in His *I am He !*—I defend not Myself, I offer Myself to you, take with you Him whom ye have found ! But in the same *gentle* tone He also *commands*—But let these go their way ! Probably they had orders, or at least they might have had the desire, to seize also His dependents, as is shown afterwards by the case of the young man in St Mark ; they might even have wished, having no courage to lay hands on Him, to begin by seizing His disciples. But He *says* to them what they are to do, and what not to do, just as He had *said* to them—*I am He !* That He does not say *My disciples*,¹ has a reason of deep propriety ; for that would be calling them, in opposition to these people, His dependents in a sense which He did not acknowledge, and in which He would not involve them. But it requires no proof that those who were thus found around Him, and whom He shortly describes as *these*, belonged to Him and lay near His heart. If a supposed conspirator and plotter should say “Let these people go,” all the more certainly would the reverse be done, because he would thereby declare them to be his own people. But Jesus speaks one word,—not, indeed,

¹ As Nonnus improperly paraphrases by λαὸν ἑταίρων.

as a request, but as a command in the tone of a request,—and it has the force of a command at the very juncture when He is to be bound as a malefactor. Thus does He rule in the midst of His enemies, already in His humiliation. (Ps. cx. 2.) He remains always the same; the same when confronting the hosts of His enemies as shortly before in the circle of His friends:—He sees the right, speaks and acts with composure in every emergency, shows to each his place and way, even as He knew and maintained His own. What a man is this!

The last word says to the multitude—*These* (a few unarmed and affrighted people, as ye see) will not defend Me! He gives to the *disciples* an intimation and a command, as to what would and would not now become them,—though, alas, Peter understood it not. In its deepest sense—for, everything in the Passion has its profound undertone of typical meaning,—this saying, in which He devotes Himself and sets us free, shadows out the entire significance of the atoning sufferings:—He and He alone is made the victim, that we may go free, by a substitution which has its most real and vital truth, though not in the hard, juridical sense. See here the *antitype* and the inversion of that saying of David—*I it is that have sinned, and done evil indeed*; but as for these sheep, what have they done? (1 Chron. xxi. 17.) In the midst of the disquietude which pressed upon Him He retains His pastoral solicitude for His sheep—that none of those who have *deserved* death, may be lost, because and while He gives Himself to death for them. To this day He continues to spare our weakness; and gives up rather Himself, His name, His honour, when His enemies seek *Him* among us.

This meaning is profoundly exhibited in ver. 9 by the Evangelist; and his quotation is not such an “unhappy *that it may be fulfilled*,” as Schweizer has most unhappily called it. But St John does not regard (as many say with a good intention, and as I myself thought at an earlier time) the protection of their bodily life as a bodily pre-fulfilment of that higher meaning which the Lord’s prayer for His disciples must have contained. Certainly, such an exhibition of the spiritual by the external, which is its similitude,¹ is justified generally, and has

¹ Implementum literale implementi mystici præludium ac sigillum. Matt. viii. 17 is decisive for this.

several examples ; but it is plain to me now, that as the Lord in ch. xvii. 12 did not give His word an external meaning, so St John does not refer it in his quotation to their external defence and salvation. This has been acknowledged by older and later expositors. The Berlenb. Bible says : *In this we see* that Christ had not in view so much their bodily salvation ; but that He provided for their bodily safety for the sake of their spiritual." Both were here closely connected, for they could not then have borne with Him His sufferings ; He would not have *lost* one only, but all. As Lampe himself was obliged to say,—“ Considered in themselves they would have succumbed to temptation, if they had been taken together with Christ.” Rambach states it thus excellently : “ Our merciful High Priest seeks to appoint and arrange our temporal circumstances in such a manner as that our souls shall take no harm—of this we have here a proof and example.” Lücke : “ It is perfectly in harmony that the Evangelist, remembering Peter’s denial under severe pressure, finds in this external deliverance a rescue from such temptation as the disciples were then unequal to sustain.”¹

Not merely is the *power* of the Lord against the apparent *violence* of His enemies seen in this commandment issued at His capture ; but the whole scene, as we shall further contemplate it, *glorifies* generally—His (Divine) *love* in opposition to the wickedness of Judas ; His (human) obedience in opposition to Peter’s self-will ; His holy (Divine-human) *dignity* in opposition to the wavering and confused conduct of the whole of those around Him. All, whether friends or enemies, are thrown out of their course in the mighty excitement of this event. The greatest injustice under heaven takes place ; hell is moved ; faith is broken in His disciples ; and their presence of mind is gone : —He alone exhibits the composure and power which is the prerogative of man in God. So every one goes his way at the Lord’s direction, and He goes His own way—calmness and order ensue. This must be taken as a preparatory glance at all that follows ; all *human* (and otherwise justified) wrath He subordinates to *Divine* love, as is testified by the word to Judas, and at the same time by the healing of Malchus. He renounces all

¹ Ebrard and Lange decide for the same meaning.

Divine power (though ever at His command) in the fulfilment of His *human* obedience, as the word to Peter teaches. With *Divine-human* dignity and light He *speaks, teaches, testifies*, from the beginning to the end, as His final word to the multitude will especially show. Truly, never man *suffered* like this man! He utters *I am He!* and faith understands the word, *sinks* voluntarily to His feet, and responds—*Verily, Thou art He!*

THE LAST WORD TO JUDAS.

(Matt. xxvi. 50; Lu. xxii. 48.)

The traitor had given them a *sign*.¹ *Whomsoever I shall kiss, that same is He.* St Luke, who does not expressly say this, not only however records the kiss, but our Lord's word, presupposing it, which spoke of *betraying* with a kiss. The question whether or not St Mark's word, ver. 44,—“lead Him away *safely*”—has an ironical meaning, as if Judas thought that the Lord would know how to save Himself, is bound up with the interpretation of Matt. xxvii. 3, and the whole view which we take of the betrayal. Into this we cannot now enter; but may remark that the assumption of such daring trifling on the part of the traitor, though to us improbable, would only make his wickedness the greater. It is plain in any case that he had made the most cold-blooded calculation and arrangement of all things, even down to the particular of this sign. In this most miserable act of forethought, he is daring enough to carry his mockery even to the awful point of showing himself at once His disciple and betrayer; but he is also unconsciously and secretly a coward, in that he does not dare to give any other sign, such as should externally dishonour his Master. But now, through the declaration of Jesus, this sign has been rendered unnecessary;—are we then to suppose that Judas did kiss his Master? This apparently difficult question has induced many to reverse the order of time:—the kiss was first given, and then

¹ St Matt. *σημεῖον*; St Mark more precisely *συνσημα*, that is, *signum commune*, a concerted sign, known to all. The *ἰδῶναι* of the one is to be understood as the same with the *δεῖδῶναι* of the other.

Jesus came forth to them with His *Whom seek ye?* For this Lampe appeals to Bynæus; and among the more eminent names which have so decided we may mention Hess, Hase, v. Gerlach, Tholuck, Olshausen, Lücke, Ebrard, Lange, and Braune. That Judas went forward first alone, "to give the sign at a distance," while the watching spies kept in the rear in order that the seemingly artless kiss should not be interrupted, might appear to be a very rational explanation of their concerted plan; but we cannot agree with Ebrard that this is the only and the obvious solution, for it is easy to imagine a much more daring kiss than this would have been. But to what end and with what meaning the Lord could *then*, after He had thus been marked out and "*betrayed with the kiss*," put the simple question as to *whom* they sought; and, still more, in what conceivable sense the first equally artless answer, "Jesus of Nazareth," could have been given—we are altogether at a loss to understand. For in that case the first answer of the multitude would have been bold to such a degree that their immediate transition to amazement on hearing the "I am He"—which, however, added nothing to the intelligence—would be incomprehensible. And that, as Lange states the case, "Judas, on hearing the rebuking voice of Jesus, quickly hastened back, and his *hasty retreat* threw the first element of sympathetic fright into the mass of the people," sounds reasonable enough, until we study carefully the very words of the last Evangelist. St John's representation, in the direct sequence of vers. 3 and 4, produces at once the impression that this was the *first* time, and that Jesus went forth to meet *all* that was to come upon Him, thus anticipating the awful concerted kiss of Judas. The *εἰσέρχεται* of Jno. ver. 5 appears to us entirely to preclude the idea of any previous "falling back." Lampe, who takes for granted that the kiss had preceded, thus incorrectly interpolates: "He stands, therefore, suffused with shame, horrified at the commission of his own act, and dreading what the issue of the whole would be." For, if St John had meant this, he would have recorded the commission of the act; or otherwise his narrative would be a very strange one. He rather stands, according to St John, as the same who had *received* this band and led them hither, and who had *come* with them—vers. 3 and 5 are closely con-

nected. If the *εἰσέρηκε*—Judas *stood*—has, as it then would have, a special emphasis, that emphasis is a very different one, as we read in the Berleb. Bible: “he appears to have been stunned, and not to know whether to go before or behind, to advance or retreat.” More plainly: He stood irresolute, and delayed awhile his kiss; perceiving this, our Lord would anticipate his act, and *spare* him this wickedness, as also obviate all unnecessary measures at His own capture. Still more, this *stood*, ver. 5, is undeniably a prelude to the *fall* of ver. 6, which is its direct antithesis, and intimates that Judas also fell with them. Assuredly, according to the plain word of the Evangelist, he did fall to the earth, and naturally was one of the first to do so. But he was also, and this alone is in harmony with his character, which is described in the holy word as devilish, one of the first, if not the first, who daringly stood up again. Chrysos., Cyril., Theoph., Euthym., assume that he did not give the kiss until after Jno. xviii. 4–8; and we agree with them, assuming further that this was even after he had already fallen to the earth in common with the others who had stood. The sign was now indeed superfluous, but in the exuberance of his daring he gives it nevertheless, though scarcely risen from the ground. Nor was it, as has been said, merely in his “confusion” that he did it, for a devil, a man into whom Satan has entered, may indeed be obliged to fall; but confused in his wickedness he cannot be, at least in the sense which has been maintained. Why then is the kiss given, when Jesus has already abundantly declared that it was He whom they sought and should take? Naturally—in the devilish spirit—that he may maintain his consistency, and redeem his word, and recover from the vexation of the fall to the earth as speedily as possible. All depends upon *him*, the leader; and he must needs inspire his followers by showing them, what none knew so well as he, that they might approach Jesus without being harmed. Pfenniger makes one of his characters say, “Judas, thou art a dead man if thou goest near to Him,” and the wicked traitor replies, “Fear not, He never did harm to man!” In Teschendorff Judas encourages the multitude: “Go on to Him! What fear ye? I will show you that He may be approached without fear!” We agree with this, apart from the utterance of the feeling in

words: it is the only view which altogether harmonises the whole. And he drew near to Jesus, and with some customary word of greeting he *kissed* Him! Luke has simply φιλήσαι, Matthew and Mark indeed κατεφίλησεν; both however only in the meaning of the *ὃν ἂν φιλήσω* which they have used previously. Thus here it is not the compound word, with its common intensification of meaning, *diu multumque osculari*, to kiss over and over (Tac. *osculis aliquem fatigare*), which is, apart from its impropriety generally, quite opposed to the φιλήματι, the single kiss which, according to St Luke, the Lord speaks of.¹ What a kiss was this, the symbol and proverb of everything horrible of the same kind; though nothing of the same kind could ever equal it, and Joab's kiss, 2 Sam. xx. 9, 10, was but its distant type! Among all the kisses of an enemy, which Solomon says, with a dark meaning, are נִיחָאֵי, meaning thereby certainly something evil, deceitful, wily, *this* kiss upon the cheek of the Holy One of God was the most detestable and vile; and it might well provoke to *wrath*—in every other man, but not in the Lord Jesus. There is a sinless wrath of holy indignation which our Lord at other times felt and expressed; and if this pure human feeling in the Holy One was ever excited, it might have been supposed that it would be now, when He submitted to this blasphemer's salutation! What righteous man among men would not have turned away his face? What saint might not, under other circumstances, have felt holy and vehement anger? But here and now it is very different—toward this Judas the Lord will exhibit nothing but long-suffering and love. The hell *in man* is condemned, during the time of His forbearance, by that Divine love of the Son of man, which will not till hereafter become a consuming fire. The Lord turns not away His face; He suffers, He receives the kiss—this is abundantly more than what He requires of His disciples in Matt. v. 39. David's submission to

¹ Bengel's translation is *gab ihm Kusse*—kisses—as in the Gnomon—*more than once*. Ebrard makes it an embrace; but all this is inappropriate and unnecessary, since καταφιλεῖν is certainly used for φιλεῖν. (Ecclus. xxix. 5 in Wahl does not suit, but 3 Ezra iv. 47 does.) The stronger word only makes emphatic the accomplishment of the purpose—He came to kiss, and did it.

the cursing of Shimei, and whatever else may be compared, falls infinitely short of the acceptance of this kiss.¹ Christ loved *His own* unto the end—but also the lost one, the apostate among them. (2 Pet. iii. 1.) Therefore He does not merely *keep silence*, which is generally an easier act of patience; but He still speaks, and now, as everywhere throughout the Passion, at the right place. His words become less frequent and more brief as events proceed, but they are all the more impressive and powerful when testimony demands them.

We shall not needlessly trouble ourselves with the doubtful question as to whether the twofold word to Judas was or was not spoken at once; we take both sayings, as they simply stand, as being intended by the Spirit to form one word. Thus first, the saying which St Matthew records; for this appears to us to have been actually first spoken, inasmuch as the immediate reply is connected with the greeting which accompanied the kiss. According to St Matthew *χαίρε παῖσι*—a *mocking salutation*, the prelude of the soldiers' mockery in Matt. xxvii. 29. This was the most confidential formula which a disciple could permit himself to use, according to the custom both of Gentiles and Jews; whether in the apostolical circle the Lord was ever greeted with *שלום עליך*—*Peace be to Thee*—we very much doubt, at least as far as regards the reverent spirit of the others. Braune supposes that the Greek or the Roman salutation was used, on account of the Gentile soldiers, and then continues, "Judas might indeed have been able to take upon his lips the Jewish '*Peace be with thee*;' " we agree with him in the latter, and are willing to admit a certain truth in the former, if St Matthew reports literally. In St Mark the best Codd. and the Syr. have a double *Rabbi* without *hail*, Lachmann gives but one, the Vulg. *ave, Rabbi*. However it may be, they accord in this—that he greeted and kissed Him (with or without the expression of the greeting) calling Him *Rabbi*. Corresponding with this is the *ἐταίρε* of the Lord's response. This is hard to translate, since the most obvious "My friend" is either too

¹ Pfenninger: "Wouldst thou know what Satan can do and God can bear, what the basest of mankind can do and the best of manhood can bear: behold the lips of Judas who kisses, and the cheek of Jesus which receives the kiss."

affectionate, and almost sentimental; or again too cold and indifferent, as it may be taken like a cursory greeting of a traveller. It was neither the one nor the other here; but uttered more graciously and affectionately now by the lips of Jesus than the half-friendly and half-repellant address in the two parables, ch. xx. 13, xxii. 12. The "*gesell*," companion, of the Berkenb. Bible has too good a meaning, that is, according to Ps. lv. 14; it would in its fundamental signification suit very well, were it not that common usage had given it another tone. *Friend*, in the sense of *φίλος*, the Lord could not possibly say; for, Jno. xv. 14, 15 teaches us how much meaning that word has as used by the Lord Jesus. Nor in the weaker sense of a merely human relationship, could He so term this deceitful *enemy*, at the moment of his betraying kiss. Indeed, all allusion to former friendship would be beside the truth in the case of this evil man. Nor does this lie in the word, as Ammonius says: "*ὁ ἐταῖρος* is not altogether a *φίλος*. '*Ἐταῖροι* are such as have been confederates for a length of time in life and work." Thus the recognition of a near relationship, so fearfully now dishonoured, is contained in the word:—As thou by word and salutation declaredst thyself, so, alas, thou *hast been*, a close companion of Mine! This Judas is the disgrace and refuse of mankind. Twice, with deep meaning, had the Lord's *behold* (as before at the table) emphatically announced his coming; the three Evangelists cannot otherwise record it than by once more adding in horror—*One of the Twelve!* That this man betrayed Him is the shame and grief of Christ, the rejoicing and boast of His enemies. Nevertheless, *He is avowed by the Lord* as having been that which his former companionship made him; just as it is now with His false friends, and the apostates from His service:—the remembrance of their former title follows them. As to *Judas*, this is the mildest and most passive form of condemnation which the patient Lord can adopt—to remind him of all the grace of this fellowship which he had turned to evil, all the love which the Lord had never ceased to manifest toward him: this heaps coals of fire upon his head. As to the multitude, who behold and hear all, and who cannot but be regarded also in these words, it is the most dignified form in which He can stoop under the fearful shame. It is

the acknowledgment—Yes, verily, this is one of My nearest companions; and now, moreover, the *declaration*—I know what this kiss signifies.

Thus the question, *Wherefore art thou come?* passes over from the reference to the standers-by into a direct address to the heart and conscience of the traitor. That the sentence is a question¹ we firmly believe with Winer. The notion of an *exclamation* is altogether improper; for, it regards the Lord as surprised, confounded, angry, or whatever else, instead of patiently accepting the iniquity which He clearly and serenely contemplated and expected. Nor is the *form* of the sentence an *aposiopesis*—though the reading in the Vulg. *ad quod* might lead that way: the question would then drop, and it would run, *Wherefore thou art come—I know!* This is involved in the thing itself, but the question has its piercing meaning as such for Judas. The true *aposiopesis* (not necessary in the form, only in the sense) is expressed by Bengel—*Hocine illud est, cujus caussâ ades?* Thus it is harmonised with the similarly-constructed other words in St Luke; and has almost, humanly speaking, a tone as if the fearful, long-known, and expected truth could hardly be believed, even now that it took place:—Unhappy man, cared for in vain, art thou really then come to do this work of evil? *Πάρει* is stronger than *ἦλθες*; not quite the same as *παρῳγένορας ἐν ταῦθα* (not as if—in *this place*, and in *this company*)—but indicating strongly and simply the actual accomplishment of his evil counsel, presenting the traitor in his actual present act.

The second word, which St Luke gives, contains all this—the most patient *acceptance* with the most piercing *complaint*; this last again only as the profoundest *lamentation of despised love, which had loved in vain*, and thus the expression of Divine suffering. But it also contains still more, something yet more piercing for the betrayer. Why should not both sayings be read in succession, as they appear to be the first and second degree of the utterance which impressed this crisis? The former word turned in the *ἐράϊπος* to the whole time past of his fellowship; the latter pauses now in the present, as summed up in the

¹ The Relat. *ἰφ' ὅ* instead of *ἐπ' αὐτόν*. The same in the reading *ἰφ' ἔ*—though this is not to be preferred. Hesych. *ἐπ' αὐτόν* *ἐκτοῦ*.

πάρε—*παράδιδως*; *betrayest thou?* The former acknowledged him, with reference to the crowd around; the latter seizes Judas alone and apart. The first scarcely expressed as yet the iniquity, the second defines it most concretely—*with a kiss!* The former measured his guilt according to the favour and fellowship which had formerly been enjoyed; the latter borders already, in its almost formal expression of guilt, upon the edge of the judgment which impends. The Lord now calls the wicked one by his *name*, that name for ever branded in him, but which otherwise has so lovely a meaning. This man had received at his circumcision the name of the ruling tribe, which spoke of the praise of God, and was to be for ever a praise itself. He had been called to be an Apostle, bearing the distinctive name of the chosen people (probably the only man of Judæa among them); and how often had his Lord addressed him by that name! St Luke points to all this when he sets out with *ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰούδας*—*he that was so called*—something like 1 Cor. viii. 5; comp. Jno. x. 34, 35. What a contrast, between this calling by name and the "*Mary*" of the risen Lord! Between the *last* word of the suffering Jesus to the betrayer, and the *first* word of the risen Jesus to that beloved disciple! With a kiss, with such a kiss—this first, in order to say, I *know* also this concerted sign, that thou thereby *betrayest* Me!¹ In thy wicked design it is and will ever be treachery, but to Me it is really none. And, in conclusion, the Lord reminds the traitor of the word concerning him spoken at the Supper; *therefore* the similar expression, which here no more than there softens the guilt—the *Son of man!* The *Rabbi!* which he had just spoken

¹ Lange puts in another form, what we have hinted at in the earlier passage: "The same spirit of infatuation which made him a traitor, led him to this diabolical refinement, this wonderful combination of the disciple's kiss and the traitor's sign, which has no parallel in human history." Yea, verily, this was his curse and ban, that the apostate *ῥαίπος* must betray *with a kiss*. But that St Luke in his "drew near to Jesus, to kiss Him," intends to say that the kiss was not accomplished, not only contradicts the express testimony of the others, but the Lord's own "*with a kiss*." Lange, further, regards the word of the Lord as a condemnation thrown into his face, by which, so to speak, the Lord finally cast him off. But this is quite alien from the Lord's full submission to all that then came upon Him, including this act and sign of treachery.

seems also to suggest again that former "Rabbi! is it I?" and it is as if he says, in most unrestrained impiety, coming out from the multitude which he had brought with him—*Rabbi, it is I!* The Lord replies, veiling the fact as it were in a question, but only that its fearful truth might be brought home to the doer of it,—And *such a man* art thou, Judas? doest thou *that*? This question was the last vain thrust at his hard heart—and with what a *glance* accompanied! No imagination could represent that; but we are disposed to think that Jesus only spoke, and withheld the condemnation of His countenance. "He preached to Judas, but only cast a look upon Peter. The preaching was lost upon Judas, the look brought repentance in Peter." (Gossner.)

What an emptying of Himself, what humble self-renunciation of that Son of God in His first coming, concerning whose second judicial coming it is written that He will destroy the wicked with the breath of His mouth! Here in the *last* word to Judas, however, there is a concealed sentence of judgment: this question and lamentation he carried with him as an accusation to his hell. The remembrance of this word will be the first thought with which he will stand before his Judge—and fall backward.¹

THE HEALING OF MALCHUS.

(Luke xxii. 1.)

The moment of the word to Judas was, according to the first two Evangelists, the *Then* when they laid their hands on Him, and took Him.² And St Luke immediately connects this earnest execution of their purpose by his *ιδόντες δὲ τὸ ἐσόμενον*. This is the beginning of His being reckoned among the transgressors before men. The disciples and Peter had seen with blank astonishment the kiss of Judas; they had not understood the patience and the word of Jesus; and now their

¹ Krummacher: "the word will then be divested of its questioning form, and be changed into the direct, judicial sentence—*Thou betrayedst* the Son of man with a kiss!"

² How can we interpose here first, that which St John records?

spirit of opposition is aroused. The highest injustice possible in the world's history was done before their eyes. As our flesh wills not to suffer generally, so our carnally-minded spirit wills not in particular to endure injustice; for it understands not the divinity of this suffering of injustice, the patient long-suffering of the world's Ruler. So man invades the prerogative of God, and thinks he must execute justice for himself. It is probable that these myrmidons of the council still acted timorously at the first taking of Jesus; and this would make way for the thought in the minds of some of the disciples—We also have *hands*! All, all had hitherto loudly cried, even as the Lord had prayed—Father, *Thy* will be done! But Peter in particular wills not that it should be, that the Son of God should suffer this: so Matt. xvi. 22. Others too with him (though not the collective Eleven) put the question which St Luke gives—*Lord*, should we not, or *may* we not, interfere with the sword, use our swords? Literally: *If* we strike? What thinkest Thou? What a contrast here between *this* question, so self-willed with all its reverential appeal to Him as "*Lord*," and the gentle word of this Lord to the betrayer! What folly in the question—to think that the same Lord who had thus endured the kiss, would permit the sword! Yet there is such a voice which speaks in every one of us, when called to suffer injustice; and that, though there is a stronger assurance of the Lord's answer than the slight presentiment of it which lies in the present *question*. But not all go on to the act without waiting for the answer, like Peter, whom St John first *names*. He will exhibit *himself*, where all should have been the contemplation of the *Lord*, whose aspect would have answered all such questions; he will solve the word earlier spoken to him, he will repair the error of his sleep—though in this act he is sleeping still! Instead of previously obtaining, by watching and prayer, the weapons of the Spirit against himself, his spirit breaks out in false zeal in the wrong place. Practical and devotional expositions of the Passion generally dwell solely on his denial; but the drawing of his sword was an essential part of that denial: both must be viewed together, if we would derive from it all its edification. The sword of Peter is the sword of the flesh, taken by ourselves against the ordinance of God. We draw it alas too often our-

selves: when we are not enough humbled, but think too highly of ourselves; when we understand not our Lord's words and works which point to suffering, and because they do so, observe them not; when we rush on in blind zeal to smite the unrighteous, and, instead of the help we mean, work greater mischief and wrong. Luther has well expressed the sense of the *shall we smite?* without any accusative—shall we *drein schlagen*? for so it is,—smite at random and blindly, whomsoever we may hit. When Peter unsheathed his sword and struck, whom did he hurt? It might have been a servant who stood forth more prominently, whose boldness chiefly offended him; it might have been an innocent and dutiful servant, whose heart went not with the duty which he was obliged to discharge. All four Evangelists notice his person, which was so marvellously wounded and healed at once, with the article which presupposes a general tradition—the servant of the high priest. The uncalled-for and murderous blow was aimed at the head; but Malchus declined his head to the left, and his right ear only was struck. Instead of *ὠτίον* (in Mark and John also the reading *ὠτάριον*), St Luke uses interchangeably *οὖς* in ver. 50; whence we see that *ὠτίον* (as in the Sept. often for *ṯē*) is not merely the *ear-lap*, but the ear simply.¹

New and grievous indignity inflicted upon our Lord by another of His own disciples! It disturbs, impairs, and troubles, externally at least, the sacred dignity of His patience at its most august moment; it makes it seem as if they did right to come out armed against Him. For the first and only time the defence of Jesus brings injury here to man. What is the Lord's act? Assuredly He *could* do no other than what St Luke records; though Neander, alas so often an unsafe historian among orthodox expositors, doubts it. Pfenniger represents his narrating disciple as asking the question—What thinkest thou that He did? and Melea as replying with fine feeling—Repel Simon, and heal the ear? The narrator, astonished, demands—Didst thou know this? Melea answers—How could I know it? But how could He act otherwise, who endured the diabolical kiss of Judas? The healing of

¹ The old grammarians say: *οὖς* Attic, *ὠτίον* Hellenic. So, as is well known, *auricula* was used for the ear.

the ear, which might be understood of itself, is passed over by the three other Evangelists, because the word to Peter has in them its prominent importance; but St Luke connects with it the act and word of healing. The excitement of all parties at this apparition of the sword and the flowing of blood would make it evident that the Lord did not first speak what He had to say to Peter, and keep the wounded servant so long unhealed. Thus the *healing*, and the *word* pertaining to it, come first; both required but a moment, and it is wrong therefore to say that during the healing the Lord proceeded to speak to Peter:—the healing was not a process which required time. No sooner was the rash blow inflicted than He knew what to do: He neglects neither side of the matter. Almost at one and the same moment He healed the wounded man, and rebuked the smiter (for *his* healing too); but, since the two were in reality distinct, the removal of the offence and injury has the priority. Thus He Himself, as if it was His own obligation to do so, repairs the unhappy injury of His disciple.¹ Thus He once more gives testimony that His power of miracles had not departed from Him, even now when He renounces all help and defence.² He provides graciously that Peter should not be punished; and that, where the life of a man was to have been taken, his soul should rather be won, which we may suppose was the case with Malchus. This is the *last* act of His hands; *He now stretches them out to be bound*.

This last thought we find in the pregnant word which, according to St Luke, accompanied or rather preceded the healing. Jesus might have done this silently by an instantaneous touch, but in order to that He must have His freedom. With-

¹ It was the *ear* of Malchus; and this should be remembered by those who by false use of the sword, that is, by an unevangelical preaching of the Gospel, with a perverted zeal, so often cut off the ear of the people, that is, rob them to their mortal injury of their willingness to hear the word of truth. We may all cut off the ear, but the Lord only can heal it again.

² One true miraculous work here at the last, not to be explained away! According to St John's ἀπικοψεν, and the ἀφείλες of the Synoptics, one might suppose that the ear was cut right off, and fell on the ground. But it was only as good as off, and yet hanging—for ἀψάμνος means healing by mere touch, not the taking up and restoring of the ear. Mark that St Luke has first οὗς, then ὅτιον—not conversely.

out touching it is not His will to heal; partly, because He would not now make exhibition of the miraculous power of His commanding word, partly to impress upon Malchus the moment and the fact of his experience of the power of God. Consequently, *He speaks*, and in the words which we must rightly understand in St Luke.

The most ancient translation, as found in the Peshito, represents it quite differently; and that has been approved of by almost all German translators, including Meyer. Grotius and Bengel interpret, "There let the matter rest, let this be enough!" as if spoken to the interfering disciples. Scholz and Theile divide the words into two parts, *Ἐὰν, ὥς τούτου* (scil. *ἀπόχρη*). Olshausen, Restrain yourselves, thus far and no further! Allioli: Desist, no further! Bengel: Let it end here! Kistemaker: Enough! But Lange rightly remarks that this is opposed by our Lord's reproof of the disciple after the healing. If He *blames* Peter, we cannot suppose that He would say to the other disciples who might proceed to imitate him (there was however but one more sword, which *also* opposes that view); and that, too, in a phrase which would involve some slight approbation—"Enough has been done in this matter, ye have sufficiently shown your good will in My defence, which is, however, now out of place." There cannot be any irony here, for it is the plainest and most open protest against the use of all unrighteous violence which now follows. There are other views, however, to be considered, which are put forth by those who maintain the reference of the saying *to the disciples*. Luther translates: *Let them go on* thus far! and explains in the margin, "Let them do all their malice, so far as they are allowed; there is a Judge, let us not avenge ourselves." The Hirschberg Bible mends the construction, and brings out, in connection with this, the former opinion too: "*Let it be so*, that is, let the enemies do what they will. *Thus far!* that is, Go 'no further in a premature and rash *opposition* to them." This separation of the two parts of the sentence into sayings having a different reference is too harshly elliptical, and almost unintelligibly so. But Luther's view, which does not separate them, is open to the same objection:—Let them fulfil all and do with Me what they will. That would assuredly be an appropriate *first answer*

to the question, *Shall we interpose?* But in the meantime the blow has been struck and the injury done; so that Jesus could not, omitting to notice this even for a moment, go on to speak to the disciples, who had, alas, given their own improper answer. To supply *them* after *suffer* is harsh; and still harsher to interpret the *ἕως τούτου* of *all* that which they were to do to Him by God's permission, the least act of which was now done. "*ἕως τούτου*" "*as far as*" must in connection with the *suffer* refer to the *present crisis* and *something now taking place*.

It only remains, then, that Christ, when He begins to repair the injury, should turn to the excited, offended, injured multitude, which, after this hasty blow, would set upon Him all the more vehemently.¹ Lange observes quite correctly: To the disciples the healing (and answer) itself was quite sufficient correction of their error; but in order to this healing the Lord must claim some short respite from His enemies, as He had already delivered Himself up to them. And *now* we understand this often-overlooked word in all its dignity. What humility in the midst of His consciousness and use of the Divine power of healing! What most exquisite feeling of what was right, even in the suffering of injustice, that He should appeal to the ruling powers, to whom He had already surrendered Himself, for release and permission; that He should as it were *ask* it of His enemies that they should tarry a while, and leave His hands free for the performance of this necessary and obligatory act of benevolence!² Now we understand this simple *suffer*, which vibrates between request and lofty command, and to which He does not add—*Me*; and now we understand the concealing *τούτου*, by which He means this work of miraculous power, *this* healing as indispensably necessary before He was finally bound.

¹ For this sudden appeal to the sword would naturally, as Krummacher paints the scene, introduce much wrathful confusion.

² Rambach: "Hold back thus long! He demands (commanding while He asks) that they would leave His hands free until He had healed the ear." Wesley: "Suffer Me at least to have My hands at liberty thus far, while I do one more act of mercy." Hess: "Jesus, whose hands they would bind behind His back, requires of them freedom for one moment while He heals the servant's ear."

PETER'S SWORD.

(Matt. xxvi. 52-54; Jno. xviii. 11.)

And they did give Him sufferance so long as to do *this*. Yea, they were constrained to hold back, as soon as He spoke; His word was enough, whether or not they understood His purpose. It is probable that the hasty touch and the healing which followed had not been remarked by the greater part; the Lord passes it over as a slight thing, a circumstance which explained itself, while He turns now uninterruptedly to speak a fitting word to Peter. As long as He speaks, they all listen and do nothing—this appears throughout the entire Passion. The multitude would have listened, notwithstanding their excited wrath, had the Lord spoken before the healing to Peter; but His perception of most exact propriety would not allow Him to do that. The word against Peter's sword is an instruction given to us all, on an occasion most suitable for its utterance; it begins with Peter's unsheathed weapon and ends with the *thus it must be* of the Scripture. We have, first, the universal instruction for all the future. The foundation of this in the sublime example of His voluntary renunciation of all violent help, even that of heaven—is the second thing. And, thirdly, there is the reason of His own conduct in the Divine counsel and will—this is the necessary conclusion and final appeal against all self-will.

Ver. 52. This self-will is first addressed and repelled: Put up, return *thy* sword into its place! The *σοῦ*, probably though not certainly spurious in John, stands in Matt. more emphatically first. *Thy sword—most alien from My cause*, as Bengel explains it. That cannot help, but will be the means of still greater hurt and offence.¹ These words, so decisive against

¹ This applies, it may be observed, to the sword of the *word*, when used in carnal pride and hate:—"not with wrath and bitterness, but with calm demonstration and sound instruction.—The truth is justified of all her children; but when we interpose rashly, she turns and says, with divine tranquillity, Put up thy sword into its sheath! shall I not drink the cup?" (So v. Meyer.)

Rome's appeal to the civil sword, have been perverted into the very reverse, into a witness for her carnal prerogatives. Pope Eugenius III. urged that "*thy sword*" assigned the weapon to Peter, though he was checked for using it just then! But every man must see the folly of this; for "*thy*" simply rejects the sword of Peter, as taken or unsheathed at an improper time and in self-willed rashness *by him*. There remains an altogether different question, the answer to which has nothing to do with Peter's particular person, or with Rome—whether the Lord forbade, or could forbid, to His disciples the use of the sword under all circumstances. The answer is plain enough elsewhere in Scripture; it follows from the relations of the matter itself; and is *intimated* here by a sure though subtile expression. St John, to wit, records it as if the Lord had said merely—*into its sheath*, comp. 1 Chron. xxii. 27; Jer. xlvii. 6; but it is remarkable that St Matthew gives *into its place*; and we think that this pregnant expression is, as the more exact, not to be reduced back again to the meaning of *its sheath*. There is a distinction which must not be lost sight of, between the mention of the sheath alone as such, and the mention of it as the *place* of the sword. The latter admits that there is *even for the sword an appropriate place for righteousness' sake*, and that of course the sheath; where it is carried, not to remain there always, but to be drawn from it on proper occasions. Salmeron is right as it regards this meaning, though with an application very different from that of Rome: "The Lord did not say, Throw away or give up the sword; but replace it in its sheath, *in its own time you may use it*." This is very true, if that wider interpretation embraces "*the sword*" generally, which the future disciples of Christ were to bear and to draw. For the sheath is not merely now in Peter's case, but generally, the place in which the sword is to be kept *for use*; but the particular "*my sword*" of any successor of Peter is here once for all denounced. Bengel acknowledges this, when he explains *τόπον*, "the sword out of the scabbard is not in its place, unless it is subserving the Divine wrath." Braune, on the other hand, contradicts both Evangelists, and imposes his own meaning instead of expounding theirs, when he says, "Jesus commands him to put his sword into its place; not merely into its sheath, but to put it away

generally." For that would be a strange method of commanding a thing to be put away altogether—to leave it *in its place*, and even directing to that place.

The sword is there and is to remain. That which the Lord had spoken, according to St Luke not long before, He has not forgotten, while Peter thus unhappily remembers it. But there is a twofold use which is forbidden, and in regard to which it must have its place in the sheath; as there is a twofold sense—whether as commanded or simply permitted—in which, even when *out of* the sheath (which preserves it only to that end) it is *in its place*. First, in the redeeming work of Christ, in the perfect drinking of that cup of sorrow once for all by Himself alone, it had nothing to do. And, secondly, it must generally be at rest in the matters of the *kingdom* of Jesus, founded upon His sufferings, and spread through His truth; in the testimony of which the sword has no place, as we shall hear in Jno. xviii. 36, and Zech. iv. 6 in the Old Testament had long before announced. But the sword is borne, and that not *in vain*; it is used in the service of the Divine administration by God's rulers;¹ and, finally, it may in a certain sense be taken *righteously* in personal defence, when the case does not directly involve a testimony to the patience of Christ, and is not bound up with the interests of His kingdom—whereof we have spoken on Lu. xxii. 36. Therefore the Lord in the following clause says only λαβόντες—*those who take*—giving prominence to this distinction:—all who in carnal self-will, with however much false show of spirituality, *themselves unjustifiably seize the sword*—but by no means those into whose hands God puts it. The fundamental *jus talionis* which the Lord expresses is only the concrete confirmation for the present case of the ancient word of God, Gen. ix. 6; and as to the patience of the saints in suffering for Christ's sake, in the drinking of the cup appointed also to them, the Spirit repeats this word of Christ in Rev. xiii. 10: which parallel passage proves, what is however perfectly plain here,—that the punishment is threatened against the wrong use of the sword in the manner of *Peter*. There was scarcely need for Olshausen's earnest protest against the old

¹ To this we may refer the duty of the subject to bear arms; the rulers being responsible for the justice of the war.

opinion, adopted by Grotius, which makes our Lord say that retaliation would soon fall upon *His enemies*. Peter, that is, *the disciple of Christ*, should violently defend neither Christ nor himself *in his office of disciple*. But if the *Fut. shall perish by the sword* is equivalent, as it is, to an Imperative of the Divine ordinance, then in the *second* clause the use of the sword by the magistrate, under God's commission, is retained and established. Now he who in circumstances of private peril, with which the work and kingdom of Christ have nothing to do, *without* personal revenge and sinful wrath, *in the name of God* (and it may be with *zeal of God*) can defend himself against the murderer who *would* kill him, and thus in God's view *has* killed him (*taken* the sword to that end)—is no other than a warranted avenger of blood for himself as well as for his neighbour; he *acts* according to the command of God, as Christ has here confirmed it. But that Christians have ever found here the utmost difficulty in practice, has, alas, its good reason in this, that we, where our own life is concerned, know not how to act with pure unselfishness, and only as the executors of the Divine judgment. As long as this is wanting, and the judgment of God is not pure and unimpeachable in our hands (according to that typical example in Judg. iii. 20),—the Spirit of the Lord cries to our flesh—Put up *thy* sword into its sheath; this is *now* its place, rather than thy hand! Had they slain Peter, who would have slain another, that would have been no martyr's death, but his just award:—the Lord lets him *hear* this judgment hovering over his head, while by the healing He averts it from him. This remission of his strict sentence was not only in general the prerogative of grace; but there was an apology for Peter in the complication of the case, in which the rulers of Israel joined with Gentile powers in the attack upon Jesus, as also in his remembrance of a word of Christ Himself which led him astray. In similar cases the Lord ever shows the same consideration of all the circumstances; it is better to act, however, so that no such healing be made necessary, by asking and waiting the Lord's answer in all doubtful cases. He will surely teach us by His Spirit when the sword should be in, and when it should be out of, its *place*. Finally, all this has its application to every injurious and premature defence of ourselves, be it of whatever

kind it may, which may be brought into comparison with the use of the sword.

St John adds that the Lord, when He thus repelled Peter's sword, said further—The cup which My Father hath given Me, should I not drink it? This coincides with Matt. vers. 53, 54; but it must have some preparatory notice here. And we observe, first, how expressly the Gethsemane-prayer is *presupposed* in it; a reader of St John alone, who had no knowledge of that prayer, would almost necessarily conclude that Jesus had said something before, to which He now referred, concerning a cup to be drunk. Certainly we *might* understand the words alone and independently—but why should we make needless concessions to those whose business is to rend asunder the Gospels? We understand in what sense the cup had been spoken of, and in what sense the Lord says to Peter—Didst thou not hear and dost thou not yet understand My thrice-uttered prayer, and hast thou so soon forgotten it? We understand, further, how our Lord by this word strengthens and confirms His soul in uplifting His eye to His Father, before whom all things were open, who had already *given* the cup, which He had already begun to *drink*.¹ The Sixtine Vulg. says well—*Non vis ut bibam?* Is it thy will to part from My hand and My mouth, by thy sword, the cup which I have already received?—Let us, like Him, on all occasions of the attack of injustice, look up like Him to heaven, and place ourselves within the defence of the counsel of God for us; then shall we do right more certainly than if we only look at man, or retaliate his assault!

Ver. 53. The Lord now points His application to the foolish thought of Peter once more, and more plainly; entering more specifically into the present circumstance, in its sole and unparalleled significance. He thought in his folly that their two swords might and should bring them help on this occasion. Then he thought that, if *they* did not help, the Lord would be entirely deprived of protection and strength. This, therefore, the Lord lays bare—Canst thou suppose that, in this My suffer-

¹ It is significant that the Lord does not speak, like Krummacher, of a cup which Satan was to present to Him! No, this is altogether unbecoming, for as a cup the appointment of the obedience of drinking came only from the Father.

ing and drinking the cup,¹ I can suffer otherwise than with a *voluntary* renunciation of all *that power of God* which otherwise is always at My command? Great and sublime word of perfect consciousness *Who* He continues to be even in His self-renouncing sacrifice! Throughout His Passion there is no proper *I cannot*, which respects *power* simply in itself; His not being able is a sacred *not willing*, as with the Almighty Father: *for* the Father's almightiness, with all its hosts, is ever, as His prayer had expressed it, at the service of the Son. But the host and army of Divine omnipotence are the angels, in their personal reality, physically acting, and so far comparable with men, as is once more here established. The Lord speaks of *legions*, because the Roman soldiers are before Him, with whom the conflict would be; He mentions *twelve*² such legions obviously, as the universal supposition has been, with reference to the twelve weak Apostles, one of whom is even among the ranks of the enemy. But as this reckoning of the traitor has ever appeared a difficulty, it has been assumed that the Lord regarded the complete number by anticipation as supplied in the coming future. But we are more disposed to accept what the Berkenb. Bible says: that the Twelve points to the number of the Eleven disciples and Christ. Such a collocation of His own person with the persons of His disciples is not only an expression of gracious humility, while bearing testimony to His power, but it is also warranted by the fact that Peter's zeal would in reality defend them all as well as their Lord. Consequently, "Do ye not think that one legion at least would at once surround *each* of us Twelve (as Elisha was surrounded by the heavenly guard) if I only willed it?" The Lord further shows that the angels are superabundantly many (Dan. vii. 10; Ps. lxxviii. 18; Heb. xii. 22), when He says, *πλεῖους ἢ δώδεκα*—*more than twelve thousand*—for every number expressed by us is in a sense too small for them; but He also intimates by the *legions* that they are marshalled in order, and distributed under principalities and

¹ The word in St John must be taken with this of St Matthew, to show the connection.

² Each about 6000 men among the Romans. Augustin. de Spir. et Lit. cap. 1 and 35, where he speaks of *aliquid fieri posse quamvis, desit exemplum*, reads even *duodecim millia legiones*

powers. "One angel would have been enough to defend Christ against all the world"—preaches Luther here; and Wesley goes still further, "the least of whom, 'tis probable, could overturn the earth and destroy all the inhabitants of it." Others refer more temperately to the one which destroyed a hundred and eighty-five thousand of the Assyrians, and the other which destroyed the collective firstborn of Egypt. We feel the meaning: *All*, many as they are, indeed much *more* than twelve legions, would stand ready here for My assistance and at My command! Yet he befittingly softens the otherwise discordant thought by not saying that He could at once command their presence, but that He could ask the Father who would place them at His disposal. Yea, this was not only befitting, but strictly in harmony with His humanity, which has its claim upon the Father's omnipotence only through prayer. *Παρακαλέσαι* is certainly not "call to help Me" of itself, yet it is somewhat stronger than *asking* simply; and the *παραστήσει*, following the request at once, strictly corresponds to it. Finally, the *now* which belongs to the *I cannot* must be understood as either—*Even yet*, after things have gone so far, *if* I should resolve not to drink the cup; or probably better—*Now*, that is, at once, upon the spot! There is little difference between the two; but we should observe, that this whole reference to the angel-power, described in such lofty terms, sprang solely out of the contrast with Peter's sword, as an humbling condescension to his thought that foreign help was needed. For the Lord might have said yet more expressly—Hast thou not seen that I need only *speaking* to and *look at* My enemies, and they fall? And would they not be obliged to obey every *suffer* which My lips might speak?

Yes, if He had *willed* otherwise, as He *might*! Had the legions come—let that with its consequences be thought of! But—"in the work of redemption patience goes before almightiness," as an old hymn beautifully says; similarly, love goes before wrath. "Yea, for the bringing forth this conflict unto victory, the pure angels in Heaven availed Him nothing;¹ not to say the sinful disciples,—for this His sacred cross alone was sufficient." (Lange.) The word of the Lord of *Hosts* to

¹ Whose prerogative it will be to bear the sword of God's pure wrath and judgment, to cast the unprofitable into the fire.

Zerubbabel holds good, as well for the foundation as for the building of the true temple of God:—This is not by hosts or by power, even that of the angels, but by My *Spirit*, My Spirit willing for the suffering victory over the flesh. The angels must look on in adoring reverence, instead of drawing their flaming swords; the patience of Christ was to be to them, otherwise than to men, a spectacle! (1. Cor. iv. 9). Christ is now conscious of their nearness, for one had already come to His help in the way.

Ver. 54. *Ὁὐ* is not here *but*; for no antithesis was necessary, the decision was firm from the beginning. Thus, How *then* would the Scriptures be fulfilled, if I should *now* do so? Of an abstract *possibility* of these not being fulfilled He had spoken again in the previous verse; but as in the soul-conflict He had declined the absolute abstract *power* of God, so here His own. He rests in the *Δεῖ* of His holy willing, without constraint, with the assent of His full will. The note of interrogation might indeed be put *before* the *ὅτι*, so that the *must be* would constitute a new declaration of Christ's submission; but, after all, the submission is more perfect when we read the whole together, as is more natural—*The Scriptures in which it is written that thus it must be*. Where, however, these Scriptures express no specific will of God that we should suffer, we may look for defence, and it is permitted to us in our degree to pray for the protection of angels.

SECOND WORD TO THE MULTITUDE.

(Matt. xxvi. 55, 56; Mark xiv. 48, 49; Lu. xxii. 52, 53.)

He does not even yet keep entire silence—which is the easier part in human patience. As His hand had done good to the last, so He shuts not yet His mouth, even after His hands were bound. He stands in His majesty, retains His power, tranquillity, and love, to speak yet one word more. They listened in involuntary amazement to His words concerning the sword upon earth, and the angels in heaven, concerning the Father and the Scriptures. But, since He had again renounced all

defence, and submitted with *It must be* to what had come upon Him, they finally proceed to bind and take Him away. It might have been probably while this was commencing, but more probably as already bound and led away, that He speaks the last words on this occasion; thus breaking the silence, and lightening, more than torches and lanterns can do, the darkness through which He goes. The *answered*, of St Mark, ver. 48 (which certainly has nothing to do with *cut off his ear*, ver. 47, but simply notes a *commencement*, Heb. פְּתִי), and the *Jesus said* of Lu. ver. 52, leave the time undetermined; but St Matthew seems to intimate that a little afterwards, but still in this hour of His seizure, our Lord said these words. What He in them says to *the multitudes*, He is constrained to say—for the Father's honour, that He may be honoured in the Son even when men are pouring contempt upon the Son; as a testimony to the truth, that they might not think that they took Him with their swords, any more than Peter should have supposed that with his sword he could have defended Him; finally, in the love with which He, perseveringly teaching them, shows them their sin, and lays bare its self-contradiction and dark principle.

Ver. 55. The protest against Peter's sword still echoes—There needs no sword either *for Me* or *against Me*! He feels in His perfect humanity the indignity which is inflicted upon Him; but turns that at once into a lamentation and complaint over their sin, which in that indignity He deeply feels and resents. As against a thief or murderer, with whom My whole life tells you I have nothing in common:—by this protest He removes the semblance of evil which Peter had cast upon Him. The *staves* He does not disdain to mention, because they most strikingly characterise the whole. We doubt whether the ἐξήλθετε (Lu. ἐξεληλύθατε var. ἐξήλθατε) should be made a question; since the exhibition of their sin has the emphasis, and a *wherefore* would seem wanting, if it had been a question. The two Indicative clauses show expressly the contrast and contradiction of their conduct—Ye come thus now, but aforetime ye let Me alone peacefully teaching! (which connection Lu. gives in the *ὅντος μου*—*while I was*). Συλλαβεῖν, comp. συλλαβόντες, Lu. ver. 54, συνέλαβον, Jno. ver. 12, is the full accomplishment of the commencing κρατεῖν, the taking entirely into their power:

and this expression says—As if ye could not take Me into your power otherwise than by swords and staves ! Thus is Christ, the Holy One before God, in man's stead, and therefore according to and before God's counsel, reckoned among the transgressors, and treated here at the commencement of His sufferings like rebels against the law :—and this must obviously befall Him *before men* also, and as His own personal reproach. He takes *this* patiently ; to the condemnation of many, who, being actually evil-doers before God, so that their misdeed is laid open, will not even confess this before men. Christ endureth the shame, while He calmly speaks of it as an actual fact. But He also at the same time protests against it ; as every guiltless person may do, in his relative innocence and under the same circumstances, taking care, however, that it be not, as with Joseph's brethren, a punishment of their greater iniquity, notwithstanding their innocence touching the cup :—for in such cases the humble confession should be made, "We are not spies, but nevertheless murderers of our brother !" And, because we are all concerned in having thrown into the pit and put to death One who is greater than either Joseph or Abel, *we* poor sinners should never, in the vindication of our innocence and honour, in our protests against indignity and unrighteousness, adopt that strong and absolute tone which becomes none but the Holy One of God.

His present word is a pendant to Jno. viii. 49. He speaks in majestic submission—"I *am* no evil-doer, but I suffer Myself to be dealt with as an evil-doer." He cannot suppose the Roman soldiers to have any knowledge of what He, Jesus of Nazareth, is or is not ; it is therefore obvious that this second saying is specifically addressed to the Jewish part of the multitude, to the leaders and authors of this aggression of the powers :—and the following appeal, *I sat with you daily*, proves this. Still more, St Luke teaches us that high priests and elders were there in person, as also captains of the temple. Shleiermacher, indeed, permits himself such a criticism as this : "Probably there were no high priests and elders, certainly no chief captain of the temple,¹ present in person ;—but this was the conclusion drawn

¹ Who, according to Josephus Ant. viii. 5, held high rank, immediately after the high priest : Acts v. 24. But St Luke does not speak of him in the Singular !

from the words of Christ, by some reporter not well acquainted with the relations of things." But there is no difficulty in the presence of these high personages, when we remember the importance of the matter, and their own deeply-excited interest. Unnecessary at least, though not entirely to be rejected, is the explanation of Ebrard, that "*come upon Him*," is to be understood of the *first appearance now* of those who had come in stealthily afterwards. This, however, seems to be at variance with the simple account of the first two Evangelists, as also with the manner in which our Lords speaks of the (first) coming with swords and staves. This "which were come to Him" is not *superfluous*, even without the assumption of their later coming; it simply serves to make more prominent the *presence* of even these great personages. Bengel makes another remark upon it: "The officers were sent, the priests had come *voluntarily*." They might very well have thought their presence necessary to keep the peace and inspire the courage of the rest, to direct the miscellaneous multitude to the execution of their own purpose; besides which, it would be a gratification to their hate and their curiosity, to be there when Jesus was finally taken. But St Luke gives the fact prominence, in order to explain the circumstance that the Lord's words were not directed to the Romans. They were not, indeed, addressed to the Jewish officers as such; for, "He knew well that the mob of the captors were only the instrument of the others." (Pfenninger.) Braune: "Jesus knows well that, besides the Roman authorities of the temple watch, there were priests also who had stealthily crept in among the multitude; He therefore brings to light the cowardice and the malice of the *rulers*: for His word refers to them particularly, when He says—This is your hour," etc.

Daily: This is a vivid and general reference to His frequent presence on all occasions at the feasts, since His first coming to the temple; but especially during the last time Lu. xix. 47. *In the temple*, in the most public of all places, where the temple-watch might have at any time done their duty, if there had been anything dangerous in Him. I was (or *sat* uninterruptedly, as Matt. gives it in full) *teaching*! He says nothing more, that this may itself stand against their coming

as *against a thief*; ¹ about His miracles, the series of which had just been marvellously closed before their eyes, He says nothing. And ye took Me not—Lu. and ye stretched forth no hand against Me (with violence!). He thereby reminds them of such occurrences and expressions of feelings as Jno. vii. 30, 44, viii. 20; but He still continues unrebuked to *teach*, after they had taken Him, and shows them the internal contradiction of their cowardly dealing, which the swords and the staves rather reveal than conceal. For, as Lampe says, “what fearfulness this, for so many armed men to come out against one unarmed!”

Ver. 56. The fourth time in this chapter of Matt. (vers. 24, 31, 54), such reference to the *Scripture*! Again and again He declares that one thing which, nevertheless, Christian theology perpetually refuses to learn from the supreme Teacher and Doctor. He holds firmly to the Scripture, whether speaking to the exasperated Jews, or the docile disciples; He puts those to shame in their folly by proofs from Scripture, and strengthens these in their despondency by its consolatory promises. He appeals to Scripture in His vehement disputation with men, as He does in His solemn way of suffering to die for them; He confronts Satan with—*It is written!* and prays to the Father—that the Scripture may be fulfilled. The shortened clause in St Mark ² makes it plain that this appeal was not a supplement of the Evangelist (which Bengel assented to, on account of the complete form *all this was done*), but the Lord's own words continued. By the *γέγονεν* he brings into prominence the fact of the present beginning of the *γεύεσθαι* of ver. 54; but in adding *all* He includes all that was yet to be; for the *hour* of which He speaks already includes the whole Passion. If it were not for this restricting reference, we might assume a comprehensive glance backward to all the opposition and unbelief which had prepared the way for His being seized unto death:—*All this must have so come to pass!* That, however, is rather in the *was done* than in *all this*. And let the Plural *the Scriptures* be carefully noted (in Mar. yet more emphatic, as without *the prophets*), the force of which, as confirming and establishing every part of the canon, we have already pointed out, in Jno. v. 39.

¹ Alford calls it “the greatest possible contrast.”

² Ellipsis, as Jno. xv. 25

Here they are especially the *φωναὶ τῶν προφητῶν*, *the voices of the prophets*, which the rulers knew not, which predict in manifold unison the sufferings of the Messiah, Acts xiii. 27. Bengel well says—*Passio, confluens complementorum*: the passion, the confluence of fulfilments! This word, spoken in the face of His enemies, and which by its *γέγονεν* embraces and accepts all that was written concerning Him, is the strongest expression of His resolution, not without a glance beyond the whole into the *It is finished* of His victory. For in this *factum est* He utters His *fiat* to all that the hands of sinners shall do unto Him:—according to their thought, *whatsoever they listed* (Matt. xvii. 12); yet only *that the Scriptures might be fulfilled*. This glance into the Scriptures had been obscured to Him before.

Lu. ver. 53, *instead* of this reference to the Scripture, adds another word of the same meaning. His own hour thus come—and His Father's—He calls now in another aspect *their* hour. The Divine permission and appointment lies already in the *hour* of itself (Eras. *hora illa vestra*); but in the *your* which precedes it is given to them as the hour which was so welcome to their wicked minds, so long wished for on their part. The double *ἡ* will not allow us to combine the two clauses, "*this of yours* is the hour and power of darkness;" still less can we take the *καὶ* epexegetically, and reduce the darkness to the black sin of these men—"the hour of night in which your sins have their power."¹ But the Lord plainly distinguishes the Satanic from the human, while He describes both as united against Him. *Now* comes upon Him the power of *darkness* from without, as before from within. This phrase (to which even Matt. xxii. 13 points, comp. 2 Peter ii. 17, and Jude 13) was derived from the ancient prophets, and is firmly fixed in the New Testament, see Jno. iii. 19; Acts xxvi. 18; 2 Cor. vi. 14; Eph. vi. 12; Col. i. 13 (in this last passage also with *ἐξουσία*). The *power* has as it were an ironical connection with the *your*—Ye have power over Me, so far as and because Satan has power *over you*; and he has power *over Me* only through you. Thus these men are the instruments of the devil; the devil is an instrument of the Divine purpose in order to this great, long-predicted *hour* of redeeming

¹ Jacobi: "When ye, under the protection of the dark night, accomplish the wicked purposes of your darkened hearts."

suffering for the salvation of the world. But, as these men gave themselves up by their own will, and according to their own wish, to the service of the devil, there can be no excuse for them here as "blinded," least of all for the *leaders*, to whom therefore St Luke has specially referred this *your*.¹ Finally, darkness here has some allusion to the external *night* in which they had come (as in Jno. iii. 20, 21, see our exposition): I have sat with you *daily*, ye come upon Me as cowards in the *night*,—for a witness that the power and courage which ye have come only from him who has and exercises his power pre-eminently in the darkness, both external and internal. It is quite scriptural that the devil possesses especial power by night; for in the creation at the beginning and in its present ruined state there is a profound connection established between the material and the spiritual. At dawn of day Christ rose; at mid-day He ascended to heaven; in the evening He died; at *midnight* He was fallen upon by the power of Satan, and taken. But the light of His word shines brightly into this darkness, and then He follows the multitude, given up to the hands of sinners. What these did to Him soon follows.

PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION BEFORE ANNAS.

(Jno. xviii. 20, 21, 23.)

In assuming that the "high priest" with whom the Lord Jesus here speaks was *Annas*, we have many very important authorities against us;² but we have on our side many others, among whom we may mention Chrysostom, Augustine, Euthymius, among the ancients; Olshausen, B.-Crusius, Ebrard, Wieseler, Hase, Neander, Lange, Hess, v. Meyer, v. Gerlach,

¹ Acts iii. 17 does not contradict this, for the *ἀντιπάλαι* belongs only to the *ἐπαράγει*, not to the *κατὰ ἄγνοιαν*. The others did ignorantly what their rulers did knowingly, leading them on. See my *Reden der Apostel*, Th. i. S. 84, 85.

² Luther, Grotius, Bengel, Lampe, Tholuck, Lücke, de Wette, and Kling. Among practical expositors stand on this side e.g. Pfenninger, Rieger, and others, from the Berl. Bibel down to Branne. So also Sepp and Friedlieb.

Luthardt, among the moderns. There is no difficulty in the circumstance that Annas (in Josephus Ananus) is also called *high priest*, for it is well known that several high priests occur in the New Testament:—As many as were of the kindred of the high priest, Acts iv. 6. Annas had been high priest, and it is probable that the *virī pontificii* retained that title. Still more, the displaced Ananus must have been a man of special consideration and great influence, since *his son* and now *his son-in-law* held the office after him.¹ There was, indeed, a specific relation between them, according to which in Lu. iii. 2 he is mentioned in connection with Caiaphas; but nothing certain can be said concerning that relation. Whether he was, according to Lightfoot, the representative, לִזְמָן , or, according to Selden and Wieseler, the president of the Sanhedrim, סֵדֵר (which was not, however, essentially connected with the high-priesthood); or whether, according to Hug, he yearly alternated with Caiaphas in the office, from passover to passover,—which Friedlieb would make probable from the circumstance that immediately after the passover, Acts iv. 6, Annas is mentioned again as high priest *before* Caiaphas:—suffice it that he was in some way an important person among the high priests, in a wider sense, who were then existing. The relation which Lange suggests, that the Jews, that is, those who now led Jesus, “regarded Annas as their proper high priest, while Caiaphas was necessarily accepted as the high priest *of the year*,” might be received as very plausible, since *Annas*, as Sepp says (though he regards the examination to have been before Caiaphas), was the mainspring of the proceedings of this night, still holding the rule (*de jure* or *de facto*), and “since the troubles of the time had removed him from the chief seat, he had only placed his son-in-law in the foreground, that he might guide all things through him.”—*But*, it may be said on the other side, if St John here, vers. 13, 15, 16, expressly terms Caiaphas the high priest, vers. 19 and 22 must in this connection have the same meaning. This argument does not appear to us insuperable; for, by the “high priest *of that year*,”² Caiaphas is really

¹ And later even the remaining four of his five sons together; hence he was esteemed highly fortunate, to have had such an unparalleled honour.

² Which is meant as in ch. xi. 49, with ironical allusion to the frequent change at that time, as also with reference to the decisive year of the Passion,

distinguished from other high priests, and not designated *the* high priest as such. Therefore the expression "the high priest" in ver. 19, as referring to Annas, is not inexplicable; nor is it so even in the mouth of the officer, ver. 22, for this title was used in common.

But, Tholuck says, the mention of that circumstance in ver. 14 would have significance only on the assumption that it was Caiaphas who appointed the examination,—as being an intimation of the Evangelist of the kind of hands in which the Lord's judgment was placed. But we think, on the other hand, that *the* examination, with regard to which St John points to the prejudiced determination, cannot on that very account be *this* one, which follows with a rather unofficial ἡρώτησις. (So de Wette's editor Brückner finds in the *asking concerning* not so much a judicial examination as a general questioning.) The decisive examination before Caiaphas is introduced in ver. 24, that is, as presupposed according to the synoptical tradition; to *this* ver. 14 may refer, and *at the same time* introduce the parenthesis of ver. 19–23 by intimating that Annas would pave the way for his son-in-law by these insidious questions. Is not this a connection equally probable?

The great difficulty which a comparison of the Synoptics introduces as to the *locality* of the denial, becomes very slight, when, impelled by other considerations, we refer vers. 19–23 to Annas, and complete the whole accordingly. The dwelling of Annas did not lie merely in the way to Caiaphas (as Augustine supposed), but it was the same great building, a common *high-priestly palace*, occupied by the father-in-law and the son-in-law together. So it was understood by Euthymius; and Lange (consistently with the view we have quoted) says, "they had probably so arranged their relations in the dwelling that this double-dealing of the Jews as it respects their high priests fell as little as possible under observation." We agree with v. Gerlach, that "St John manifestly presupposes this relation of one to the other in the same house, as well known." Alford agrees that all arguments to the contrary admit of a good answer. Luthardt terms our view "too problematical;" but certainly it is not, as Brückner says, "without any ground whatever." We protest altogether against Lücke's peremptory sentence, "John gives

it to be understood, in ver. 24, that the two high priests dwelt in different parts of the town!" How is this to be deduced from *sent Him?* Rather, when we read *this supplementary Gospel in the light of all that it presupposes*, St John gives us to understand, by the accompanying account of Peter's denial in the same place which the Synoptics describe as the palace of Caiaphas, that ver. 24 does not refer to any sending to another part of the city, or even to another palace. Nor must it be forgotten, in considering this question, how improper and therefore how improbable is any not-absolutely-necessary leading of our Lord through the open city—now, when for a while the utmost secrecy was desired.

We assert positively, with Olshausen, that apart from the Synoptics no man could read St John's account without assuming that Annas is meant in ver. 19. Why was the isolated notice given in ver. 13 that He was led first to Annas, if nothing more is to be said about it? Is it not plain that ver. 19 by the *therefore* attaches itself to ver. 13, and means a high priest to whom Christ, as had been said, was sent, but certainly not Caiaphas to whom Christ comes first in ver. 24 (with a second *therefore*). This ver. 24 closes the scene, and tells us what the ἀρχιερεὺς Annas did after this his own examination or questioning. If we read the whole simply, without reference to Harmonies, how strange must St John's narrative appear, on the supposition that he omits at ver. 13, 14 the sending on to Caiaphas,¹ then immediately puts in what passed with Caiaphas, and not till then brings in what had been omitted before—that Christ had been sent forward to Caiaphas!² Finally, what is the meaning of ver. 24 in its place, if it is not the continuation of the account of the result of the conversation just held? That

¹ For Bengel says without reason: "St John had indicated in v. 15 by the verb *συμίστηθαι*, and by the frequent repetition of the name *high priest*, that Jesus had been led from Annas to Caiaphas."

² That then ver. 24 would altogether belong to vers. 13, 14, was felt by Cyril, who interposed therefore at that point something of the kind, although he was obliged to leave ver. 24 as a *repetition*. Whether he so read it, is a question: the single Codex 225 and the Philox. margin signify but little. But all these forced contrivances and variations (though Luther, Erasmus, Beza accepted them) are themselves strong evidence of the meaning of ver. 24 in the place which it surely holds.

ἀπέστειλεν should be taken in the pluperfect sense (as Matt. xiv. 3, *ἔδωκεν*, and often in the N. T. as in classic writers) is not open to any grammatical objection, and is necessary of course, if Caiaphas had been the previous questioner;¹ but *in this connection* it is one of the greatest difficulties of the opinion which we contend against. Setting out with such an assumption, a *δὲ* or *καὶ* or *τε* has been added; but the simple reading *οὖν* rests on good grounds; and this, especially in comparison with vers. 12, 16, 17, 19, decides most unconditionally for the historical continuation of the word *sent*. The pluperfect sense in *this* place has been further rendered palatable by laying the emphasis upon the *bound* and not upon the *sent*; "John would leave it to his readers to draw the conclusion as to why the treatment of the servant was so bold—He struck Jesus *bound*!" But this will not suit, for it introduces the notion that St John, or at least the servant, had thought of some possible defence of Himself on the part of Jesus—"because Jesus could not put forth the slightest protection for His own person!" Grotius, laying the emphasis also upon the *bound*, is still more forced: "John being about to relate the second fall of Peter, gives beforehand the reason, because Peter now saw Jesus remaining bound." The only unforced solution of the whole is to read in ver. 13 that Jesus was led before Annas, the father-in-law of the high priest *of the year* (and known by the name of high priest himself)—then in ver. 19 to hear what passed before *this* "high priest," Annas—then to regard ver. 24 as the conclusion: And thereupon Annas sent Him bound again—with which it ended. As Lange says, "His sending Him forward bound as he had received Him was to Caiaphas a plain sign, that the concerted doom was to continue unchanged." The examination before Caiaphas is taken for granted as known, and passed over; for, St John relates throughout ch. xviii. only supplementary matter, almost entirely different from what had been recorded before. New reason this for our view! If St John designed to record the examination before Caiaphas and the Sanhedrim, he could not, we think, have broken off with this after-thought of an

¹ Not only our own Berleb. Bible, Bengel, de Wette, van Ess, Kistemaker, and Giesner so translate, but alas also the English and Dutch Bibles:—had sent him—hadde hem gesonden.

introduction to it, and passed over the solemn and momentous critical confession, *I am the Son of God!*—St John least of all. But we cannot connect with this *asking of the high priest* anything like a solemn assembly, nor can we imagine such an unofficial asking and answering to have been followed by an immediate production of false witness, and the condemnation to death. The one scene does not pass harmoniously into the other, as taking place at one time; and the most decisive reason for the conversation with *Annas* is the manner in which Christ answers, quite different as it is from His demeanour at the proper legitimate examination. But this will be more fully seen in our exposition.

According to the desire of His enemies, the death of Jesus was to be, either on the one hand, secretly and with cunning! or, on the other, in their rash wrath—violently, and on the spot! But it was already written in God's decree, "under Pontius Pilate," that is, by public condemnation. To that end it was ordained that no other charge of guilt should be brought against Jesus than that one, that He called Himself the Son of God and the King of Israel. For that alone should the Lord die; every attempt to fasten upon Him even the appearance of any other guilt, He determined prudently and persistently to bring to nought. This explains His whole deportment from the time that He was taken: His speaking and His silence, His answers after this or that manner according to circumstances. No such imprudence was possible on His part as would involve Him in anything which would disturb or interfere with this *confessing* character of His *death of martyrdom* in the highest sense. He Himself expressly took care to lead the way to that decisive crisis of avowal before Caiaphas. That *before Caiaphas* the great decision followed, St John sufficiently signifies to his readers in ver. 24; in order that he may then, in ver. 28, be able to proceed *from Caiaphas* into the Gentile Prætorium. Thus the *beginning* of the examination, which he plainly describes is only preparatory, corresponds altogether with the position of Annas and all the circumstances. They bound Jesus and led Him away; we might have expected to read—into *prison*. Oh no! The hour of darkness must be used, there must be this same night some appearance of justice done, that they may be able to approach Pilate early enough for the confirmation of the

sentence. All is wakeful, intense, ready, eager—but a perfect session of the Sanhedrim cannot be arranged at once, notwithstanding that certain high priests and elders were present with the multitude. According to Matt. xxvi. 57, Mark xiv. 53, Luke xxii. 54, they led Jesus from Gethsemane at once to Caiaphas, to the house of the high priest—though there is some difference between the *καὶ συνέρχονται* of Mark and the *ὅπου συνήχθησαν* of Matt. And St John's "to Annas first"¹ is quite consistent with this, if we regard the two high priests as occupying different wings of the same palace. It was partly to pay court to the influential personage, who, though he held not the office, exercised the power; and partly, as one may well suppose, to give him the joy of beholding bound Him whom he hated. All this might, indeed, have been concerted between Caiaphas and Annas, so that the latter should make a beginning, while the official sitting was prepared for. Annas would, first, indulge his curiosity, and so far Christ stands before him almost like Paul before Agrippa, Acts xv. 22. But only *almost*; for, Agrippa would *hear*, but Annas only *asks*, for mockery and humiliation. He would, secondly, have his pleasure in seeing Jesus bound—though not to put it so strongly as Pfenninger does, with his contrast of Simeon—"Then I should be willing to die, if I could only see Him with abased head and bound hands standing before me!" He would, finally,—and this is most plainly set before our eyes—under the guise of a private colloquy preliminarily *sound* the man, against whom they never felt themselves confident and bold, in order to see how He would demean Himself, and in what way they might best proceed with Him. He questions Him "probably to extract from Him some expressions which might afterwards be used as testimony or matter of charge." We think that this preliminary hearing prepared the way and regulated the questions for that which followed; but not that it was itself a perfect and official examination. They were personal *questions*, coming from this person very much like inquisitorial questions; but they were put under the semblance of a conversation. We are convinced that Jesus

¹ We must not therefore, with Olshausen, assume a change of the place in the Synoptics, which St John gently corrected. All is in perfect order and harmony.

would not have thus repelled and personally reproved the high priest before the assembled council. *If* the official judge had applied to Him only *questions*, He would have stood before him ready to give every respectful answer; but they knew this, and *there* began at once with false testimony. He therefore kept silence altogether. We find the most measured difference in the deportment of our Lord throughout the four examinations. Before Caiaphas and the council, where the miserable false witness so carefully sought was brought against Him, He keeps silence, respectfully and with dignity sparing them, until He is adjured. Before Herod and his thoughtless court nothing can move Him from His deep silence. Before Annas, who puts his questions half privately and half officially, He expresses Himself in part with dignified *repulsion*, in part by a convicting counter-question of which He thought him worthy, applying Himself, in this like Paul before Agrippa, to his conscience. Finally, before Pilate, He enters at once graciously, as we shall see, into a removal of misunderstanding, and a testimony for the truth. Now let it be asked, if this will agree with the Lord's speaking in St John before *Caiaphas*!

Thus with equal boldness and gentleness,—more properly, as *sublimely* as *humbly*,—He speaks, for a pattern to us in all circumstances in which we are subjected to examination and defence. When our *humility* is spoken of, that is itself no other than an humble condescension of the word of God—for is there anything high or lofty in us? Again *Jesus* speaks only in condescension, and in our likeness, of His *meekness*—for can He be other than gentle in mind, even in the midst of His zeal? Has He bitter wrath in His heart? All the meekness of the Lord is fundamentally itself only His deep and absolute humility, in which He renounces His judgment, and gives up His prerogative and *His power*.

Annas asked Jesus of His *disciples* and of His *doctrine*. Probably, as St John relates, in these two words, thus apparently impartial, but in the background malevolent enough. Luthardt rightly terms it a captious and inquisitorial question. About His *work*, whether good or bad, of His deeds and miracles, nothing is said either in mockery or earnest, as in the case of Herod. But the *disciples* are mentioned as His dependents, His

followers, His party, His sworn confederates—the *doctrine* is inquired into as novelty, heresy, dangerous misleading error; both together pointing to the two main charges which afterwards were urged—Insurrection against the Roman power, error or blasphemy before the Jewish. Suspicious reference is made to the crowds which surrounded Him on His entrance into the city; and ironical allusion to the confidential ones who had now fled from Him and left Him alone. Where then are Thy disciples? How many and whom hast Thou now in reality? and what was Thy design with them? Wherefore didst Thou gather these around Thee? For, that the disciples are mentioned *first*, before the doctrine, expresses the malevolent character of the questioning plainly enough. But Christ reverses the order, and answers first, as was right, concerning the doctrine. Lampe thinks, however, that the point about the disciples was left out of view; and similarly Bengel: “He replies concerning His doctrine, concerning His disciples there was no need.” Some truth there may be in this, as Rambach has explained the Lord’s silence upon the former part of the question; “because the lords of the high council were to receive after the ascension an answer of fact as to this point; the disciples would give them enough to do.” But we shall see that in ver. 21 there is actually an indirect answer, so much as was now in place, concerning the *assembling of disciples* around Him.

The Lord at the outset replies as in Gethsemane, when He had put to shame the high priests and elders in *their* secret dealing with Him:—He points with dignity to the *publicity* of His cause, which then as now men were too much disposed to regard as a thing of a corner (Acts xxvi. 26), and to vilify with the *vitium clandestinitatis* (as the canonical law says). During three years He had, as openly and publicly as might be, taught and lived; many thousands throughout the land had seen Him—and now He must give account as of a secret matter! On *παρήσῃ* see what was said on ch. vii. 4. Instead of *ἐλάλησα* we should probably read *λελάληκα*, but the difference is only slight. *Τῷ κόσμῳ* is equivalent to *εἰς τὸν κόσμον*, ch. viii. 26; it is the language of utmost comprehension—to and for every one without distinction. Here as there the undertone refers to His position with regard to the *sinful world*, to which His sacred *Ἐγώ*,

as the sent of God, must speak and testify; but this must not be pressed too rigorously—"to the children of this world." It is rather the first description of the universality and publicity of His *speaking*, as belonging to *openly*, *παρρησία*, like ch. vii. 4. It is with strict propriety that He does not say to *the multitudes*. His preaching to the crowds in the street was the necessary expression of His universal constraint of love, and at the same time of the most public universality of His teaching; but in every *ὄχλος* (or *δῆμος*) to which He turns and dedicates His words, He sees only *the world* to which His Father had sent Him. Now first, when He admits that His *speaking* was also a *teaching*, He heightens that former word by mentioning the *school* and the *temple*.¹ Even if we read *τῇ συναγωγῇ*, it must be understood of the school or synagogue of the place where He might be; but the reading without the article in distinction from *the temple* is more definite in its distributive signification. The *heightening* of His meaning is in this, that He had not only spoken in the open air to any one who was there and would hear (thus *τῷ κόσμῳ* is of the *place*!),² but as a teacher He had not shunned the legitimate and ecclesiastically-appointed place. He had used His Israelite prerogative, and had done what was His duty; He was not a preacher in corners, or a separatist; and in this He is an example to His followers, for it is right even in times of decline to honour the ordinances and institutions of God. *Πάντοτε* is of course not literally to be understood; either, with Glassius, *very frequently*; or, still better, *As often as I was there*, as often as I had opportunity, so that the contrast with a timid secrecy is maintained.³ Finally, in the last clause He describes His cause and His doctrine as properly *national*, for all the *Jews*. There is in the background of both question and answer, though the Lord discreetly puts it not in words, the meaning that the main point of His teaching was the testimony to Himself as the Messiah:—thus where all the Jews as Jews assemble in their national religion to worship God, there I have testified, that which applies to *all* the Jews, that these

¹ Not therefore altogether with Bengel, that *παρρησία* indicates (with *τῷ κόσμῳ*) the kind, *παντοτε* the time, *ἐν συναγωγῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ* the place.

² As Nonnus literally accepted it: *φιλοπνευστὴν κόσμῳ—αὐταῖς ἐν τρωάδει*.

³ Lampe less fitly—*ἐν κείνῳ, αὐταῖς*.

all should be "My disciples," should acknowledge and should join themselves to Me! Thus is the πάντες, the all, perfectly justified; and there is no necessity to qualify it, or rather destroy it, as has been done from the beginning, by the substitution of πάντοθεν or πάντοτε.

This dignified positive declaration is now followed by a *denial*, which does not contradict the well-understood meaning and charge of the questioner.—now brought to light—until it has been refuted by the undeniable fact of the publicity of His teaching. The *in secret* is here evidently intended as an inculcation. He had certainly spoken to His confidential ones in confidence, but nothing beyond what He had spoken before all the world; He had not two doctrines, an esoteric and an exoteric; but what He had spoken in the ear, He had spoken with a commission to declare it upon the housetops. The inmost mystery, which indeed He had commanded them not to utter before the time, that He was the Messiah—He not only confesses presently afterwards before the Sanhedrim, but all the Jewish world actually knew it, and Annas himself who thus asked knew it. And so the cause and the doctrine of Christ was ever to be "elevated above all suspicions of secret mystery," and his messengers' badge is in all ages that of 2 Cor. iv. 2. We may with Lampe read here in ver. 20 the *criteria* of the true teacher: Confidence, which testifies before the world; persevering continuation of the testimony on all occasions; adherence to the existing Divine and human ordinance. But in this last expression our Lord alludes, in His profound manner, whether Annas understood it or not, to two places of the prophet Isaiah. In the former (Isa. xlv. 19), the Lord God Himself appeals, before the inhabitants of the earth generally as their and the earth's Creator, and as the God of Israel particularly to the seed of Jacob, to this—I have not spoken in secret;¹ in the latter (ch. xlviii. 16), the Messiah repeats the same.

Thus this is the first answer, clear as the light which the darkness here resists; and now in the following versæ there is the befitting reproof of the foolish questioner, put in the most

¹ Whence it is further proved that τῷ κόσμῳ previously, before the Jews were specially referred to, hints at the adaptation of His doctrine to all mankind, entirely as we found in ch. viii. 26.

mild and gracious form. He further gives account in it, who "His disciples" were or should be, and at the same time proceeds to give a test and proof of His *teaching*, *παῦρησι* and *παντοῦ*—everywhere and with plainness. Or, was He now to begin from the commencement, and exhibit the whole substance of His teaching, from the summons to repentance to the announcement of the kingdom come in Him? He would indeed have had patience for this, if it had been right on this occasion, and if it would have done good; but such as Annas knew all this long since, had often sent spies or heard it themselves. He therefore takes this for granted; He does actually begin at the beginning with Annas, since He proposes to him as the best preaching of repentance for *his* conscience the keen counter-question—*Wherefore* askest thou Me? (*Ἐπερωτᾷν* is more penetrating than St John's previous *ἠρώρειν*, not without bordering on the meaning of *inquisition*.) This was one of those *questions* of Jesus Himself, which never failed to pierce the heart! It has a manifold meaning: Knowest thou not, as a "high priest," what all the Jews well know concerning Me? How is it, *what means it*, that thou now first demandest of Me an answer thereupon? According to Grotius: "Ye have already expelled from the synagogues those who believe in Me; ye have decreed to take Me; and have never inquired into My doctrine: do ye wish now to know them at length from Myself? What manner of dealing is this?" He thus shows to Annas that He looks through him, and that He will give him no word which he may pervert against Him; thus gently, with concealed severity, only through the light which must put the darkness to shame, He reproves the self-contradiction of their foolish cunning—the questioning of a supposed founder of secret mysteries concerning His doctrine and His adherents!

This last thought is in the direction *whom* he should ask! All *those who have heard what I have said* are therefore as it concerns thee *My disciples*, for they have heard no other words than I have said to My trusted ones:—had they all rightly *heard* they would have been all of them *disciples* to Me. Thus, as in Gethsemane, He continues to save His own, and declines any specific selection. He points the high priest not to His disciples in the narrower sense, but to all the people who had been

in His school; but by this demand that the people should be brought into the examination, He rebukes the malicious secrecy which had induced them through fear of the people to send and take Him in the night.

Behold, all these, who have heard Me speak, know well *what* (ἃ more comprehensive than τί, what kind of things) I have said! By this ἴδε He finally appeals, as B.-Crusius rightly observes, to the "*plain and open nature of His doctrine*," in that no hearer could remain in doubt about it, witnesses enough were everywhere to be found; and also, we would add, to the *impression* of the truth upon all the sincere. Thus there are the *two witnesses* for truth:—*publicity* in adherence to the school and the temple, to the institutions and places appointed from the beginning; *impressiveness* or *easiness* of *understanding* as it respects the hearers.

He began with ἐλάλησα, ἐδίδαξα; He ends with ἐλάλησα and εἶπον; His answer goes not beyond His *saying* and *teaching*, as the question did not; of His *works* He humbly says nothing. For, as we have seen throughout St John's Gospel, the work has its power of self-demonstration in itself, before the miracle. Thus it is not—"Question and summon hither the lepers, the blind, the deaf, the lame, the possessed whom I have healed!" The ἴδε οὗτοι, although it primarily refers to the ἀκηκοῦτας—behold these who have heard—has special reference to this, that even now such *hearers* were present as witnesses; that their lords of the counsel had only to summon these servants whom they sent after Him, and they would receive the same testimony as that of ch. vii. 46 (now the record of the *I am He!*). Bengel is so far right: οὗτοι points to the multitude present: *or these know*.¹ So Lampe, and earlier Cyril.²

Survey then now once more the dignity, the clearness, the gentleness, the supremely-measured rightness and wisdom of this answer! In the full and perfect consciousness that He was no founder of a sect, deserving inquisition, He began with *I openly*, continued with *I*, and closes, with profound feeling *Who*

¹ Nonnus has it most strongly: ἡμεῖς κύκλω οὗτοι πάντες κ. τ. λ.

² Only that he goes too far, and finds in this appeal to the servants present the reason why one of them, to obviate all suspicion of himself upon that point, smote Him on the face!

He was, yet not expressing it, with *ἀ εἶπεν ἐγώ*—what *I* have said. But, with the most proper discretion of one arrested and charged, more righteous than Annas with his foolish questioning:—"I may not and will not now, My life and doctrine lying before you, testify for Myself, or defend Myself. Let all be investigated! Let the testimony of all bear witness!" If in this there was anything "evasive," there was the utmost propriety in it, as well as the most binding obligation of holy wisdom: He would not before this unhappy man betray either Himself or His disciples into difficulty by any express declarations or disclosures.

We need not regard this *παρεστηώς* as implying that the officer was an *apparitor* necessarily belonging to the court in which the high priest sat; St John has mentioned no other *officers*, to which the article here might refer back, than those of ver. 12, who had taken Jesus and led Him hither. Thus we may supply—*who stood near Jesus*—because *when He had thus spoken* immediately precedes. That which happened afterwards to His Apostle, befell Jesus Himself here. The servant¹ sees his old lord smitten and taken aback by the bold and appropriate answer—he takes advantage of the moment, and will obtain both praise and reward. For he well knows what is permitted to him; the very lowest knew what had been long decreed by the rulers to be done to this Jesus of Nazareth. He *struck Him*²—basely in the face! This was the beginning and the signal for all subsequent indignities, as in Micah iv. 14 (comp. Isa. l. 6) it was very remarkably and directly predicted concerning the Messiah, the Judge of Israel. (Vers. 13 and 14 there allude to the history of another prophet Micah, 1 Kings xx. 11, 24; and Josephus employs in relation to 1 Kings xxii. 24, the word *ῥαπίζω*. Job xvi. 10 refers to the shame of being

¹ Whom a very improbable tradition declares to have been Malchus! Apart from the improbability in the thing itself, Malchus was a *δούλος*, this man a *ὑπηρέτης*.

² Whether with a staff or with the hand, cannot be determined, since *ῥάπισμα* and *ῥαπίζειν* signify both. Hesych. *ῥάπισαι*, *ῥαβδῷ πλῆξαι ἢ αἰλοῦσθαι*. But in the N. T. *ῥαπίζειν* is used of the hand; see Matt. v. 39, John xix. 3, but especially Mark xiv. 65, and Matt. xxvi. 67, with *κολαφίζειν*. Theophyl. interprets this last of the fist (as 1 Cor. iv. 11; 2 Cor. xii. 7). Suidas explains *ῥάπισαι* of striking the cheek with the hand.

smitten upon the cheek. In Micah there is **נִסְּבָה** also, as if the Spirit would embrace the scene in which the Judge and King of Israel is with His own sceptre smitten on the face. See also in Sepp the Jewish punishments, which were inflicted for such misdeeds.) This is the end of the three years of His teaching in Israel, confirmed as it was by the signs of God, that now when being bound He opens His mouth to give a decisive answer, appealing in righteousness to all that teaching, a servant can publicly smite Him upon the face! This was the first blow, the first indignity which His sacred body received from the hands of sinners. Although He had received from the lips of sinners much that was more grievous and scornful, although even now the denial of Peter was a sorer grief to Him than the blow of this servant,—yet is it a great thing, that He on this first striking, which came unexpectedly, continues to be able to answer, still more calmly and meekly, without any trace of fear, not to say of wrath, words which have their true and symbolical meaning for us all.

He answered *him*—we must not give up this *αἰνῶ*. That He answers this servant, and in such a manner, is in its profound humility something very different from, and yet in its elevation something infinitely above, that lauded pride in abasement which man may display.¹ There is no wrath, but meekness and humbleness alone, as is obvious in itself. But withal there is earnest freedom of spirit, an open mouth for the truth in love which is not yet to be stopped. Again, *Christ's* freedom of speech is not great in the sense of fearlessness before the threat of man—for how could He fear? The Apostle's exhortation out of the prophet, 1 Pet. iii. 14, 15, therefore has so far no application to Him; He might have been tempted, in holy scorn of sinners, altogether to keep silence. But His freedom to speak is *love*, which counts sinners still worthy of His testimony.

Answerest Thou the *high priest* so? This was the servant's word, accompanying and justifying the blow. By "*the high priest*" might be meant that Annas was as much high priest as

¹ Teschendorff makes his Nicodemus write: "Whoever has been in Rome and seen a triumphal procession, may have marked how some have borne their chains with dignity. Whoever should have looked for such dignity in Him would have been disappointed!"

Caiaphas:—but this Christ, according to the Divine law, does not acknowledge, and admits but one who with any truth can hold the sacred office. Certainly the *so* refers only to the *form*—that He had neglected respect and reverence in the refusal and counter-question. Rieger remarks that “so it is now with the followers of Christ, when their truth cannot be resisted:—they have been wanting in wisdom in speaking it, they have erred in the form of delivering it—that is, in plain words, they should show more patience with the world and its unrighteousness.” That is, they should speak the truth with such sentimental respect and moderation, as would be rather a denial of that truth! The supreme Lord speaks unabashed and confidently to the servant as to the lords, and shows in fact how well He knows without respect of persons to speak to every one as he should be spoken to. Far removed from any self-defence, and with a meekness which His face, withdrawn for a moment through the physical shock, still testified, He does not act in opposition to the letter, but still more expressly in harmony with the spirit of the instruction which He gave to His disciples in Matt. v. 39. He gives us the “authentic interpretation” of it, in opposition to all who would make it mean an unworthy humiliation of self simply, an unloving holding back of the truth and provocation of further sin against us. Sinking to the lowest extreme of His condescension (which is reached in this verse, connected with ch. viii. 46), He puts the case for one moment as if He might have been wrong—but only to deny and refute it. Yea, from the meanest servant He will receive proof and attestation! This is the highest point of that meekness of our Lord, as depicted in St John’s gospel, beyond which nothing is recorded. The servant did not mean by his *so* that He had spoken untruth; entering into his meaning the Lord speaks only concerning the manner, *κακῶς*—*καλῶς*, ill or well. Not simply *κακὰ κακίαν*, *הָרָע*, evil in itself, although the expression allows an error in the manner to be itself in its kind an evil. “By the blow the servant would bear his testimony,” says Bengel. The Lord answers him—Neither is thy blow a testimony, nor thy word which takes for granted unrighteousness; if I have actually spoken evil, give—I will receive and admit it—better and more real witness against Me! This would have required the proof

that Annas was the high priest; but we think that the Lord did not regard this, nor enter so far into the particulars of the matter, as was appropriate in the case of Paul, Acts xxiii. As it respects Him and His never speaking evil, servant and high priest were altogether alike.

But if our Lord and Master shows Himself ready to receive from this servant testimony against Himself, while He receives with such gentleness the blow,—what should *we* do? “Think on Him who said this, on him to whom this was said, and the reason why this was said, and these words will with magical Divine power cast down all wrath which may rise in thy soul.”¹ Be always ready to give account to every man—says St Peter, even though it be the meanest servant! Every man who *demand*s of you an account—*παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι ὑμᾶς λόγον*, is to be interpreted as we have explained, Matt. v. 42. The unrighteousness itself demands of me, *asks me*, as I understand it, only for a new evidence of holy righteousness in truth and love. Not—That deserves no answer, *such as this* demands retaliation, punishment, contempt; but—Behold, this slanderer and liar would see how I shall maintain the consistency of My righteous word and walk, whether I shall thus overcome him. How often do *we* poor sinners harm ourselves and our cause, when people merely try us and will not hear us, when they require of us a patience which is the denial of love and truth, a courtliness which would be forgetfulness of God! How basely do we *spe*ak evil, just when we, speaking the truth, answer for ourselves that we are not evil-doers!

But the Lord as the perfect man had never erred in word, whether in its form or substance. He knows this, and this therefore He must add and maintain—*But if well*, which *εἰ δὲ, but if*, Bengel rightly says, “has an affirmative force.” This unjustifiable striking is itself proof and testimony that the truth has struck, and cannot otherwise be repelled. And now calmly and victoriously He continues in this *speaking well*: the servant receives, like the high priest, both equal before the Judge of Israel, who unweariably judges and teaches, *his* conscience-question—*why smitest thou Me?* Love repays him thus! This

¹ So Chrysos. Hom. i., *περὶ ἀκαταλήπτου*. See Neander's Chrys. i. 211.

first word of protest against the blow is the only one that we hear; it continues its voice against all the indignities which followed this.¹ And Annas hears in it the question—Wherefore sufferest thou him to smite Me? Wherefore to be bound and seized? Do ye not ever oppose My true testimony by most unrighteous and unworthy violence? Similar, according to its spirit and meaning, is the word at His *last* examination (Lu. xxii. 67, 68), which He no longer regards as official: *If I tell you, confessing and answering, or asking, as is fit—ye believe not, ye reply only by persevering and malignant violence!* Annas has heard enough; he sees whom he has before him, and that any further prosecution of the matter under the guise of conversation would damage himself rather than Jesus; he therefore leaves the answer, the blow, and the counter-answer to themselves, the *witness concerning the evil* still in his ears. He sends the Lord forward bound to Caiaphas, that the specious judgment may proceed as prudently and plausibly as may be. Of course, we are not to assume any second “binding.”

FIRST PARTIALLY-OFFICIAL EXAMINATION. THE CONFESSION
UPON THE ADJURATION OF CAIAPHAS.

(Matt. xxvi. 64; Mark xiv. 62.)

As the history of the Passion proceeds, its amazing contrasts become more intensely affecting. Christ is now judged before the holiest judicature upon earth, but condemned by the most fearful perversion of justice and abuse of its forms. The Deliverer of Mankind is in bonds; the Judge of all is attainted; the Prince of glory is treated with the foulest scorn; the Holy One is condemned as a delinquent, the Son of God as a blasphemer; and He who is the resurrection and the life is doomed to die! The type here rises in rebellion against its antitype, the shadow against its substance, and the eternal High Priest is condemned by the so-called high priest of this year. The law

¹ And still sounds out into the consciences of all who only ask like Annas, and strike like his servant. For “Christ still stands before Annas, and the world still strikes Him in the face like his servant.” (Silberschlag.)

is perverted and turned against the grace for which it should only prepare the way ; and it becomes the triumph of grace thus to deliver from the curse of the law. Lying bears witness against Truth, and long-suffering truth thus wins its empire and rights. The subject rises against his Lord as a lord, the creature in the name of God against its God—and what do we hear ? One sole testimony—I am He ! One sole sentence—He is worthy of death ! This verily holds good in the counsels of God ; but not in the sense of our earthly jurists, who like Caiaphas would offer up one literally instead of all.

Their hypocritical trifling with forms goes heavily at the outset. This first assembly was through haste imperfectly constituted ; but its work is to consummate the judicial murder which had already been firmly decreed. The first feature which is exhibited here presents this judgment to us as the most unrighteous of all places of judgment under the sun, in which wickedness only was found, and iniquity took the place of righteousness. (Eccles. iii. 16.) They did not simply seek witness against Him, but, as St Matthew says, *they sought false witness against this most innocent One*. This was done, it is further added, by the whole council, with the high priests and elders ; though it is not to be understood of every individual without exception ;—for, two or three would not be reckoned among so many, and moreover all were not present. As to themselves they had no “need” of testimony ; the thousand witnesses for the Divine power of this Jesus, down to Lazarus, whose resurrection was celebrated by the people everywhere, *shall* have no force with them ; they themselves pervert in Luke xxiii. 2 the truth of which they were surely conscious. They will to do like their father, the father of lies ;—but in order to this, some pretext, some semblance of right, is necessary ! Lies enough there were wherewith to charge Jesus—What had not been reported and believed concerning Him on the part of His enemies hitherto ! But now the question is—to *put Him to death* ; there must be some apparent justice in the execution of this pre-conceived and prearranged purpose ; and the seeking for this is hard, very hard. There is everywhere testimony *for* Him without seeking—but *against* Him ? *They found none!* though many false witnesses came forward to their order—yet they

found none! Their testimonies would not accord, would not answer the purpose. Many offered to bear witness to His desecration of the Sabbath—but this will not pass, for they cannot touch the miracle by which He had desecrated it. To charge Him with having denounced them, the leaders of the people, as hypocrites, fools, and blind, was still more questionable:—who knew what He might have to say to them, thus charged, even now! Or His breaking of the traditions and ordinances of the Pharisees:—but this might have secured protection from the Sadducees, and divided the council,—as was afterwards the case. Absolute lies would not gain their end with the people; there must be some truth mingled with them. According to the law of Moses it was essential that the witnesses should agree together; and it was hard to secure this with the clumsy witnesses, one outdoing the other, whom they were obliged, without previous schooling, to admit. Mark, vers. 55 and 59, evidently means only the lack of agreement. Erasmus has indeed corrected the *non convenientia* of the Vulg. into *non satis idonea*, that is, not pertinent to the condemnation of death. Grotius thinks that this meaning alone suits ver. 59, and van Ess boldly translates, “not sufficient”—but *ἰσος* can scarcely mean *appropriate, fitted to anything*. The lack of uniformity is intimated by Matt. in the mention of the *two* witnesses who came forward, when we add to it the fact mentioned in St Mark’s different statement of it, that even *their* witness was not *uniform*. At the last there are found *two* witnesses, only just as many as were absolutely necessary (for the *τῶς* in Mark does not necessarily mean many), and they bring forward a word heard two years before! Many members of the council had heard that when it was spoken; and had, as Matt. xxvii. 40 shows, well understood it subsequently. It is now falsified and perverted into blasphemy against the temple of God, although Jesus at the time (as also not many days past) had shown His zeal for the honour of the temple. The scornful *οὗτος* in Matt. is well expressed by the English, *this fellow*! The two accounts show their discrepancy when compared:—according to the one it was, *I will*; according to the other, *I can*, destroy the temple: similarly, again, in one,—*the temple of God*; but in the other there are the additions of *made with hands and not made with*

hands. Enough: as Ahab's Jezebel hired two knaves against Naboth, so these rulers and high priests allied themselves, in order to keep possession of the vineyard of God, with a wretched pair who in their boldness were not cunning enough to agree in their testimony. Thus Ps. lv. 10 has still its fulfilment. Hear only the lies of the world—they agree not together. Listen to a fallen theology—its testimonies contradict each other, and thereby give testimony themselves *for* Christ. To him who has this before his eyes, and still goes on in his folly, the true Witness Himself becomes *dumb*.

They could not succeed in proving against Jesus even the appearance of evil. Confused, and at the same time daring, the high priest speaks to Him, as if this charge demanded an account. The whole question is not *one*, as Luther puts it following the Vulg.; but the second *τί* is a separate interrogation. Nevertheless, it is not as Erasmus translates, in Matt. *cur isti adversum te testimonium dicunt?* in Mark, *quid isti adversum te dicunt testimonia?* (That is, Do they then witness in vain? Not, that Thou shouldst give answer?) But, as the former clause is spoken with the presentiment that He who stands in sublime tranquillity *will* keep silence, so the second will if possible break this silence by suggesting—*What heavy blasphemy* do they allege against Thee! dost Thou not hear that?

The Lord keeps silence; and though we cannot always bring His eloquent *silence* within the range of our exposition of His *words*, yet here we must do so, where speaking and silence interchangeably pass into each other; for otherwise we could not understand His *words*. The slightest word of reply would have given the whole matter another turn, not in harmony with propriety and His appointed course. Either His pure and unimpeached position would have been disturbed by occasion given through His words for new perversions and charges; or, since we cannot suppose Him so to have spoken, the judge would have been ashamed and amazed, and set Him free! Yes, verily, *that* stood every moment in the power of His word—but on that very account He keeps silence. Hiller's remark, otherwise excellent, says too little here, "the truth must not contend with every lie!" That sacred dignity is very subordinate, which, however, was to be observed in opposition to frivolities believed by no man in

the assembly. We may say, indeed, on the one hand, that He kept silence because they had *not* understood Him; and, on the other, that He kept silence because they *did* understand Him, and best because He kept silence. But the two reasons which remove this silence to an infinite distance from all self-willed or proud refusal to speak, lie still deeper. First, He is silent out of respect to Israel's highest judicature, that He might not dishonour it; thus, silent as a child before an unrighteous father. And, then, in obedient submission to His heavenly Father's judgment, that He might not defend Himself. "The love of life makes many common people eloquent before their judges; the desire to die for us stops the mouth of Jesus, like a lamb before his shearers." (Gossner.)

His silence speaks powerfully to their consciences, and is the best preparation for the word which He will say, when the right time for speaking is come. Caiaphas is at first wrathful that he cannot fasten upon this wiser one, as he thinks, any single circumstance; he soon becomes anxious lest this dignified demeanour of the Lord, who stands, keeps silence, and bears witness by all the power of His personal presence, should at last move some hearts even in the council, and their voices should be heard crying loudly *for* Him. For, in himself there stirs some such sudden and unexpected impulse: the Lord's silence presses upon him the critical point which he cannot evade; and cries to him—Here, between us, there is something more than all this in question! And during this pause, possibly not very brief, there was to the whole assembly, and especially to him, the president and leading spirit, one last appeal of mercy at the extremity of its limits of forbearance, one last gracious summons to submit to the judgment of the truth of God. But let us think for a moment what would have been the consequence, if these sinners had been moved by His silence, lost their consistency, and turned to repentance! This has become impossible, and the man therefore entangles himself in his own iniquity. The conclusion is presently taken: the trifling with this individual charge is given up as unsuccessful; and the great central question involved in the whole must in plain earnestness be brought forward—to make *it* the matter of final and most daring mockery and contradiction. Many methods have been adopted to exhibit

the connection and transition between the first question, Answerest Thou nothing? and the second, which so suddenly breaks out with, Tell us, art Thou the Christ the Son of God? Of such almost needless methods, Lange's is the best: "The thought clung to his mind that Jesus had declared in a mysterious manner that He would rebuild the temple; that by these words as well as others He had declared Himself to be the *Messiah*; and that too in the highest sense, as the Son of God. Thus he passed at once from that false witness by a single leap to this most formal and solemn impeachment." But it is not necessary, nor is it sufficient, to trace any such transition; for, this intervening thought would itself be no other than a disguise, concealing the true application which he was constrained to make to his own conscience. Caiaphas feels, in the silence of Him who is thus accused, something kingly, yea Divine, which his mind cannot resist; he must be conscious that the Lord will not before his judgment enter into any other question than whether they would or would not acknowledge Him:—there remains nothing to him, therefore, but to make the necessity appear to be his own determination; and, though he is vanquished, to maintain the fearful conflict. At this decisive-crisis, when Israel's rejection of the Messiah must take its most final and official form, there is mingled on the part of the baffled inquisitor, a certain yielding with the putting forth of new daring.

St Mark speaks only of the high priest's "asking again," and gives the decisive question alone; but St Matthew furnishes the full *formula of adjuration*. This was the method among the Israelites of proffering and accepting the oath; the appeal to God (and the formula of curse as the penalty of lying—which, however, was not ventured on now) was made on the one side, and the answer made thereupon was received, without any repetition of the oath being regarded as necessary on the part of the respondent. (See the great passage, Lev. v. 1, which is to be understood thus, though Luther has not clearly translated it; and compare Numb.-v. 19-22; 1 Kings xxii. 16; Prov. xxix. 24.) "I adjure Thee by the *living God* (in whose office I stand, under whose power we all are; before whom also Thou standest; who knoweth the truth and judgeth between us and Thee), that Thou tell us, this holy Sanhedrim

now here as before God, the truth!" Thus does he avow, bearing testimony against himself in this most awful abuse of the name of God; that he *knows* this God as a *living* God who will not be mocked! He testifies of His truth, even while he is aiming to get the victory by a lie; of His power and majesty, while he is pushing his opposition to the uttermost! Still more: although, as we have often shown, in the general consciousness of the people *Christ* and *Son of God* were by no means identical, yet learned scribes like this Caiaphas, who was constrained here to admit it, knew very well the unity of the two. They knew that the anointed King of the second Psalm was the begotten Son of God, in whom, as in God Himself, men were to put their trust; they had been convinced and confessed, Matt. xxii. 42, that the King-Priest of the 110th Psalm was the eternal and supreme Lord of David: Hence here, where the *form* of knowledge and truth (*μωφορως*, Rom. ii. 20) is extorted from the conscience, the twofold expression is given in one most correctly; just as in Lu. xxii. 67, 70, they follow each other,¹ and still more solemnly in St Mark, where the adjuring tone is somewhat more full—Son of the *Blessed*, as the Rabbins used *אבנא* *אבנא* for God, comp. Ps. xl. 17.

I adjure *Thee*! Thus does a mortal in the dust speak in the presence and before the throne of the living God—notwithstanding that he sits as a judge—to Him who will presently Himself sit on the right hand of the majesty on high. Thus does a sinful rebel against the grace and truth of God—notwithstanding he is called high priest—speak to the Holy One of Israel, the true and faithful Witness, who is Himself one with the living God. And if this man, Jesus of Nazareth, who now stands before him, is the Christ, the Son of God—what then? Will he cast himself at His feet, and supplicate with

¹ Olahausen improperly reduces the question to, "Art Thou that Son of God whom Thou givest Thyself out to be?" and thinks that this would involve a blasphemy, which the mere declaration that He was the Messiah would not. We may say with v. Gerlach, "Certainly Caiaphas did not intend the very same which had been expressed in the *Christ*." Indeed, he used it in the same sense as Jesus had assented to; yet the conjunction of *Christ* and *Son of God* in one person means not merely "according to thy assertion,"—but rests upon a knowledge that in the Scripture the Messiah is actually also the Son of God.

adoring penitence the forgiveness of all past opposition? Oh no, then and for that very reason He is to be rejected, condemned, and put to death! Caiaphas *would* only say—"whether thou givest *thyself out to be such*;" but, because he *knows* that that would be a lie in his lips, he has not at this heart-revealing crisis the power to give it expression, however much he might wish it to do so. The living God lays a spell upon his tongue, so that he must speak more truly than he meant to speak; he is constrained, while preparing for the last and consummate denial of it, to confess the truth from his inmost conscience. There is not, as afterwards Jno. xix. 21, any artful distinction; but it is literal and earnest—*Art Thou?* (which St Matt. also has held fast). This is still the great question for our own day, and it must be put before His face, however much it may be suppressed or avoided by specious and hypocritical polemics. Caiaphas asks not in order to ask further, to give truth its honour; but with the design to make the decisive answer the decisive enormity, that the respondent may be at once condemned; and therefore he was himself the blasphemer. But we too often forget to take further into account the actual conviction of this same Caiaphas that *Jesus was* what He had formerly said of Himself; and that He would, thus adjured, say it openly:—upon this foundation was the frightful scheme erected, to complete the rejection of Him who was thus all the time most internally known and acknowledged.¹ *Εἰ σὺ εἶ*—by this *σὺ* means Caiaphas not merely the man who had dared to arrogate to Himself sonship and equality with God, or the bound one who would be a deliverer; for then it would have run—*εἰ σὺ λέγεις* or *ποιεῖς σεαυτὸν* as in Jno. x. 33. But the undertone of malignity conjoins with the invoking *εἰ* the rejecting *σὺ*; since it means: *Thou, such an one* as we cannot at all tolerate—a Messiah, who would deliver from *sins*, and not from the Romans—a Son of God, who in the gentleness and humility of holiness desirest our hearts for an heavenly kingdom.

¹ Pfenninger puts the dilemma very simply and clearly. "Either Caiaphas holds it possible that Jesus is the Messiah, and then he cannot call the answer blasphemy; or he really regards it as a blasphemy that Jesus gives Himself out to be the Messiah, and then he ought not to adjure Him by the living God to answer."

When they would proclaim Him a Messiah-King of an earthly kingdom, Jesus withdrew far from them. When the devil put to Him the question, Art Thou the Son of God? He entered not into the question, but worshipped as man the only God. But here where Caiaphas understands the question almost better than Satan did then, He answers and confesses, He surrenders Himself to the cross and the crown of thorns. That which He had formerly forbidden His disciples literally to proclaim, in order to obviate misunderstanding and offence, He now Himself testifies with the utmost plainness;—*now* when the consequence will be His *death*! “Now first was His great mystery entirely safe from the measureless Chialistic ambition which had threatened to pervert it.” He looks through the meaning of the questioner, contemplates all the consequences of His affirmation; but on that very account He keeps silence no longer. As an obedient Israelite He must respond to the adjuration of the ruling power:—under the law to the last, even when it is perverted against Him. But He knew the counsel of His Father, also, as to this hour which had now come; and therefore He gives Himself up the more readily by His—*I am He*! This “I am He” is self-sacrificing as it was before in the garden. But in this same word the sum, as also the goal and end, of His prophetic office is involved.

St Mark gives correctly the fundamental meaning *Ἐγώ εἰμι*, *I am*; but St Matthew’s *Σὺ εἶπας*, *Thou hast said*, is the more correctly literal reply. This is in this place infinitely more than the mere customary formula of affirmation which occurs both among the Greeks and the Rabbis. In the words which followed “That Thou *tell* us” Caiaphas had already expressed that which they *knew* concerning Him, but had determined not to confess; and thus Christ also means—Thou hast already declared and avowed it, thou knowest it well, without any need of My now *telling* you for the first time. Thus its meaning was precisely the same as before to Judas. It is further a proof that Caiaphas *now* intended both expressions *Christ* and *Son of God* in their sole scriptural sense; for the affirmation avows itself in the same meaning as the question. “They know not what they do.” There were some whose *knowledge* placed them beyond the limits of this intercession upon the cross—from

Jno. iii. 2 down to Matt. xxi. 38, xxii. 16. Probably this was the case with most in the Sanhedrim; at least it was so in the case of Caiaphas, hence the singular in Jno. xix. 11. And there are to this day,—they are now, indeed, more really such than ever,—conscious enemies and deniers of Christ, whose questioning He returns into their own consciences with the same *Thou hast said*.

Accepting this judicial adjuration, and thus swearing by the living God, Jesus testifies not only that He is the Messiah of Israelitish prophecy, but that therewith and therein He is the true Son of God, in the same “metaphysical” sense as He had elsewhere asserted it, in conformity with Scripture. As He there stands bound before the Sanhedrim, as He afterwards hangs upon the cross, the declaration, “This Jesus is the Christ, this Son of man the Son of God!” is folly to the carnal reason, a contradiction to all the Jewish expectation concerning the Messiah, *crux* and *σκάνδαλον* to all deistical notions of Gentile wisdom and natural knowledge of God. But it is not contrary to the prophetic word, which is fulfilled and consummate only in its acknowledgment; nor is it contrary to the inmost prophecy of man’s deepest feeling in the reason and conscience, which does not find the “living God” again but through *Jesus Christ*. History, finally, since His crucifixion, is the progressive demonstration of the power and the glory of Him who was thus humbled.

A reference to *this* was a necessary part of the *witness* for the present crisis, if not of the *confession* as such. For the sake of this Sanhedrim itself, partly for the few who were still susceptible, and partly in the superabundance of His patience and love for all the rest, the Lord will soften the harsh contradiction between His claim and His present condition, “that He, bound as He was, was the King of Israel, and Son of the Blessed”—by pointing to the following future of His manifestation and glory; and this would further elevate the mere *yea* of His confession into a penetrating testimony to their souls. Further, for all who should afterwards hear this word spoken by Caiaphas, He adds to the “Thou hast said!” something more—*And, moreover, I say also unto you, or, This much more I have also to say to you!* Thus we must understand the *πλήν* as less ad-

versative than continuous; being a strengthening *moreover, furthermore, in addition, enimvero*. Dräseke refers to Jno. xiii. 30, 31, as a parallel crisis, preaching that Christ was in these words glorified: and we *may* say, in a certain sense, that in the ἀνδρα, henceforth, the ἄρα, now, is also included—for us believers the glory beams forth in the sublime crisis of this self-surrender. Yet for unbelievers and His enemies, to whom the word was first spoken, it was not intended in St John's sense, but *distinguishes* the subsequent exaltation from the present humiliation—as the words evidently show. “He saw now coming the extremity of His shame and reproach; therefore He knew so assuredly that *now* would begin (through the victory into which that would turn) His triumph.”

He does not go on to speak with *I* or *Me*, but objectively, as if elevated above Himself, concerning the *Son of man*, who is now before their eyes. This is the necessary complement of the subject of the predicate *Son of God*; and it expresses His humility in the midst of His dignity. It is at the same time the conclusive and authentic interpretation of this name, which He had given to Himself from the beginning out of Daniel; for He points to Dan. vii. 13, 14, and Ps. cx. in their combination, taking the words for these scribes out of the Scriptures. In connection with the oath put to Him He refers to the oath of God in the psalm, in the same psalm by which He had just smitten their consciences. “Ye shall see Me *sitting*, as I now stand before you while ye sit in judgment upon Me.” At the right hand of *power*—contrast with His present weakness—a description of the almighty God Himself, corresponding with the *Blessed*, as the Rabbins frequently use in the same sense ¹הַבְּרוּרָה. The expression here deviates from the merely sensible figure of sitting on the right hand, and points to the thought which underlies it: hence the Evangelists, entering into this, put τὰ δεξιὰ for ἄρα, comp. Mar. xvi. 5. As we have said, in the sublimity of this word, He sits as it were already in judgment upon the throne of the glory of God; but He means now more than that. He who *sitteth* will also *come*, and, by the prerogative which is God's alone in Scripture, but that of the Son of man

¹ Only in Lu. xxii. 69 does τοῦ θεοῦ stand expressed; but the Vulg. (though not in the Cod. Amiatinus) gives it also in Matthew and Mark.

in Daniel, upon and with the clouds of heaven (Matt. *ἐπὶ*—Mar. *μετά*.) Neander rightly remarks, "These words give evidence that Christ referred to His coming, His coming in the clouds, *not only* as a description of His future personal coming again (as visible), but also to indicate His spiritual historical manifestation of Himself in the government of the world." In the same sense as Daniel St John speaks, Rev. i. 7, of the manifestation of the kingdom, power, and dominion ever increasing throughout human history, which is given unto Him. Hence *ἀνέβη*, in Luke afterwards *ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐνοῦ*. And they *did* see it, these to whom this *ye shall see* was first spoken, as all His rejectors down to this day:—it began with the signs upon Golgotha, it has continued from Pentecost downwards, in an already visible coming of the Son of man in His kingdom. (Matt. xvi. 28; Mar. ix. 1.) His prophecy has not been brought to nought. But, on the other hand, if we would *see* this aright we must not overlook that all this preliminary coming of Him who still sits above, is but the typical prophecy and the preparing pledge of His last visible coming. The two mutually illustrate and confirm each other: only by the faith which waits for the promise of the final return can we *understand* the coming of the Lord in history; only by the acknowledgment of this His coming in history, manifest as it is to the eyes of even His enemies, can we maintain our expectation and waiting for the Son of God from heaven.

Pfenninger has illustrated, by four positions of his "impartial" Zephonias, the first impression of the word of Jesus; and has explained at the same time how it was that the sublime word did not hinder, and was not intended to hinder, the course of the condemning sentence. First, "I never in my life saw enthusiast so calm, deceiver speak so truly as He spoke this." But then: "and yet there never was folly so foolish (so contradictory to ordinary experience) as what He said." Again, very naturally: "as it respects the condemnation of death, there was nothing which could induce my own *reason* to hinder the judgment; our laws must have their respect paid to them!"¹ Finally: "Either He dies, and then He was not the Messiah,

¹ Only a Joseph or Nicodemus (of which afterwards) refused to agree, because they have faith already in their reason and in their conscience.

but a deceiver; or He is not a deceiver, but the Messiah, and then He will not die."

The Apostle, 1 Tim. vi. 13, terms *this* confession¹ of Christ, in contrast with Peter's denial, *the good confession* in a pre-eminent and absolute sense; and it is a type and pattern for us, who must confess Him even as He confessed Himself. It is a *good* confession, first, in its humble obedience in righteousness before God and man, and is to be imitated by us in gentleness and fear; secondly, in its public testimony to the truth, as according to Scripture, and we also have to seal our confession by the sure word; thirdly, in His willingness to suffer, without the maintenance of any personal defence, without threatening or returning injury for injury. This last is to us, also, in our degree for an example; yet the Apostle (Acts xxiii. 3) might in rebuke and threatening prophesy—this, however, became not the Lord when He surrendered Himself to death for the world. Certainly, His word concerning His own future sitting and coming, addressed to those who sat before Him, does appear in a certain sense to be "an appeal from their tribunal to the judicial throne of God, as a summons to appear before His own judgment-seat when He should return to judge the world." But He does not utter this expressly; He speaks this as a ground of faith for their future hope. As in Matt. xxi. 16 He breaks off the scriptural saying, and leaves unexpressed the destruction of the enemies—so is it here, and this puts its perfection on His *good* and resplendent confession. Think of "His being silent after such a majestic word of thunder. I will come in the clouds of heaven! and yet not one word of *woe then to you!* at that moment He feels in Himself power and authority which no man, no creature, ever felt—and is dumb nevertheless, as a lamb!"

He is *silent* again; and stands and waits for His condemnation. What should now take place if He were truly judged according to the law? The immediate question was—How provest Thou this? And He had proved it, the signs and testimonies were before them; but we may be bold enough to assume that if now one more sign had been *officially* required

¹ Not, as is generally understood, that given afterwards *before* Pilate. The *ἡ ἐν Πιλάτου Πράξις* is only meant as in the Apostles' Creed.

of Him, He would, He must, have given it! But this judicial assembly will not touch that point; they have not observed the righteous forms from the beginning, had appointed Him no *בַּעַל כִּי*, or advocate of any kind. In the first crisis of his *question* Caiaphas had been half-overcome, and had been constrained to this form of question against his will; but now after the answer he takes courage in the malice of his wickedness, and brings the matter abruptly at once to the sentence of condemnation:—this is the *second* great crisis in the scene, and the most awful. By a sudden dramatic stroke he urges the assembly to their vote, without investigation or examination of evidence, and thus he drowns at the same time the clamour of his own conscience. Not as a “preconcerted ceremony” (for the whole matter was not so carefully pre-arranged), but by the inspiration of Satan, doubtless, he rent his clothes,¹ as if in horror of the blasphemy—instead of putting them off before the majesty of the eternal High Priest at the right hand of God! And thereby (as Jerome said) the typical high-priesthood was rent asunder; and soon would the veil also be rent from the top to the bottom, with the destruction of the temple, when the body of Christ was broken. *He hath spoken blasphemy!* So cries he in consummate hypocrisy, as in Jno. xix. 7. But he thereby himself blasphemes, and sins against the Holy Ghost.² If Jesus was not the Son of God, then was Caiaphas right. But Caiaphas well knew who was right and who was wrong; he therefore urges the precipitate *pre-judgment*, instead of going on to the proper question—Is this confession of Jesus blasphemy or truth?³ And again—What further need have we of wit-

¹ *Tà ipéria* instead of the singular, as frequently. This was not contrary to the law of Lev. xxi. 10; for that referred either (but improbably) only to the sacred vestments at the time of sacrifice, or (more properly) only to lamentation for the dead. We see in 1 Macc. xi. 71, and in several passages of Scripture, that high priests rent their garments; indeed Sepp (111, 474) tells us that it was prescribed to them actually that they should rend them from *below* upwards.

² Six high priests are recorded in Scripture as having sinned (Aaron, Eli, Abiathar, Uriah, or Ahaz, Seraiah in the time of Jeremiah, Joshua, Zech. iii.), but Caiaphas the seventh surpassed them all. So Jean d'Espagne.

³ The parallel passages, Jno. xix. 7, and x. 33, sufficiently refute the strange and obstinate opinion which half-orthodox divines maintain, that

nesses? betrays his guilty conscience, before he magisterially decrees—Ye all are ear-witnesses! And the Assembly understood him—the last hypocritical word, as if the possibility of doubt was assumed, *What think ye?* is followed by the voice, not of the majority but of all, *condemning Him to die.* Thus Israel condemns their Messiah, rebellious man his God. But in the wonderful counsels of grace above, the guilt of all sinners and their doom is laid upon the Redeemer.

THE SECOND OFFICIAL AND COMPLETE EXAMINATION
IN THE MORNING.

(Luke xxii. 67-70.)

After the first condemnation to death the assembly broke up in wild triumph; and the most daring began at once with the mockery, spitting, and other indignities which were continued by their servants. The Evangelists speak of these things, but draw a veil over the worst scenes (which preachers on the Passion should not expatiate upon), only giving some few as an example. Meanwhile it is broad day; and they once more take Him before a full council, as St Luke plainly records. Luke xxii. 66 is, indeed, not absolutely one and the same with Matt. xxvii. 1 and Mark xv. 1; for their *συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν* or *ποιεῖν*, the taking counsel, would rather indicate the continuation of their secret deliberations, issuing in the result that He must be at once led before Pilate; yet even these parallels hint at a renewed assembly in more complete form, before which a renewed examination would itself be probable enough. Further, the indignities (which strictly agree in the "Prophecy, who is it that smote Thee?") took place, according to St Matthew and St Mark, *after* the examination, according to St Luke *before* it; unless therefore we assume these to have been repeated, or assume one or other account to be incorrect, the

Son of God is here equivalent only to *Christ*, and that Jesus was called a blasphemer not on that account, but on account of "the appearing in the clouds, and sitting on the right hand!" Lu. xxii. 69, 70 is quoted for this, but in reality testifies the very reverse.

examinations cannot be made identical. Grotius, who maintains this last, took *συνήχθη* in St Luke for *ἢ συναγόμενον*; but the supposition of only one examination is encumbered by still greater difficulties: the words of our Lord in St Luke, especially, when closely and penetratingly considered, cannot by any means be interwoven or connected with the sublime answer in the other two Evangelists. If we suppose the answer in Luke, vers. 67, 68, to have preceded, there must be inexactness in the whole; for, St Luke represents it as immediately following the question, *Art Thou the Christ?* which would then be introduced too early. And this would altogether disturb the profound psychological and historical truth of the transition from silence to the confession demanded upon oath, as we have expounded it. It would confuse the whole, also, to regard the question and response as having begun again in the same examination from the very beginning. There is no need of any "softening," for the "rather harsh absolute silence" of Christ to the first question of the high priest, as Olshausen thinks; to regard Luke, vers. 67, 68, as such, hurts the sense and robs it of its energy and force.¹ If the two accounts must be identified, the words of St Luke must necessarily be taken as not strictly historical and exact. For a mere "mixing up" of things which occurred at one time and occurred again at another, is too much at variance with the strict historical tone of the whole.

We hold with Rambach, Bengel, and Lange,² that after day-break there was the first formal and complete assembling of the council, and that then occurred what St Luke here narrates. The expressions in Luke, ver. 36, plainly show this. (Certainly, the *ἀνθήγανον*, the true reading instead of *ἀπρήγανον*, is not to be understood of the *Conclave Gazith* or any other locality on the temple-mountain; for, as Bynæus observed, John xviii. 28 is decisive against this, declaring that Jesus was

¹ Besides that it would not be true—If I tell you, ye believe it not!

² He refers to the fact that in the first, imperfect examination according to Mark, ver. 64, all consented to the judgment of death; that therefore the dissent of Joseph, Luke xxiii. 51, required a second and complete examination. But the *πάρτες* is generally not to be taken so rigorously, for see the same in Luke ver. 70. B.-Crusius (on John xviii. 13) declares himself for a second examination according to St Luke.

led to the prætorium by Caiaphas.) They are troubled lest the first assembly, deficient in number, should not have sufficient validity; probably also the ordinance which we find in Sanhedr. cap. iv. § 1, and Sohar p. 56 held good, that all נשמוט דיני should be begun and ended ביום, in the regular day (see Lightfoot Horæ, ad Matt. xxvii. 1), indeed that capital condemnation should not be pronounced on the same day as the examination. (Carpz. Appar. p. 578.) Be this last as it may, the repetition of a second and more secure examination was necessary in order to the utmost appearance of formality; and it would afford a further opportunity of ascertaining whether anything could be extracted from Jesus more suitable for a charge before Pilate—as will be seen.¹ There is evidently in the answer of Christ, Lu. ver. 67, an appeal to something which had already passed, to what He had *told* them before. This very thing is enough to show that St Luke passes over a first examination, which he takes for granted; if this which our Lord had told them had been said in an earlier part of the same examination, St Luke's beginning his narrative in the middle would be unaccountable.

The first address runs not as the Vulg. has incorrectly translated—*If Thou art the Christ, tell us*; but the *ei* is a simple question of itself, *num.* “We ask Thee most solemnly, and once more over and above all former questioning.”² Now, as Lange rightly sees, the *political* significance of the crime is alone brought into prominence in the “*Christ*,” the “*Son of God*,” which the vehemence of the moment had extorted from Caiaphas, is at first prudently left out of sight—though in ver. 70 they bring it forward, being urged by their zeal against His “sitting at the right hand.” Thus everything has an unforced explanation, in harmony with the mind of the people as it vibrated between cunning and fanaticism. The Lord alone remains self-possessed and tranquil, even while altering His de-

¹ The disciples could not watch one hour with Jesus—His enemies wake to their earnest work the whole night. See here man's strength to evil, his weakness to good.

² “As it were superfluously—probably also for the sake of the members who had come in since.” So Dräseke very truly; they should and would all of them hear it themselves from His lips.

meanour. He *speaks* now once more, as a testimony that He did not keep silence on the former occasion through any contempt, and fulfilling on His part the obligations of justice. But His justice is most characteristically in direct opposition to this hypocritical judicial process. They would make the legality of their sentence all the more firm through a complete assembly in broad day—but to Him they have lost their character as builders through their rejection of the corner stone. Their office has no longer any validity in His eyes, since they have termed His testimony a blaspheming God, and have condemned His innocence. The high-priestly garment is torn. Therefore He *now* speaks to them as to private persons, just as to Annas; He humbles Himself so low as to lament in sorrow over their unrighteousness, in which one thing only stands firm—not to believe, not to let Him go! Compare the complaint of the prophet Jer. xxxviii. 15. Is not all this now plain and intelligible?

Ver. 67 refers primarily at any rate to the previous examination, and is expressed with the highest and most marvellous gentleness—after the deeper experience of suffering through their mockery; for when He told them, they blasphemed that it was blasphemy, truly because they would not believe it. But the word is *then* a general glance back upon His whole official teaching from the outset, during which He had so often told them in vain by word and work what they now asked. “If ye believe not My whole life which has hitherto said Yea, to what end is it to say it again now?” Thus might we refer the clause to the present—If I told you now once more; but yet we cannot but feel that something must have preceded, which gives the expression its present appropriate form.

Ver. 68 is so interpreted as if the Lord by an unseemly pre-judgment only asserted—If I now wished to ask you, ye *would* not answer Me. This is involved in the meaning, but not so that He from the beginning declined the interrogation permitted; the presupposition in this aoristical sentence is founded upon antecedent facts. Thus it is not as the Vulg. translates—*Si autem et interrogavero, non respondebitis mihi*, as before, *non credetis*. (Instead of which another reading has *credit*is.) But the second clause continues the allusion, before remarked upon, to all that had taken place *before* this night of judgment, and presses it

upon their minds by ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἐπαρώσω¹ how often many of themselves had left unanswered His penetrating and demonstrating questions, and therefore how certainly nothing was to be expected from such a course repeated now. As it regards Annas, we may remember the Lord's conversation with him, in which the only answer was His being struck; but the Lord especially reminds them of the public questions of these last days, such as Matt. xxi. 25 (when they had come to Him in a *half-official* manner), Matt. xxii. 45, etc. We may supplement, with Brandt's Bible, But I ask on Mine own part, *Wherefore ye do not believe My saying*—and thus He gives it to be understood that it was for Him, in reality, to examine and judge them. What benignity, to descend to this position in relation to them, after the fearful judgment of the night! That ye would *let Me go, acquit Me*²—this was not to be thought of. Thus He testifies that He knew full well their foregone conclusion and decree; and therefore the futility of all questioning and examination.

Vers. 69, 70. He *nevertheless* repeats the former word, that they may have no excuse; that they may not think Him to have uttered the same words on the former occasion through any fanatical elevation. This was the last time on which He called Himself Son of man. He who had been smitten and spat upon adheres to His confession; after as before these indignities He cries, that He will sit at the right hand of God! This changes now their previous determination; they break loose upon Him with mockery (not believing, as He had said), and bring forward the loftier predicate, before suppressed: And *art* Thou then—that is, *Willest* Thou actually to be the Son of God? (Literally: *Thou poor man, vain in Thy imagining, assertest Thyself to be—!*) And He concludes, in His unweariable patience and equanimity, with His repeated *I am*, now even strengthened (as before by the *thou hast said*) by a comprehensive *ye say it* which looks round upon all: your repeated question recoils upon your own consciences, ye have no other response to give, ye are as assuredly convinced in your own minds as ye are determined to hold the truth in unbelief! The *ὅτι* does not belong to

¹ Which καὶ is certainly genuine, or at any rate consistent with the sense.

² For neither are these concluding words to be given up.

λέγετε as if citing ; but (as in Jno. xix. 37) introduces the new testimony and confession of our Lord Himself, exhibits His incontrovertible *being* such as the *reason* of their perfectly foolish questioning, denying, and mockery ; and this had the same force as an affirmation.

Thus, to make one more remark, He has severally answered the *two* questions in their present separation, whether He was the Christ and whether He was the Son of God. Touching the first, cunningly advanced alone, He had given a repelling and indirect answer ; the second, which, however, was the decisive one, He once more answered, for the honour of the Father in the Son, by a similar benevolently-uttered, filial, and plain—*I am He!* The *finale*, ver. 71, runs, Thou holdest to this—we hold also to our former words. In which conclusive repetition of *what further need have we of witnesses?* there is to be observed, with all its malignity, a certain angry vexation and embarrassment.

FIRST COLLOQUY WITH PILATE.

(Matt. xxvii. 11; Mark xv. 2; Luke xxiii. 3; Jno. xviii. 34–37.)

Bound again, more straitly now that in open day He is to go through the streets, Jesus is, as He had foretold, delivered up to the *Gentiles*. This was indeed a main element, according to the counsel of God, in the everywhere-significant process of the Passion. And Jesus *stood* before the governor:—though bound and charged He stood firmly, and with dignity ; plainly speaking, whether by silence or by testimony, what He had to say to the representative of this world's power ; so that he, at once a religious and philosophical indifferentist, could not without effort deem it a ridiculous thing that this man, this Jew—should be a *King!* Even King of the Jews, and at the same time of all the True in all the world (what a contrast!), in a sense which even the proud Gentile cannot but ponder and feel ! So that, in fine, that which these Jews and high priests had desired in their cunning to keep too much in the background—that He

was the *Son of God*—breaks out in the presentiment of this Pilate as a voice and a power from *another* world, even before the word enforced from the Jews gave him expression with which to clothe it—Πόθεν εἰ σὺ; *Whence art Thou?*

How grandly, with what inexhaustible depth of truth,—not only for the then historical relation of the Jewish and heathen world to each other, but for all to this day who stand like Pilate before Christ, while Christ seems to stand before them for examination and rejection,—how historically and poetically in his perfect representation, with what a union of simplicity and art, does this Jewish fisherman John, who has hitherto described only the conflict of the Light of the world with the Jews, give once more by a few strokes of his pencil the first testimony of Christ to the *Gentile*! But it is not John, it is the Holy Spirit directing his pen, that gives us these genuine *acts of Pilate*—the true *acta Pilati*, in opposition to those which well-meaning Christians for the honour of their Saviour, or His enemies in contempt of Him, invented and gave forth as such.

Pontius Pilate, the sixth governor of Judæa from the time when these were appointed, is here entitled ἡγεμὼν, though this was more than his real dignity. He was only ἐπίτροπος, *Procurator*; in his exceptional case *Procurator cum potestate*, with judicial jurisdiction. He resided, when he came to Jerusalem, at the feasts more especially, in the former palace of Herod, which was now his *Prætorium*. Thither repair the whole multitude of them (Lu.) early in the morning with Jesus; their object being now to obtain a confirmation, or definitive pronouncement, of the sentence of death, as swiftly as possible, because of the feast-day.¹ They do not enter the Roman *Prætorium*, the most hateful house of the Gentiles in Jerusalem; they allege

¹ Lampe thinks that "from Caiaphas," which, however, refers only to the house or locality, indicates that Caiaphas himself for dignity's sake had remained behind; but this is improbable, and contradicts the synoptical report. And it is very doubtful whether "*they themselves* went not in" suggests the contrast that *Jesus* was sent forward as the herald of their coming! There is nothing in the text to warrant Krummacher's view that they thrust Jesus bound within the portal; we rather read in ver. 33 plainly enough, that Pilate then first called Jesus and received Him into his presence.

with highest hypocrisy the Passover as their reason, avoiding in the midst of their impure works the contamination which entering a house out of which the leaven had not been cast would occasion; not setting their foot on the place where all their desires have gone before them. Pilate comes out to them, not "awakened by the tumult," but on their proper summons: either this was due to their customs, and might at any time be required of him, or, which is more probable, his good nature or curiosity might induce him to be thus ready, though ordinarily he was careless and tolerant on such matters.¹ The fact that this was the time of the Passover, and that the whole order assembled, intimated to him at once that this was some important matter—"some arrested culprit who must *die* before the feast." It is doubtful, however, whether this supposition was really in his thoughts, and only dissembled in the question—*What accusation bring ye (with such strange zeal) against this man?*" Scarcely did he already mean, as Luther's marginal note runs, "It is marvellous that ye can have anything to say against a man so celebrated for goodness." For, even if he knew anything about the "person" and cause of Jesus,² he probably knew nothing of Jesus by sight. Rather we may regard "against this man" as expressing the simple and unbiassed impression which this person now brought before him made upon his mind; he knows nothing as yet more than he sees. Weak and prostrate as He was, after His conflict and seizure, there was something innocent and even exalted in His aspect;—it is the first movement in Pilate of the appeal, ch. xix. 5, and the question, ch. xix. 9—as if he intuitively thought, "Never have I had before me for judgment and condemnation such a man as this!"

The Jews understood the question in some such way, and therefore they oppose his doubt with—If He were not a male-

¹ Not "the proud Roman bends"—as if this was the first token of that cowardice which was the fundamental trait in his character!

² This is still, and must ever be, the first and last and most impressive question to all enemies of the Lord!

³ Which can hardly be denied; but it is not probable that he already knew of "the designs of the priests against Jesus"—because he granted the Cohort for the seizure of Jesus, as is generally said. This last is not necessarily to be assumed.

factor, we would not have brought Him unto thee now ! Thou seest that we are all here, the matter is as important as it is pressing—Make brief work and ratify the condemnation already pronounced. We ask no more than this slight and becoming act of complaisance. We come not so much to make a charge; we come as judges, and as such infallible: thou seest who are before thee ! *We*, the whole sacred Sanhedrim—and wouldst thou enter upon a new investigation of the matter ? Thus would they impose their own mind upon him, determining for him beforehand ; but the wrong and the pride of this, which is too often made prominent alone, is dexterously softened by the courtly intimation—We would not bring to *thee* an unfounded charge, in demanding of thee (for such is our purport) a sentence of death. “We trifle not with the governor of the land.” But they had not rightly calculated this time. Their specious sigh over the iniquity—He is an evil-doer ! their affronting demand—Enter into no inquiry ! find no acceptance with Pilate. Though much is said of the injustice of Pilate (perhaps through Jewish hatred too much), and Philo in particular says that he often condemned people unheard, yet on this occasion he was not so unjust, or he was restrained by the counsel and guidance of God from putting confidence in this lofty assemblage :—the points of accusation must become public in a proper judicial process, in which the civil and merely human innocence of “the Son of God” must be fully vindicated. We regard it as only natural that the Roman does not at once place himself at the discretion of the Jews ; this is a most characteristic mark of truth in the history. According to Josephus the respect paid to the high priest’s office and position had sunk to a very low point ; Pilate had often had occasion to mark the party-hatred of these rulers of the Jews (Matt. xxvii. 18), so that the assurances of this venerable body were of very little value in his own eyes ! Their words might very easily be inverted—If we had not been malefactors, we should not have delivered this innocent one unto thee.

But Pilate retains his moderation and his place, and gives them only the taunting answer which is recorded in Jno. ver. 31. Although he marks—for the *delivered unto thee* would make it plain—that it is a question of death, he seems hard of

apprehension, and takes the word malefactor, *κακοποιός*,¹ in a less rigorous sense (comp. 1 Pet. ii. 12, 14; iii. 16), and ironically (as if they had deferred to him more than was necessary), concedes to them that they may take Him and punish Him according to their law.² They feel the point, but put up with the taunt in order to accomplish their purpose; they humble themselves to the most submissive confession—Thou knowest well that we *may not* put any one to death!³

And now we must certainly interpose the first specific accusation of Lu. xxiii. 2, as distinguished from a subsequent one after the confession of Jesus, which is referred to in Matt. xxvii. 12, Mark xv. 3–5, and coincides with Lu. xxiii. 5. The judges now come forward because they must, as complainants. There is no Tertullus (Acts xxiv. 1), to speak for them; they themselves are now the *false witnesses*. They betray that they have *fore-judged* Him (which in a political question was not their province), when their strong *we have found* puts forth the lying declaration—All has been *investigated* already, we have the

¹ Or, according to a reading preferred by many, *κατὰ νόμον*—which, however, does not approve itself, for we naturally expect a definite and customary term.

² We cannot otherwise understand this first declaration of Pilate. Krummacker finds in this the contemptible conduct of the man who, contrary to justice, gave up the Redeemer to death, his pitiable attempt to evade, and so forth; but we regard his view as altogether unpsychological and inexact. Souchon puts it in a more acceptable form, though different from ours, when he calls “the word an ironical question: ‘Am I to execute your judgment? If ye examine alone, then condemn alone, if ye can!’”

³ This word, extorted from their bitter anger, is so plain that it decides the question as to the right of the Jews of that day to execute a capital sentence. The Fathers denied this through ignorance upon the point of history, and therefore expounded the words in a forced and unsatisfactory way. That, even if the Jews in *questions of their religion* had the independent power of execution, they had reasons in the case of Jesus for not assuming it before the people, is a matter apart; this *οὐδὲνα*, *no man*, is plain, and agrees, as with the Gemara (where the loss of criminal jurisdiction is unchronologically referred to the common date for many things—forty years before the destruction of the temple), so also with the Roman law, which required in every *province* that a sentence of death should be at any rate confirmed. Whatever may be said on the other side may be easily explained.

proofs! Of the three points of accusation, the first is half-true; the third quite true in its right sense; the consummate lie is interposed in the middle, in order that out of the whole a confused false witness may arise. The perverting the nation, διαστρέφοντα τὸ ἔθνος (comp. Ex. v. 4; Numb. xxxii. 7; but especially 1 Kings xviii. 17, Sept.), had a political sound, according with Pilate's late experience of the Galileans; but the truth (which the reading ἔθνος ἡμῶν, *our nation*, seems to betray), was that this Jesus turned away the people *from them*. "He who so seized upon the people by His discourses, that we cannot get a hearing; who feeds them, with bread in the wilderness, while we must shut up our granaries; who drives devils out of them which have no regard for us." He says that He is *Christ a king*—certainly quite *true*, when rightly understood. But the daring lie, the contradiction of which they had heard to their confusion from His own lips, comes in the middle, in the clause which puts an evil appearance upon the *perverting the nation*, and would find its confirmation in the truth of the third point, giving His *being a king* a political perversion! Verily, these liars lie well, but yet there is here as ever a certain folly in their lying. For the "*forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar*" had either passed into actual overt act (as the first charge hinted), but then Pilate would have long known this without any "*we have found*" of *theirs*; or else it was only a *saying or teaching* on His part—but then it would not be very dangerous in itself, and moreover *their own guilt* as well as His, as the Roman well knew. The points on which they are altogether silent, are well exhibited and commented upon by Tobler: "They say nothing of the entry into Jerusalem, which, however, might have been most speciously objected before Pilate; they keep silence about the cleansing of the temple, which yet was the strangest thing in the life of the Saviour; they say nothing of the destruction of the temple, the ambiguity of which had been one cause of their own condemnation of Him. But especially are they cunning enough to suppress the Woe! Woe! which He had denounced upon them; and most cunning of all to conceal all His wonderful works, concerning which it might probably occur to them that Pilate would not altogether adopt their explanation of Beelzebub's aid."

But what they do say seems suspicious to the wary Roman, who knows the relations of his office ; he knows that there must be something else behind. " Pilate knew too much about the Jewish expectations to suppose that the Sanhedrim would hate and persecute one who would free them from the Roman authority." (Pfenninger.) " He despises their simulation of the character of good citizens, for on this head he knows them too well." (Dräseke.) And the man, whom he sees before him, this man *who said that He was Christ a king?* Pilate not only knew the Jewish hope in the Messiah, but he doubtless knew also concerning Jesus, who for some time had been partly celebrated, partly opposed, as the Messiah, whose entire public life had fallen within his own period of office, whose last *Entrance* had probably (though only probably) suggested it to his mind to inquire further into the matter if the matter proceeded further. Thus Pilate *now* becomes aware that he has " Jesus" before him, who was reported to have denounced, and so wonderfully taught, and more than taught, these hypocrites.

The reconciliation of St John and the Synoptics might almost be left undecided. The first three have collectively only one question of Pilate to Jesus, whether He was *the King of the Jews*, and only one *Thou sayest it* as the answer. Is this the same with Jno. ver. 37, so that the Synoptic tradition extracted this affirmation from the entire colloquy, and gives it as the sum of the whole? Or did such a first question and answer, isolated and alone, take place in the presence of the whole assembly before the governor summoned Jesus apart by Himself? (Bengel: *Pilato statim respondet.*) On the one hand the former seems an inexact style of narration, since the *thou sayest* of St John, as taken in the connection of the whole, has a *different* meaning ; and the sum of the colloquy as reported by him concerning the kingdom and concerning the truth, does not resolve itself into—" He acknowledged Himself at once as *King of the Jews.*" On the other hand, this simple unmodified avowal, as given in the Synoptics, before Pilate, appears to be scarcely befitting or simply true, the less so as the Lord Himself, according to St John, acknowledges the necessity of obviating all ambiguity or misunderstanding. We should agree with Neander : " To such a question Jesus *could* not answer

simply *thou sayest*, as the Synoptics relate, for in the sense in which the Roman meant this, He had not, and would not give Himself out to be a king of the Jews; nor would Pilate after *such* declaration have pronounced Him to be innocent." The Berlenb. Bible strives to solve the difficulty by saying, "The King of the Jews meant not a *temporal* king, but a king according to the Jewish sense—according to *Israelite theology*, a king as promised in the prophets;"—but we must reject this substitution of the true Israelite theology for the Jewish notions of the day, upon which the Jews and Pilate were well agreed, as involving an untenable "mental reservation;" for the objection might be at once urged, that Christ used an ambiguous expression, He understanding it spiritually, but Pilate in a temporal sense. He who can resolve to explain the Synoptics in this manner by St John may do so, but we cannot. The inexactness in their record would then border on untruthfulness; they knew, writing in the light of the Holy Spirit, as well as we, that a mere affirmative would be ambiguous and untrue; nevertheless they so write that without St John no one could understand them otherwise. We think that the case stands thus. It has not been observed that in St John's account, taken alone, the Lord's words have the *appearance* as if He *only* "spiritualised" His *Messianic dignity*, which was here in question, and thus in part denied it. But that assuredly might not be; it was incumbent upon Him, in spite of all misunderstanding and false opinion, to *avow Himself to these Jews in opposition to the Gentiles as their actual King*. This, therefore, He did at the outset, with a first public $\Sigma\upsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (which is not altogether the same with $\Sigma\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\pi\alpha\varsigma$ as we have before expounded *this*;) the Synoptics know or write only of this, and not of the secret conversation which then followed. It is not to be supposed that Pilate would at once take Jesus into private without any question addressed to Him; but the first marvellous answer which he received would at the same time be the reason why he should ask the Man more confidentially the very same question. The first *apparently* ambiguous and untruthful *affirmation* of the Lord is justified without any "mental reservation:"—first, inasmuch as there was in reality *something* true in the Messianic hope of an external freedom (if they had not themselves rendered it vain for this

time!)—and, next, by the *tone and expression*, in which this “Thou speakest aright!” distinguished as it is from a simple and pure yea, was spoken by this bound-one, and by which the misunderstanding was entirely obviated. In *this* yea of *this man* there lay at the same time—I am He, but not as a rebel against Cæsar, not so as that I shrink from thy investigation! For, one who is guilty does not thus concisely admit at once the main point of his accusation;—excepting in *pride*, but that is infinitely far from the tone and expression here.¹ In a most strange and impressive manner *passion* and *calmness* are opposed here before Pilate, so that he suspects some peculiar and specific mystery to be hidden under this mysterious Yes; therefore he says in his soul—That I must hear for myself, from Him alone and in secret! Hess goes too far when he says that “Pilate perceived by His silence that He would speak to him alone.” For it was no silence, but an affirmation, which by its supreme tranquillity provoked to the uttermost the desire of this Gentile to inquire into and examine this “King of the Jews.”

Thus Pilate leaves the accusing judges with their *we have found* standing without, because they dare not enter,—but his doing so is a deep mortification! Lange thinks that he went into the judgment-hall with a selection of the Jews, who had agreed to renounce the observance of the paschal ceremonial that day, under the reservation that they would celebrate the little Passover. There is no trace of this in St John’s narrative, which in ver. 38 says expressly—He went out again unto the Jews. There might have been Roman attendants; but even they were necessary as an explanation of St John’s knowledge of what passed. (The Lord Himself might have narrated these things during the Forty Days.) With a graciousness towards the accused-one which stands in contrast with his leaving the Jews without, he *calls* Him to himself within and permits Him to *speak* confidently before him as a judge. This was certainly no judicial examination in the strict form (for publicity, or at any rate the presence of complainants and witnesses would be necessary for that), but a conversation, as with Annas; hence Jesus here as there, and still more closely, speaks with a direct

¹ Berleb. Bible: “Pilate marks that something is behind, and thinks—If I had nothing worse to fear than this man, I should sit secure enough.”

and personal application.¹ Had the Lord now begun to speak for Himself with dignity concerning His own life and His deeds, the wickedness and falsehood of His enemies—He might have found a ready hearing and obtained His freedom! But of this He thinks not once. He remains *in statu confessionis* as the King of the Jews, and thinks only of pressing the truth upon this Gentile's heart at this critical hour now come: doing down to the last that for which He was born, and in doing which He dies—Testifying for His own person only as for the truth.

The question repeated in ver. 33 by Pilate is a good beginning, considered as a question so put; especially as a confidentially- and graciously-repeated question. Not, as it has been said, altogether misunderstanding the words, "spoken mockingly in the spirit of lofty conceit"—*Art Thou then this King of the Jews?*² There was but the slightest possible tincture of this; the "*Art Thou so?*" meant earnestly, "*Thou wouldst, Thou wilt actually to be such?*" Thou sayest still, as I have heard with wonder, that Thou art, though bound and delivered up, *Christ a King*—" The whole process rested now upon this Yes or No; let us hear the remarkable answer of our Lord, which now for the first time says literally neither Yes nor No.

The accusers had not said literally *the King of the Jews*, but *Christ a king*, in order that they might not bring before the Romans, by the use of the strongest expression, one who would be represented as a Messiah aiming to rule over a liberated people. But Pilate naturally at once fills up and completes the expression. What shall the Lord reply now, when Pilate thus throws himself into this question, with a very different posture of mind from that which asked the first short and concise one? He must continue to avow Himself as the Messiah, yet in such a manner that the "king," in the sense of those Jews in Jno. vi. 15, should be altogether declined and given up. A mere

¹ In another and more general sense it was indeed an *examination*; and therefore Dräseke's striking words are true, when he calls the examination of Annas an *idle*, that of Caiaphas a *wicked*, and that of Pilate an *extorted*, examination. Instead of this last it were better to say, a necessitated and friendly examination.

² Luthardt also finds only a tone of mockery, depreciation, and even scorn, in the *Thou* which begins the sentence.

Yea was not the simple truth which Pilate here asked about; a simple No, on the other hand, would have denied "the hope of Israel" (Acts xxviii. 20) before the Gentile. The meaning of the word was now the question; the only thing therefore that He could say with truth and wisdom, in order to give occasion for further development, was the counter-question which we read—Speakest thou this thing of thyself, or did others tell it thee of Me? Many very erroneously regard this question as showing that our Lord had not heard the accusation which the Jews had brought. The position of *or did others tell it thee* in the second place in the sentence opposes this view of the dilemma. And, further, the dilemma is not that Jesus would answer in one only of two cases, as Fikenscher *s.g.* explains it: "*Dost thou thyself believe it* (of which nothing however is said!)—then it is either contradictory to reason, for thou canst not allege against Me anything insurrectionary, and as a worldly king, I do not, as thou knowest, stand before thee; or, it is given to thee of God (as a presentiment and earnest question), and then I will answer thee:—but if thou only repeatest what My opponents have said to thee, *I have nothing to say in reply.*" This is certainly incorrect; for Pilate, at once retreating from his good beginning, asserts that he says what the Jews have told him, and yet the Lord does answer him even after hearing that, though He would rather have heard the other. The whole means generally at first: What dost thou really understand in this great decisive question? What is thy notion of this *King*? Knowest thou anything about the hope of the Jews in their Christ, and *what* knowest thou? Thus, with Lange, "Is the expression of thy accusation thine own expression in thine own meaning, or the expression of My accusers?" When we look closer, the former *of thyself* (ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, var. read. ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ) has a *twofold* possible presupposition in it. Not, indeed, as van Ess translates, "Art thou brought to that question of thyself?" for that was not to be supposed, and is contradicted by the nature of the case. But the *best* supposable case was, "Wouldst thou for thyself know in good earnest?" that is, whether I am what thou sayest, what these say, what I also say, and in what sense I do say it? Such was the case in the heart of Pilate for one brief moment, and this it was which

our Lord seized upon in His word. But He knows very well beforehand that Pilate will not remain faithful to that first feeling; and therefore so orders His testing question that its first clause penetrates deeper at once, and says—Hast thou thyself, not now as *man*, but as the *governor* of these Jews, who can tolerate no king over them, discerned and come to the knowledge by any facts of My making Myself a king? But, because this was not the case, and Pilate retreats from any earnest inquiry, the *second* point of the dilemma alone remains, which Christ knows that Pilate *will* affirm—He thus speaks and acts, because the Jews have told him!

Thus does He now, on His own part, take the friendly judge into examination. Because He will not, and may not, be condemned through any *ambiguity* of the word “king,” as it had been thrust forward in the wicked accusation, He begins to prepare the way for distinguishing its true meaning, while He lays hold on the conscience of Pilate, already somewhat touched; *leads him into himself*, and delivers him from all mere foreign suggestion. A judge, a man who has to do with truth in such a remarkable and mysterious case, must not simply give heed to others.¹

Here we see the first taint upon Pilate’s sincerity of spirit; he escapes from the penetrating point of this question, and holds the truth in unrighteousness. He evades it and retreats;² speaks as it were in a lofty tone of alienation from these Jews, and from their king who would now touch his heart. His first question has almost a scornful tone—*Am I a Jew?*³ As if I should with a personal interest ask after their king, their Messiah—or learn from a Jewish Rabbi! Thus was it every-

¹ “If Pilate had only left his conscience free and disburthened it, he would not have been so easily carried away! How many thousands since his time have been carried away who have not allowed themselves to distinguish between what their own conviction and experience teach them, and what they have adopted untested from the declarations of others!” Rieger.

² Krummacher: “With a vehemence which very plainly shows that he has something within to struggle against.”

³ Comp. Acts xvi. 21, and Bengel’s note there: *Hodienum Romanitas Paulo (Christo) repugnat*. But there is more than one kind of *Romanitas* which scorns the Jew.

where then in the Gentile world. Only the better sort of inquiring spirits stumbled not at what was an offence in these Jews; but they in their devotion to the God of this people were more sincere than this people itself. Wherefore had not Pilate long ago, out of sincere *humanity*, instituted inquiries, and made his observation of this Jesus, what kind of *man* he was? It is not probable that, as Tobler says, "only distant reports had forced their way into his private cabinet of state, into that place where the great men of the world think they have all things under their eye, but in which the most important things of humanity are often concealed from them, simply because they do not come forth." The Roman was no such *modern* statesman as this. "Not unacquainted with Jesus' manner of life," as Hase admits, and his whole demeanour testifies, he was *not* "ignorant of the Jewish expectations of a Messiah," as the same Hase nevertheless contends. But he *wills* not to know what he knows, and retreats when Jesus comes too near. He must be brought back to *himself*, but the result is, I am—*no Jew!* What then? Oh, if he had been a Jew, a genuine and sincere one such as Nathanael, who asks not *whence art thou?* when salvation comes, and the truth bears witness to itself! But he is a worldly wise heathen, who counts the worship of the gods fit for the stupid people, but will not receive what the wise had taught, from their presentiments, of the unknown God; and thus has no religion but the slight so-called virtue and righteousness which in his case was of no great value. And withal he is proud, for he is a Roman. He is a statesman, a servant of the *empire*, of that kingdom which admitted the rights of no other, and was not "celestial," like the Chinese, but of the entire *Orbis terrarum*. He is thus from below; a ruler in the plenary authority which extends over all, not excepting Him who came from above and now speaks to him—he is consequently the *judge* of this king of the Jews. Thus he wilfully loses himself, the man, who was divinely touched and attracted by the God-man; and in his second question seems almost to assume again the person of the judge, asking with official air,—What hast Thou *done?* The Romans are concerned with what is *done*; not with dreams, as the Jews are—nor even with wisdom, like the subjugated Greeks. Some-

what offended by the bold counter-question, and with the first rising of that proud feeling which afterwards expresses itself in chap. xix. 10, he now seems to say—There must be matter of moment in this. But there is something of grace, and a continuance of his condescension, in the words which precede—Thy people and the high priests delivered Thee unto me. This means, *Thy* people, Thou marvellous king, will not have thee; the holy rulers and representatives of Thy people make it Thy offence that Thou wouldst be their king—"else I should know nothing about Thee." Speak then, for I will still hear—What does this "king of the Jews" mean, with them and with Thee?¹ Thus the *three* questions of Pilate refer to the three points of accusation:—the first to the *title of king*; the second now to the disturbance of the people and the exciting them against Cæsar, connected as one; the third afterwards, chap. xix. 9, to the subsequently-introduced fundamental question—the "Son of God."

According to strict right the Lord might have once more kept silence; but, because the feeling of Pilate's heart is, as formerly in the case of Nicodemus, somewhat better than his words, the merciful and gracious Lord answers him again, and applies to him a still stricter test, whether He wills to and will *hear*. He does not, indeed, give any direct answer to the proper question, what He had *done*; still less does He begin to narrate His *deeds*, those incontrovertible works which had provoked the lying contradiction of wickedness to charge Him with crime. But He gives directly the negative answer—I have done nothing politically evil or blameworthy, for I am not *such* a king; and, moreover, gives positive declaration that He nevertheless has a *kingdom*. Now follow both together, the No and the Yea for the first question whether He was a king; and that which was once said to the Pharisees, Luke xvii. 20, 21, the Gentile also must hear in the form in which *he* could best apprehend it. Three times in succession, in heightened emphasis, does the Lord in His bonds speak of His *kingdom*! And this means infinitely more than Dräseke has misconceived, "a kingdom is most certainly *My*

¹ Pilate's saying has been understood, "In what sense this expression is used among the Jews, I trouble myself not!" The truth is just the reverse, since he is vexed at this Jewish matter, in which he is now to judge, and vindicate the Roman rights as to what has been "done."

desire !"¹ *My kingdom*—thus He begins, thus He continues, in royal style and tone ; thus does He avow Himself to be a King who already has a kingdom, who inalienably retains it, and will more and more reveal and impress its power. *Βασιλεῖα* may, indeed, signify government or "ruling." This, however, is only included ; the fundamental meaning is, *My kingly dignity and kingly power with its proper domain* :—all that pertains to a king who has not merely the empty name, but *is an actual king*. This and nothing but this must Christ necessarily testify in His humiliation before the power of this world. The Gentile universal dominion, centred in Rome and represented by Pilate, must know that there is a *Power* among men high above its domain, where it assumes to have absolute sway. And this power rules in the world with superior authority *because it is not of this world*. Thus there is another world than *this* :—not merely "a different world from that of Roman action," for this is far from exhausting the meaning of this significant saying ; but a heaven above the earth, a divine and spiritual world. The Lord tells the Gentile as plainly as it might be said to him, in connection with the denial of *his* entire jurisdiction, that which "kingdom of God" and "kingdom of heaven" signified among the Jews. That was the *wonder* addressed to faith ! A domain of power independent of and above the earthly dominion of the world, which however entering into and seizing this, gains and maintains the victory ! Indeed, as Daub in other words expounds it, the natural mind of man, disbelieving the purely heavenly truth, would sooner behold in Mohammed the prophet of the one God, because he wins for himself and his followers the power of this world ; but Christ asserts the purely spiritual power of the *truth* in the presence of the highest earthly power, without using His own or His servants' hands to take from this world's dominion a penny of its tribute. The judicial and ruling power upon earth has still a conscience, in which the first and irrepressible question is heard, as may be seen among the Romans—*What is right ?* By this that power involuntarily recognises a higher power above itself, a *θεῖον*, which is altogether

¹ Here one might say, as Frederic William IV. reminded one who too confidentially forgot the right expression, and said, "If your Majesty would wish," etc.—"Majesty does not wish."

independent of man's caprice and all external things. It was not publicly said to the Roman Procurators, as to the judges in Israel—Take heed what ye do : for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the judgment (2 Chron. xix. 6 ; Deut. i. 17). Yet they knew, as well as the Cæsars who sent them to minister justice in their provinces, that there is a higher Power above the highest. (Eccles. v. 7.) It is to this fundamental feeling of *right*, and consequent *obligation* and duty, that our Lord appeals, when He bears testimony to another kingdom, which according to its nature and kind is derived from another world. Daub puts the case that Jesus had said—I am come by My teaching and acts to speak concerning *duty* ; and Pilate had replied in mockery or doubt—But what is duty ? He remarks that that would have been the observation of a conscienceless, trifling, and unworthy fool. But we say, looking forward to the close of this colloquy, was it otherwise here ? Should not the word concerning the *kingdom*, ver. 36, have taught the conscience of Pilate to understand what the *truth* of ver. 37 was ? For, “ he who says, What is truth ? soon comes to say, What is right ? ” These two are one at that point where the law, which the heathen also have, leads the way to the Gospel.

My kingdom is *not* of this world, where violence and unrighteousness bear external rule, where the powers and the means of this world can at most attain to nothing beyond the *semblance* of right and of truth. By this the Lord frees Himself from all participation in the vain opinions and expectations which the Jews derived from the prophecies of the Messiah ; just as He had thoroughly renounced them when enduring the mockery of the servants over His powerlessness. He had not forbidden to give tribute ; He had declined to be a judge or divider among brethren : nor has the world anything of the kind to fear from His disciples.¹ But He does therewith assert, and that in the most positive way, that He nevertheless *has* a kingdom ; and testifies concerning Himself and His disciples (the subjects and servants of His kingdom) *the same thing* exoterically, in this first witness to the heathen world, which He

¹ As, according to Eusebius, the relatives of Jesus answered Domitian—“ that His kingdom was not secular or earthly, but heavenly and angelic.”

had uttered esoterically, ch. xvii. 14-16, in the mystery of His Prayer. This renunciation is by no means to be put in opposition to the true prophecies of the kingdom of the Son of man, to whom *already* all power is given, and whose kingdom *finally* will bring all other power to naught: it is very far from renouncing the world, and all external, earthly manifestation and confirmation of His heavenly power. It does not, as superficial expositors dream here and ver. 37, refer the kingdom of Christ to the invisible region of the heart: had He not said already before Caiaphas—From this time forth ye shall *see* Him coming in His power? A purely internal dominion, which did not control and subordinate to itself the external, would be no true kingdom, and would have none of the reality of dominion.

In order to bring nearer home to Pilate this marvellous idea—which he passed by, but might have apprehended if he would—of a kingdom which was not of this world, the Lord adds a word the design of which was to say—The proof that I speak the truth *stands before thee* in My person, which even in bonds produces this influence upon thee. Behold, I say unto thee, whether thou believe it or not—I, the King, am bound by My own free will! If My kingdom were of this world, I should not stand,—with this majesty and calmness which thou art constrained to feel in the word "*My kingdom*"—before thee without defence, and be thus accused unto death! Then would My servants fight, that I should not be delivered unto the Jews! Let it be observed, first, that the Lord must *now* alas renounce these Jews, and place Himself, though their King, in opposition to them as His enemies, and even as having power over Him. This is the supplementary answer to Pilate's ironical expression, "Thy people," which admits that this people, alas, hate and reject their King. But what is the meaning of *παράδοθῶ*, *be delivered*? Was He not already in the power of the Jews, delivered up to them by the traitor; and ought it not to have been said—that I should not be further delivered up unto thee? Many understand the words—Then would My servants have fought, that I should not have been delivered up; then it would not have come to this; they should not have brought Me unto thee. If *ἡγνούσαντο* would bear this meaning, the *ἵνα μὴ παράδοθῶ* would not, especially if compared with ch. xix. 16,

where the Evangelist probably speaks according to the very words of Christ. We say, therefore, with Lücke, that "Jesus was not yet (in the sense here meant) delivered to the Jews;" and hold to the translation—*decertarent*, they would fight. Bengel says convincingly: "that I should not be delivered—this was done by Pilate, ver. 31." The Lord speaks by anticipation, warning the conscience of the unjust Pilate, though He knew it to be in vain, against that which would take place. He at the same time graciously indicates the Jews, and not Pilate who delivered Him unto them, to be the proper originators and agents of His impending death.

Further, who are the *ὑπηρέται*, the servants of whom He speaks? For, indeed, to a *king* and a *kingdom* there must belong, not merely subjects, but agents to maintain its authority, *fighters*.¹ His poor and weak disciples have been supposed to be meant, but the notion that they might fight for Him is altogether inappropriate, even if they are hypothetically referred to: if He would not speak about them when questioned by Annas, wherefore would He begin to speak about them to Pilate without any necessity? It has been said that servants of this world must be meant, as the kingdom spoken of is here assumed to be such. Consequently—The host of My dependents, who hailed My entry into the city, would have gone further at My will—then should I have had another and more powerful body at My disposal, and all these Jews together might have been made My dependents! But all this is inappropriate, especially the latter, because in the same clause He places Himself in opposition to these Jews, who will not have Him even as their king, and only as *enemies* desire to have Him. The thought of Roos is a strange one:—"He might indeed have been able to bring together a great multitude out of Galilee, Trachonitis, Ituræa, and Peræa—against those Jewish enemies in Jerusalem!" We think that these *ὑπηρέται* must have a specific meaning, and that they must belong to *His person*, as such being distinguished from the subjects whom He seeks. In the *second* clause the *if it were of this world* is not to be taken in its strictest and fullest

¹ Hence, following the ordinary exposition of this word, Luther finds in it a confirmation of the righteousness of war; see Kahler's dritten Luth. Katechismus, S. 420.

sense; but merely means, with reference to the inference which was to be drawn—If I went forth to a kingdom after the manner of the kingdoms of this world. And then it is very plain—If that were My will, *My* servants would stand ready to protect Me, and to seize the world for Me. Can we not understand now what He means? They are, like Himself, *ministers who are not of this world*—(Bengel)—whose warfare would be therefore all the more effectual and victorious. They are the legions of angels, of whom He thinks, recalling the word which He had spoken when He was taken. Nor must we, with Lampe, unite the two, the holy angels and His disciples: they are the angels alone. If it is said that this would have been language unintelligible to Pilate, the objection is not true; for to such a power and dignity as that of which the Lord here speaks to the Gentile, such supernatural ministering agencies belong, and the heathen notions had much that was analogous. It is, in fact, perfectly appropriate that the Lord should direct Pilate's thoughts, by such a mysterious expression, to higher and more mighty contending agencies. Yet He speaks this word concerning the help of His servants in the same spirit of humble condescension as we observed in Matt. xxvi. 53; for He, strictly speaking, needed no foreign assistance at all. The fundamental meaning, however, is intelligible and plain—Thou seest that I defend not Myself, it is otherwise than thus with My kingdom! And while He thus speaks He is Himself fighting that good fight of patience which alone became Him; and thus He founds and wins for Himself His kingdom in this world.

Finally, He repeats in the third clause, and with the greatest patience, knowing well how hard it will be to Pilate, the same truth, *My kingdom—not of this world*. At the close, however, He changes the expression into *ἐκ τούθεν*—from hence—as it were like a heavenly being looking down upon the earth and its kingdoms; so that with this we may connect the commencing internal preparation for the question of the Gentile—*whence art Thou?* (Fikenscher's narrow interpretation is very unworthy—"Here among the Jews and Gentiles I found not My kingdom; here there are none of its members." It is, moreover, untrue, for the Lord is not speaking of *where* but *whence* His kingdom is; and it is His will to found His kingdom wherever He testifies of it.)

It is another question, whether *now* refers to time, and leaves room for a future in which it would be otherwise with the Lord's kingdom than *it was then*. The Romish exposition, which seizes upon the *nunc autem* of the Vulg. in order to support by it the claim of the subsequent external secular Catholicism to be the kingdom of Christ, needs no refutation from us; but the *now* has been pressed with a good evangelical intention, by those who have not, however, perceived the true force of the clause. Krummacher maintains that the little word "*now*" points evidently to a time in which the kingdom of our Lord would assume a quite different position upon earth from the present; but we ask according to the *context*—Will it be actually a *different* one from that which the Lord described as being "*not of this world*?" Looking closely at the word, a kingdom of *this world*, ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, that is, ἐνθεν, *thence*, it will never be; such a *tacit opposition* as that maintained, therefore, is impossible. Thus the *viv* is here, as often, a *jam vero* or *atque*; as Bengel says, an adversative particle, not referring to time—but. According to B.-Crusius, "*But now, as it stands*"—more plainly, Thou seest by My standing before thee, without the fighting of My servants, of what kind My kingdom is! It was a demonstration to the eyes, which evermore goes on, in that the mighty power of His kingdom approves itself in the world of which it is not. Indeed, the corner stone was rejected, but thereby became the head of the corner: this is the marvel before our eyes. Indeed, the rejection and external powerlessness still continues; but the stone cut out without hands smites the image of earthly monarchies upon its feet; and it becomes the great mountain which alone filleth the earth. (Dan. ii.) For, if the kingdoms of the world become the kingdom of our Lord and His Christ, the world ceases to be *this world*, and is the *world to come* become present. But that will finally prove it to be *not from hence*, as having overcome all that is *hence*.

This goes beyond Pilate's ideas; not beyond his power of comprehension as such, if he had willed, but beyond his will to understand. Another world? A kingdom and a power from *thence*, yet present *here*; in the person of this king before his eyes who refers to invisible ministers, and yet *not from hence*? No fighting with His enemies, who are still His people, but entire

surrender to them; and withal the uninterrupted power and dignity of a king in his kingdom? A *regnum in regno* that must be tolerated and acknowledged? This man—even in such a sense nevertheless a *king*? This word, though the Lord had not expressly used it, clings to him; and his question, besides being the wondering question of a doubting man who would know more, retains the word as being of most concernment to him in his judicial capacity. (Thus it relaxed for a moment the former question—What hast Thou *done*?) But it must not be understood as they interpret it, who, misunderstanding the thought and feeling of Pilate at the present crisis, regard it as attributing to Jesus the assumption of the kingly *title*! Could such a thought have been entertained with regard to this merely “anointed” king, who, moreover, would not that any kingdom should be fought for? Nor is the common opinion right, “The Roman laughs, and will not spare his wit.” Nor that of Luthardt (who seems generally to misunderstand and depreciate Pilate), who says, “Jesus had not impressed His character on the Roman; He was still no more than an object of ridicule.” Nor, again, that of Teschendorff, who would mingle something of warning with the mockery,—“Beware of this incautious word; it may be Thy ruin!” But the question, while it may have some very slight admixture of mockery, is in its predominant feeling earnest; otherwise the earnestness of the Lord’s answer would have been inappropriate. “His spirit was touched, the being of Christ impresses itself upon him.” He therefore says, in only a half-question—Thou art indeed *thus* a king! *Οὐκοῦν* is a deduction, not a mere *οὐκουν*. In this the momentary feeling expresses itself—Thou seemest to be, and speakest like, one who is a king from above, as if there was in truth such another world!

It is only when we thus understand it, that we can seize rightly the sense in which the answer *here* once more runs—*Σὺ λέγεις*: not, as was said before, quite identical with *Σὺ εἶπας*, and yet in a good sense closely bordering upon it. Thou thyself feelest something in it to be acknowledged and confessed, since thou thus returnest to the question. The *ὅτι* which is connected with it is no more than in Lu. xxii. 70 dependent upon the *λέγεις*—Thou sayest it thyself that I am a king; but the testifying *I am*,

carried on by the new 'Εγώ, is the assertion of Christ Himself. Still stronger than in Lu. xxii. 70, this *ὅτι* is essentially the reason for the *saying*, which is approved of. Lucke agrees in this with Stephanus and Beza—Thou sayest it, *for* I am a king! And this is not merely “justification of the affirmative” in purely logical connection, but a bringing forward of the *enforced acknowledgment* from its background in the question—I know it well, thou dost not really ask, thy very question affirms it unto thyself, thou hast a presentiment and feeling of it, *because I am a king!* We might, indeed, finally, give to the word of Jesus the strong emphasis which Richter expresses—“A king *I am*—there is essentially no true *king* or ruler beside Me.”

And now the Lord begins to make a more direct application of His words to the spirit of His hearer, thus made attentive; He gives him the plainest and most sublime testimony in that first declaration and announcement which the whole Gentile world, and, indeed, natural humanity generally, must hear. He no longer abides in the negative, which the former words had held fast—*A worldly king I am not*; but adds to it now the plainest positive assertion. It is necessary, however, that He should speak so as a heathen may understand. He therefore does not proceed at once with the kingdom of God, or call Himself the Son of the Living God, or Him who was to come according to Israelitish prophecy:—although apostolical preaching afterwards, resting upon the fact of the resurrection and accompanied with the Holy Spirit, commenced its appeal, with perfect propriety, by the announcement to the Gentile world of the only God, and His Son come into the world. But here, in opposition to the full offence of the humiliation, powerlessness, and rejection by His people, of the king of the Jews, the Lord appeals in His word to the most internal feeling of a heathen coming to Him susceptible of good; and speaks only at first, though in that comprehending all else, of the *truth*. He does not appeal as yet to the need of *salvation* for sinful humanity—which, however, while the law and the prophets awakened a sense of it more fully, slumbered in the unconscious souls of all the heathen—and therefore say, extending already the *Messianic* preaching to all the world, *Salvation cometh of the Jews*. But, instead of this, He assumes more elementarily man's *practical*

need for his mind and thought, that which is most immediately felt and acknowledged: *Truth—cometh from above*. Thus does His condescending wisdom and love lay hold on that one thing in this poor Pilate by which he might be laid hold of, had he been willing. The word concerning the *kingdom* was spoken to the statesman and Roman; the word concerning the *truth* follows for the educated philosopher in the statesman, for the “Greek,” inasmuch as the Greek element of investigation and questioning after wisdom (1 Cor. i. 22) was at that time blended with the Roman, and even presented the fundamental character of the Gentile world prepared for the Gospel:—hence, although the power and dominion were with the Romans, the Gentiles in the New Testament are called not Romans but Greeks.¹ Consequently, the Lord lays hold of the *man*, the seeking and inquiring man, in Pilate, when He testifies and sets before him a Truth, which is such unconditionally, the only sure and all-answering truth.

But this truth, if it is to be given back to a world sunk in delusion and doubt, can come to it only through a *person*, and one who has all the truth in Himself, who therefore can stand as a *king* before every man, and command the homage to Himself of all “truth,” or all that may yet remain in man of the truth. In the personal consciousness is the contradiction of fantasy or doubt; in One personal consciousness, therefore, must the possession of present, certain truth come forward, and testifying to itself communicate the truth. That which every philosopher, who deems himself to have found the *final* great conclusion and presents himself with his doctrine, assumes to be—a Messiah of knowledge, a king in the kingdom of thought—that Christ truly is; and in *this* consists the beginning of His Messianic dignity and power over us as “Master of instruction.” Only that we have to mark *what* He teaches, and how *His* “truth” is altogether and from its first principles practical and redeeming, the *truth concerning salvation*.

The reduplicated *Ἐγώ*, the second being a continuous resumption of the first, is a very characteristic point in the present

¹ Lange finds in ver. 34 the general thought that the Romans, with all their might and energy, yet in their religion, philosophy, and poetry heard only what others “told them.”

saying, and we must not lose either of them by any various reading: *I am a king—I witness to the truth!* Thus now already,—while Christ stands bound before Pilate, and declares beforehand that He will be delivered to the Jews to be put to death, and will surrender Himself without the defence of His heavenly servants—*now already*, before He sits at the right hand of God, He hath the kingdom and is King. For even when He sits upon the throne of His power, He will send forth his servants equipped from above to fight for no other kingdom than that which consists of subjects who have been vanquished by the truth in the freedom of their spirits. Grotius on Matt.: “When Jesus here confesses Himself to be a king, it seems to me that He cannot deny that His kingdom in some way had *already commenced*, when He began to teach the truth; for thus does He interpret the kingdom in St John.” In the “*I am*” of His person, sanctified of the Father and sent into the world, the three offices, the gradual unfolding of which followed after, were already from the beginning included in one. Not till the end of the days will it be said in all its fulness—The Lord is King, all things are subject to Him; it was not till His ascension that He went up to the throne and assumed His kingdom (Lu. xix. 12);—but He is already in the *prophetic office* more than a prophet, the *King* born to be a Ruler, and already beginning to rule. In this sense (which does not exclude all that follows from it, but rather presupposes all the rest *as following from it*) the Lord strictly *connects His kingly dignity* with His prophetic authority, desiring *now at the first* only an acknowledgment of the truth. He even recommends, as much as possible, His prophetic office to the heathen philosophy of the natural man (who is not already an Israelite) by adopting in His language the seeming abstraction *ἀλήθεια*, *truth*, which, however, for us includes the entire fulness of the living God and His salvation. For, the Romans, the people of action, inquired, in common with the Greeks, to whose doctrines the conquerors submitted, after truth. The philosopher in man—according to the best and highest significance of that beautiful word—can only *seek* the truth, with a *longing love* for what he cannot find: it is the original instinct, which still remains in man, and yearns for its gratification in its original reality. But Christ gives man the

truth, or bears *witness* for the truth. He does not seek it in the fellowship of the great spirits of men ; He does not, like Socrates, teach the common people about it ; He does not, like Plato, utter presentiments and poetry concerning it ; but He *testifies* in the absolute sense, as He declared, ch. iii. 11, in opposition to Nicodemus, and as the Baptist, ch. ili. 32, pointing to Jesus confirmed His words.

Thus while He was born and came into the world for the redemption of mankind, He was born and came into the world *for this purpose*, that He should bear witness to the truth. As an announcer of the truth, He is already "a *born* King, no pretender or usurper of a throne ;" His dignity and authority was His original heritage from above and from eternity, in the highest sense of the words : for office and person are one in Him. If this *birth* of a woman placed Him *ἐν ὁμοιώματι* on a level with other erring, seeking, failing, sinful men,—so that the question of doubt might be uttered, But how comest thou to be the sole son of Adam who can confront us with such an assertion concerning thyself ?—we find the profound and necessary counterpart declared in His testimony, *And come into the world*. The being born and the coming into the world are by no means one and the same, as if Christ spoke only in the common phrase,—*improper*, if strictly considered,—which terms origination in the world a *coming* into it.¹ There is, moreover, no other distinction which will satisfy the words : they must be left in their simple truth. Not that which understands "the permanent continuance in the world" after the first "crisis of birth"—for could that be spoken of with *ἐλήλυθα, I came ?* Nor "the public manifestation, the *ἀνδραγῆς*"—for the antithesis of *another* world in the former saying is still retained here. Least of all does Lange's interpretation satisfy the words—"Born to this end alone, and to this end alone *elected* or sent ; thus a king in the whole right as well of birth as of election and destination." For, a right of election can be referred to Christ's kingly dignity only in as far as the *Father* sends, appoints, and anoints

¹ In our way of speaking—"coming into the world"—there seems to be an indistinct vague apprehension of a pre-existent I, the origination of which out of nothing we are slow to receive, because utterly unable to apprehend. Still more plainly is it heard in the people's "*jung werden*."

Him; but to a heathen who knows not God, He cannot say—*Sent* into the world: He therefore adheres to the simple “*come*,” and plainly declares Himself thereby to have been a personality of Divine origin, pre-existent before His human birth. Compare what has been already said upon Jno. xvi. 28, which is the authentic real-parallel of this expression. See further ch. viii. 42, 23, 58, iii. 31, xvii. 5, 24. *Born as man*, as thou seest Me standing before thee, a man; *come*, as at the same time more than man, from that *other* world of which My kingdom is, and of which, consequently, as thou mayest conclude, My person also is! Here we have then the foundation of the *whence* of Pilate’s last question. Moreover, the having come from the invisible world of reality and certainty must be regarded as a necessary condition in order to the testifying of the truth; hence the second *εἰς τοῦτο*, *to this end*, with a stronger emphasis in its repetition.

That all men who are simply born into the world err from the truth is a plain fact of experience; and it is equally certain that the word “truth,” still extant among men, testifies of a reality which men are seeking. Thus it is to be remarked, that “Jesus calls Himself the king of truth, in the sense in which all men are liars”—that is, He convicts us of our apostasy from the living God, of our fall from communion with heaven; and *hence* He guides our falseness, opposing Himself to us as come from above with the truth. He does not say here expressly, as finally to His disciples, *I am* the truth; but we must not, therefore, assume with B.-Crusius: “He does not represent Himself as the *Ruler*, but rather the *Truth*; Himself being its representative and *Deputy*!” His express and emphatically-repeated words—*βασιλεὺς εἰμι ἐγώ, ἐγὼ γεγέννημαι, ἐλήλυθα*—declare what is the reality, that He *bears personally in Himself* that truth to which He testifies, and consequently that He is identical with it. For He would rule by making the truth supreme; and the kingdom, in which the truth is made known, is *His* kingdom. He does not say *bear witness to truth*, but, with a fine distinction, *to the truth*—*τῇ*—so that He places the truth in its highest objectivity, as it were in the place of the living God, and as if above Himself. But He at the same time arrogates for His own personality, which He adduces as

the *ground* of the confident *μαρτυρεῖν*, such a unity with this truth, that every one who is so disposed may understand it perfectly in the same meaning as all that He elsewhere, especially in St John, testifies *for Himself* and *of Himself*.

There is another world—that was the testimony of the former words. There is a *truth*, which is *the truth* simply, excluding all that contradicts it—this He testifies now. And also that there was a truth of God for man's salvation extant in Israel, to which it was His office to bear witness. (But not of itself *the truth* in its entirety, Jesus *only* bearing witness to that truth, as Krummacher too strongly expresses it.) We know of course that He means *saving truth* in order to man's happiness, and no such system of dogmatics as remains in cold and moonlight elevation, leaving poor man below still bound in misery and contradiction with himself, and thus an actual lie to himself. And this word here attests it, inasmuch as it is indeed His will to rule, to work in the hearts of His subjects obedience to the truth in order to the obtaining of a kingdom within them. Thus it is with perfect propriety, and for the present time very appropriately, that Tholuck makes *this* kingly word rebuke another word of a king, which, however ill-conceived originally, has been still worse perverted, viz., that *every man* is able to get happiness in *his own* fashion. This is the truth, witnesses Christ, that I am the redeeming, restoring King of humanity, who point the way and give the life; *all other* is the lie, *against* which I bear witness. This is the truth in which we (according to ch. xvii. 17, 19) are sanctified, through Him who has sanctified Himself for us. His word has this extension even here; but now He cannot at once utter it so fully and plainly; He goes not beyond the word appropriate to the beginning of all—Bear witness unto the truth. Compare the words in the *royal Psalm*, Ps. xlv. 5.

First of all—that we may now return from the breadth and depth of the word for the whole *world* and humanity (for the truth must be testified *ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*, to Jews and Gentiles alike), to the first apprehension of its meaning in Pilate's case—first of all, the Lord thereby told him, as an answer to his question brought in afterwards—“*This* is what I have *done*, this is My offence; judge thou whether it be a crime or a merit. I have

borne witness to the truth, as I was born for this cause, and for this cause have come; *therefore* also the Jews hate Me, and bring their charge against Me, hypocrites and unjust as thou knowest them well to be. Then give thou also, as a judge, in the name of the Roman βασιλεὺς or καῖσαρ, honour to truth and right!" When the Lord designated speaking (and acting) for the truth as *kingly*—"His answer paid honour to all the kings of the earth, as He thus placed Himself by their side." For is not that their highest, their most proper and true vocation? As Lange similarly says: "Every king is, according to the idea of the term, a born and called *witness*; that is, He was the first historical witness and champion for the idea of His kingdom." But this does not altogether touch the point which Daub had in view,—The equal obligation of all kings to bear witness to that one rightful truth, and truthful right, which He represents who is the King of kings, and by which it is His will to bring all kingdoms into subjection to His sway, and make all who rule upon earth ministers of His kingdom. Wisd. vi. 1-4; Prov. viii. 14-16. Let this more fundamentally explain the word above—I am a *King*!

The Lord, further, says to Pilate, indirectly at least—"I do not deny or conceal it, it is the truth that I am a king, and I tell thee the pure truth as to the sense in which I avow and witness before thee the whole counsel and mystery of My person, born and come into the world, and of My whole course of life and action: all this I can no more deny than I can deny Myself. I stand now before thee, openly and truly, that which I *am*! Shouldst thou be willing with false kindness to open for Me a way of evasion and escape—I am not such an one as could adopt it!" What dignity, what majestic serenity in the personal Truth, come down from above, which stands here bound before the judge!

Finally, let it be carefully noted that the Lord does *not* by any means term Himself a "king of the truth," and His kingdom a "kingdom of truth," in that superficial, adjective sense which is so common in human language concerning it;—but He uses the word, so to speak, in its strict *substantive* meaning. Again, we may say, if we rightly understand what we say, that the goal and end of the completed and absolute supremacy of His *king-*

dom is the supremacy of truth unto righteousness; but if even this be taken in its superficial meaning, it becomes an untruth. It is not that "the end of His mission is the spreading the truth among men;" but, to sanctify and perfect men in themselves and thus in the truth of their humanity, that is, in their renewed fellowship with God. Not that "His kingdom exists *only* in the spread of the truth;" but this first spreading of the truth, which He here calls bearing testimony to it, is *only* the beginning in order to the establishment of the actual kingdom. Neander is much more correct: "the witness to the truth is defined to be the means for the establishment of His kingdom." It is *almost* like the humble reply of the Baptist to the *What sayest thou of thyself?*—I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness; but here the Lord speaks more as a king in the humility of that truth, which, while it asserts its rightful supremacy as truth, will rule only where it is acknowledged—I testify, I speak; these are My weapons, this is My power, and this is what I have done!

But let not this be despised, for it is the highest and most important of all authority! Can the truth more royally reign than by its testimony? Is there any king more real than he who rules by the sceptre of his lips? If in the domain of falsehood and unrighteousness there is yet "a power in words" which is above all power of arms—how great must be the power of words in the lips of the incarnate Word Himself, how great the victorious authority of the self-attesting eternal Truth! *Here* is obedience and rule, and nowhere else. In all the empires of this world there is constraint and delusion, continual conflict of contradiction; but where hearts and consciences obey in the obedience of truth, there is true *empire*, and its king has true *obedience*. Not that even this King can constrain the obedience of *all*; for the power of untruth is great in humanity, and manifests itself in many to the highest extent of contradiction, which He now bears with patiently, but will one day condemn. Nevertheless He says—*Every man* that is of the truth heareth My voice! be he who he may, by whatever name known, Jew or Gentile, king or poor man. This He now speaks to the heart and conscience of *Pilate*, for the time is come when he might hear; the hour in which an influence and a testimony

comes to him from above which he might obey if he would. By no means is it as Bengel misapprehends—"Jesus appeals from the blindness of Pilate to the susceptibility of believers;" but as Olshausen better apprehends the love of the condescending Redeemer (which is quite consistent with the consciousness that it is in vain): "This word was evidently intended to attract Pilate himself, and to induce him to avow himself a subject of Christ as a friend of truth." *Of the truth* is only another expression for *of God*, ch. viii. 47, so that we may refer here to all that was said there and upon ch. x. 27.¹ The condition on the part of men could not be wanting here, being in this as in all essential. He who with conscientious sincerity *desires* and *seeks* the right truth for his inmost need, that is, for his help against delusion and sin, the living truth which is unto righteousness, is so far already *of* the truth, and will consequently with a willing spirit obediently hear its voice and follow it. Tholuck: "he is a thoroughly and absolutely sincere man against himself." And Lutz: "It is His kingdom, which He *gathers together* by means of the testimony which He bears to it; it is a kingdom of truth, without political, external force, *out of the element* of most internal *sincerity of the mind's bias toward God*; a kingdom of that highest truth, by which man lays hold of God Himself." For, in reality, the seeking and laying hold of God is alone truth in man. And as certainly as man was created after God and for God, and is still capable of being brought back to Him, so certainly *is there* such a "truth" in us, which goes out toward that "truth" which Jesus now bears witness to and brings. Then it is twofold and yet but one, because it is one in its ultimate principle. A man who sincerely seeks and learns is indeed already a subject of the truth, and is prepared to be drawn to Christ; even as all the sheep which He already has as the Shepherd, know Him when they hear His voice. But the sincerity of a sinful man will begin with the feeling and consciousness of *sin*, as may be seen in Cornelius; *alas, Pilate here becomes the counterpart and opposite of Cornelius.*

¹ But not already "a being born of the truth," as Ficker wrongly apprehends the expression in one of his otherwise beautiful five sermons on the Doubters of the New Testament. The first, predominating love to truth is far from being the full living and standing in truth.

The sincere came then, and for a while longer, through Israel, without being offended at Judaism, to Christ; they come now through Christ to Israel. All these are simply voluntary and *free* subjects, other than such the heavenly and true King desireth not; but, glancing at these through all the world and through all time, He speaks now before Pilate, at once with sublime resignation and all-comprehensive extension of His authority—"Askest thou for My subjects? Every soul, which voluntarily and of the truth hearkens to *My* truth, is My subject; there are *few* of them, and yet *everywhere many*,—as thou wilt receive it."

We may now be permitted to consider a little more deeply the result or rather the resultlessness of this witness to Pilate, and mark the word by which he replied to it; for that word must be studied as, indirectly at least, assisting our proper estimate of the word of Jesus. Pilate was not of the truth, to hear this voice and to receive this testimony! Although his secret feeling of Divine things and the truth was afterwards again impressed by the Son of God, in the veiled lowliness of the *Ecce Homo*, yet his second rejection of the truth was already prepared for and decided in his first rejection. *What is truth?* This is his question; did he put it "after having kept silence and pondered a while?" This seems to us scarcely probable; but it is possible, and that would then, alas, only aggravate his guilt. Everything depends on the spirit in which we put this question. There are some who would do no more than ask: their delight is to seek, everlastingly to seek and never to find! Who (according to the well-known avowal of Lessing) would reject the right hand with the truth offered in it, and ask rather the left hand with the joy of seeking and for ever straining after the truth! There are those who make for themselves a truth in the stead of that which is genuine, and then either indolently repose upon it, or angrily quarrel about it. There are those who vainly imagine that they have found it, or vainly deny that there is any truth to be found; and others, again, who, with the greatest folly of all, leave its existence, or non-existence, an undecided question in their own minds. There are those, finally, who seek and ask

with such intense earnestness, that, sooner or later, the answer cannot escape them. To these last Pilate certainly did not belong—to which class then are we to assign him? “Concerning his philosophico-judicial humour, nothing is canonically decided”—we must admit with Kleuker, yet we may freely state our own opinion under correction.

And, first, it is certainly true that he did not ask in earnest; not “with intent to wait for and receive an answer,” or to be able to apprehend better that which he had received;¹ for he does not give time for any reply at all. *And when he had said this*, writes St John, he went out again to the Jews. Thus his seeming question was not so much an actual question as an exclamation, self-answering, and ending the matter. “The question was thrown out as anything but a question”—says Lange. Thus we cannot attribute to this questioner even “curiosity,” that perilous and yet oftentimes-useful succedaneum of a desire to know. His abrupt breaking off is itself the “holding the truth in unrighteousness” (Rom. i. 18):—for otherwise he would have thought more deeply and fixedly of the profound solemnity of this universal question for every man, and would have awaited the answer, which had already been offered, as supplying the need of his soul; he would have been smitten and held fast by the internal consciousness of his own uncertainty in the presence of this confident one, and of his own guilt in the presence of this innocent one; he would at least have brought, instead of this vague and desultory no-question, his own best and deepest questions of conscience, as the Samaritan woman had done. Yea, then would Christ have given answer—and what an answer² would the world have received from His lips—an answer of which it was not worthy:—a root

¹ This, however, was the opinion of many of the Fathers, and followed by Erasmus, Grotius, etc. Immediately after putting the question, it struck his mind how much time was necessary for the reply;—hence he sought first to set Jesus free, that he might afterwards hear Him further! Grotius says—“He asked *by the way*, but not to press then the inquiry;” and Lampe, “with singular instability he immediately changed his mind.” But such change of mind in two successive moments is altogether unimaginable.

² Far above all human thoughts, according to which Tauler thought that one could not better answer such a question than by—*truth is truth*.

and centre word, inconceivable and unsearchable by us, uniting in a new light all that the entire Scriptures now testify in answer!

Pilate did not ask his question as a *philosopher*, strictly so called, who had without satisfaction investigated all existing systems. Indeed, it would not necessarily follow, even in that case, that he would be willing "to occupy his mind about the system of Jesus in addition to all the rest;" for Jesus was a *Jew*, and, moreover, he who has been disappointed a hundred times would be rather disinclined to hear for the hundred and first time. But such a view of the Procurator's mental education is itself historically improbable. Certainly he did not throw out the rejecting question as a man "washed with all waters" in theory and practice, in system and life. Thus not as an absolute doubter, as is sometimes said, or as a systematic sceptic; for as such he would have said still more proudly and decidedly, either at once or in addition to his question, *There is no truth!*¹ That is, indeed, the fundamental meaning of his word, but still it is not spoken altogether in that style. Further, we are scarcely justified in attributing to the unhappy Pilate, as a historical personage, anything like conscious mockery, as if he heedlessly said—"Forsooth, Thou speakest of truth!" He does not seem to speak in the "common and frivolous spirit of such mockers," at a crisis which had certainly been preceded by a moment of deep impression: there is a certain undeniable tone of *sorrow* to be discerned in his abrupt breaking off. It is not Pilate's *will* to mock of set purpose; and yet it resolves itself into that, because he does not yield himself to the earnestness of the question—and in that lay his sin! "The Roman feels himself moved and pressed by conscience; but he mocks back his heart's best feelings." (Pape.) For notwithstanding the weight of meaning which is attached to the word *truth* by this questioner, who, seeking no reply, recoils as it were from his own question, there is yet in the question itself "evidence of a certain latent contempt of the truth in his heart," and indeed contrary to the truth

¹ Pilate is "too feeble to believe in truth, and too feeble altogether to deny it," as Tholuck says. Luthardt's expressions are certainly too strong: "This trait of scornful contempt of everything which might appear like enthusiasm, indicates a man jaded and worn out." This better suits Herod than Pilate, though not strictly applicable even to him.

of his heart. His instant astonishment echoes the great word which he had heard, and puts it again in the form of a question ; but the next feeling gives it an ironical tone—*What is it ?* Ficker's arrangement is in the main right : "This question of Pilate is by no means evidence of a heart which would seek the truth ; nor of a heart which, tired of seeking, despairs of truth altogether ; but of a heart which is generally indifferent about it, and therefore, even before the face of Truth in Christ, *closes itself* against it." That he does not, like Christ, speak of "*the truth*" is very characteristic and natural ; for that would be already admitting too much, and with such an admission his rejection of it would not be consistent. The comprehensive and specific Article in "being of *the truth*" presupposes of itself something which was wanting to Pilate ; the same Article in "holding *the truth* in unrighteousness" is only the revealing explanation of the Judge and Searcher of hearts, who brings to light and stamps that which men wilfully conceal from themselves : see Rom. ii. 16. The natural man knows and mentions only *truths*, God's word and revelation knows of only one, the truth ; in this central Singular lies the point of decision between the hearing and not hearing. He who confesses to one objective and real "*truth*," which is not to be created by himself, is so far on his way to *the truth* ; *the truth* is, properly speaking, never contended against, doubted of, or attacked by those who are sincere and in earnest, but sought even in the midst of greatest errors which have its semblance. It may indeed be *hated, scorned, and persecuted*, but it is by those who well know what they do.

The *τί ἐστίν* is not to be interpreted, with Grotius, *cujus generis, of what kind*,—as if the question had this force : Of what kind of truth speakest Thou then, of philosophical, moral, religious, political, or the like ? Oh no, it is a negating no-question, which has *there is none* for its secret meaning ; but as such it is capable of a manifold further interpretation or development. Let us attempt this, taking as our basis the masterly note of Meyer, which briefly sums up the whole, and needs but to be made somewhat more complete. First, *generally* : who has explored *what truth* is, and found it, so as to be able to say like Thee "*the truth* ?" No man ! Thou speakest as of a certain thing—I must alas add, There lies the *question* itself ! "*Truth*

is an empty word"—Neander explains; but it is also a great word, and seems to have great attraction for man, for ever exciting his pursuit in vain! What (after so many failures) dost thou understand by the word? But this, though the first impulse of Pilate's abrupt mind, and containing some slight admixture of good feeling, is not all; for, in that case the questioner would have tarried for an answer, even in mere curiosity. The question despatches the matter in another way—To what end is all this? What is truth *for the practice, for the life*? Thus, Of what worth is it? Who cares for it? Who will hear it? And then, quite rightly, of what use and service is it? *Here* enters in the suppression of conscience as influencing the practice, the denial of the most internal impulse of his spirit toward life; and in this he thinks himself wiser than any one who should stand out a *witness for the truth*, and whom he would only commiserate (Prov. xxvi. 16). Luther: "If thou wilt meddle with truth simply, thou art lost." It is as if he said: I now understand why Thou dost not succeed with Thy people—how wretched may be Thy lot through such fanaticism! And then adds, as it were, with some touch of compassion: But I at least will do Thee no harm on that account! For almost one and the same with this is the application which now follows—What is truth as it regards the kingdom of action? that is, What *political* import has it? Bengel well says (though it is but a partial interpretation of the saying itself), "Pilate thinks that the mention of truth does not square with the word concerning the *kingdom*. He can connect a kingdom with *power*, but not with truth." He will not know or acknowledge the power of truth to make free, nor its supremacy over the lie of authority; he therefore signifies that dealing with truth simply is *as foolish as it is harmless*. Hence the expression of wonder "that Jesus should speak so strongly of a mere kingdom of truth" (as Hess says); and at the same time of a kind of contempt which acquits one who is complained against *merely* on account of "truth."

This leads us, consequently, to the third critical point in the matter—What signifies truth *here in this judgment*? Thou appearest to me to be such a king as the Stoics mean—The wise man is the only king! "Now, the kingdom of truth is an etherial and shadowy fairy-realm; he who will be king there,

rules over an innocent other-world of pious fantasy—and can do no harm to the Roman eagles!” (Lange.) But because this Jesus has, nevertheless, been brought before him for judgment with so much ado, there mingles with this feeling of indifference in his mind something of vexation on account of the perplexity of the case; as if he would say—I am not appointed governor for such matters as these! This may explain in some sense the “anger” with which, according to Lange, he throws out the question; for what passed before could scarcely have excited it. This displeasure, finally, is heightened in a *fourth* meaning of the question, which must not be omitted: we must close the swift succession of the thoughts which expressed themselves in it by connecting with the primary question, What is truth *generally*—What is truth in *Thy lips, Thou King of the Jews?* Your Jewish truth—am I then a Jew?—with all your contention about it, shall never move my mind. If our philosophers and the Greeks have never found it—shall this salvation forsooth come at last from you? This last may be regarded as finally turning the scale, and leading Pilate to dismiss the subject; but it is certainly not the only thought which was in his mind when he put a question which, with all its folly, was so full of importance. All that we have been mentioning passed, though it may be half unconsciously, through his mind when he uttered it.

Thus then he speaks, to sum up all, as a man in reality indifferent to the truth, or who decides finally to be so now. Thus *truth*, that great, engrossing, empty word, is of no more value to him than the God of the Jews and their Messiah. He is not a Jew—alas, also, not one who seeketh after God in the sense of Rom. ii. 29—but a true exemplar of a heathen, as heathens then for the most part were; and, so far, their representative at this point of history. “Not in a great affirmation, but in a great denial, saw Pilate the end of the way in which the seeking world had gone.” (Luthardt.)

Thus scepticism had become, as we well know, almost universally the end of philosophy; and moral indifference in life the end of the long struggle in the case of the multitude; especially of the educated, to whom Pilate certainly belonged. “He says it with the air of a *man of this world*, who, shortsighted and laughing, condemns the cause of earnest reality.” (Klopstock.)

So multitudes of the great men of the world, and of the lesser children of the world too, echo this condemnation, and think it lifts them to the highest elevation of the spirit of the age; they boast themselves one after another in their new paths of investigation and in the results of their individual judgment—for truth has become a very familiar thing, readily enough talked of by all. And here stands Pilate and his saying, not merely in history but in the *Scripture*, a prophetic and warning and condemning type of all such heathens in the midst of Christendom. But their rejecting indifference, now after centuries have seen the coming of the Son of man in His kingdom, and the Crucified stands before them as He did not before Pilate,—in the manifest mystery of godliness, the pillar and ground of the truth,—is thrice inexcusable. And so far this *What is truth* says to the reader of the Bible much more than Pilate meant to say or could have thought.¹

After all that we have said, the question of Pilate, which waits for no answer, is and must ever be no other than a self-contradiction. For, first, there is actually a truth, which he cannot question away, *in the questioner*, as was afterwards impressively shown in the case of Pilate himself.² Secondly, there is a truth *before him* in the person of Christ, whom he cannot condemn. That *this man* stands there before him in this world

¹ We cannot refrain from inserting, for the sake of some into whose hands this book may fall, the following remarks of Tobler: "And thou, philosophical spirit, who canst not or wilt not believe this history, to whom, however, at least, the eternal chain of influence and results must be worthy of respect:—think with astonishment that even thou, with all thy freedom and independence, art swallowed up in a sea of results which have followed from the fact that two thousand years ago, in a despised corner of the earth, a despised Rabbi of a despicable nation was executed as a slave; and that thou on His account art surrounded with relations so different from what they otherwise would have been. Bow down before Fate with thy pure philosophical spirit; but if thou wouldst be a true philosopher, look a little behind the veil and see if there be nothing in the history, and especially in the *central person* of it, which marked Him out for such a widespread and deep influence upon the human race, and so to speak justifies it!"—The history now says—*This is truth! He is truth!* And wilt thou say—Am I then a *Christian*?

² Thus Dräke's saying—"Pilate has in him no truth," is not altogether true, though it is generally supposed to be implied in the word.

and speaking concerning another, is at first undeniably certain ; that Pilate has been constrained to put more faith in Him, in the point of His innocence, than in the whole dignified Sanhedrim, which had found Him guilty, is again a truth, by the help of which much more might have been reached. (Lange : "By the words, *I find no fault in Him*—he uttered a *great truth*!") And the very amazement which still continues in his heart, not to be washed away from it, the fear of this half-righteous and half-unrighteous judge at the cry of the rabble, high and low, which will take "the blood of this Just One" upon themselves, is only a foil of the dark background which makes the righteousness of this true and only Just One shine all the more brightly :—but *out of that follows everything*, if thou wilt think aright ; and the anagrammatic echo of the question, *Quid est veritas?*—*Est vir qui adest!* is really to be derived from the elements of the question as put *in the presence of Christ*. If "this man" is only a man, born and come into the world like all the rest—then, indeed, his testimony is presumption, delusion, self-deception, lie, fanaticism, or whatever else it may be termed, only not truth. But *then* further, *everything* is delusion and lie, even the truth in the breast of man, the conscience and sentiment of God in the Gentile, as well as the entire revelation and prophecy of Israel :—as the *consistent* denial of Christ by Feuerbach and his party begins to prove—by the dogmatism of conscious falsehood, *Thus we have found!*

Those who are morally sincere in the practical part of life come sooner or later, more speedily or more slowly, more decidedly or more waveringly, in some way or other to the Saviour of the world upon the cross. This is most sure, for He has said it—*Every one that is of the truth heareth My voice*. It is the same with the sincere in science and philosophy. For, these take their conscience with them into their theory, science, and philosophy ; they therefore say neither *τί ἐστι* nor *εἴρηκα* ; they put not themselves in the place of Christ, as if they had the truth already, nor in the place of Pilate, as if they needed and would have it not ; but they are not satisfied and ready with their reply until they verily have *Christ Himself*. To the *end* of their speculation, to the great *question* of sincere earnestness about concealed truth and the living God, Christ

attaches the *beginning* of His testimony—*I am come to bear witness*; and on this the middle and the end hangs—*I am He*. Then does faith boldly confront a world which crucifies Christ with the question—What is your lie with all its specious seeming? It testifies itself to me concerning the truth! What is the power of all the kingdoms of the world? It must fall down before the feet of my King, who hath *not* worshipped Satan!

But the Pilates of the present day *ask*, and when the answer is plain before them, they turn away and say—What is it? Like the *fools*, of whom the wisdom of the Son of Sirach writes (Ecclus. xxii. 8): “He that telleth a tale to a fool, speaketh to one in a slumber; when he hath told his tale, he will say, what is the matter, *τί ἐστιν* ;” With all their apparent Roman manhood, they are like “silly women laden with sins—*ever learning*, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth,” 2 Tim. iii. 6, 7. They call themselves, and think themselves, philosophers, but when the personal *Sophia* appeals to them they become instead *misosophs*. “They charge truth with being obliged to hide itself in the world. But it is only too certain that it is rather the world which hides itself from the truth; or, if it does once ask the Just One, *What is truth?* it rushes away again, like Pilate, and goes out to take counsel with the great ones, the learned and ignorant rabble.”¹ Thus, in the presence of Christ, the sincerity of a good heart is turned into lie and guilt, all wisdom into folly, all justice to injustice, and, moreover, the vaunted Roman “justice”—although it is afterward boasted of (It is not the manner of the Romans—Acts xxv. 16)—is here brought to shame, because it would not submit itself to truth.

Pilate now leaves Jesus standing, as he had before left the Jews; and would, though in vain, mediate without partiality by his *I find no fault in Him!* This was in a high degree offensive to the sacred Sanhedrim; but a still greater indignity, in reality, to Jesus, the King of the Jews, as He was the King

¹ So H. Lössel, in the *Weihnachtenüssen*, S. 351. We would recommend not only the disquisition upon this word of Pilate, but the entire book and all the books of this ingenious author. There is in the exuberance of this first production of a very highly gifted man much more value than the writer himself, who has now become more practical, attributes to it.

of truth—I find, *further, nothing*, in Him, He is an innocent “king!” The *Pilate-theology* generally, which half-unconsciously and half by enforcement admits the *sinlessness* of Jesus, yet protests against the doctrine that He is lord and king, can find no middle place as mediating, but must in justice be given over to those mockers and enemies who helped to crucify Him. For after all Pilate spoke not the simple truth in his complacent “no fault;” he really thereby declared Him to be a fool, who had brought down all this hatred upon His own head by His “king” and “truth,” *thereby* at least being in fault. In the midst stood Pilate, “mocked both parties, and directed his ridicule as much against Jesus as against the Jews” (Rambach). “Pilate mocks both—the witness to the Truth, and the haters of the Truth”—as Alford still more pointedly remarks. But history has, like a judgment begun, made of him an ironical monument “of the moral impotence of the proud spirit of the world, as it had been educated and refined among the strong Romans,” and placed his name in the confession of faith of the Christian world. Thus, *nolens volens*, in spite of his scepticism he has become the stoutest witness of the truth.

As to Jesus all was to be despatched with the word, *No fault*—but as to *himself*? Alas for the unhappy man, who merely finds *no fault* in Jesus, when he should have found *the truth*, which he might have found if he would! Merely, no fault in *Him*—instead of confessing, I find in *myself* something which is mightily moved in the presence of this man, and must put my more earnest question *τι ἐστίν*, until I penetrate the secret! Every man must avow, I find fault in *myself*. This is the first truth touching ourselves: he who is of this truth will find the innocence of Jesus, and from this everything else. No fault in Jesus—that is a great truth, but only the one half-truth which stands without, confronting thee until the question comes, What shall I then do with Jesus, who is called Christ? Will the cry which follows *Let Him be crucified!* content thee? Oh no, let this truth be responded to by another truth in thy breast, *I find fault in myself!* and both together will make up the full and perfect truth.

SECOND COLLOQUY WITH PILATE.

(Jno. xix. 11.)

We are not now dealing with the entire history of the Passion, yet we must not hasten from one word of our Lord to another without tracing, at least in its broader features, the connection of the narrative. This alone will enable us to set clearly before our eyes the situation of Him who, excepting in these few words, now keeps profound silence. Let the reader, therefore, consult the harmonised table at the beginning of this volume; and his own independent investigation will show him as we proceed in what way we connect the details of the whole.

Pilate said at the first, briefly and summarily, as if the matter ended there: For my own part—and that is the main point—I find no fault in this man whom ye have brought before me. But how much did he deceive himself: how often must he say it over again, that “the political innocence might be established” of this Just One who suffers for the unjust, and yet in vain! For neither of the two objects was to be gained:—on the one hand, no specific guilt was to be proved against Him independently of that *truth* which was written upon His cross by the rejector of the truth in the name of the Jews; on the other hand, He was not to be released from death. Now first begin these aggrieved complainants, themselves inculpatated now, to specialise their lies in the most earnest manner (Matt. vers. 12–14; Mar. vers. 3–5, πολλὰ and πόσα); St Luke, ver. 5, gives prominence to one point in it, that after all the whole was resolved into His *stirring up* the people by *teaching* them only! This remarkable accusation must at all costs be set forth in all its amplitude and force: hence their becoming more fierce (ἐπισχύειν); for, everything was now staked upon the game, it had become matter of honour and life to carry through successfully that which they had begun. Jesus retires again into His *silence*: for what He had taught had been heard by Pilate, who desired to hear it no more. Their lies, which brought forward nothing essentially new, are, however, believed

by none. For Pilate He had spoken enough concerning the truth; for these liars and for Himself He has nothing further to say. The highest passion and the most absolute repose once more confronting each other! Pilate gives but little heed to their babbling; but continually turns to Jesus, *Heardest Thou not? Answerest Thou not?*—and is constrained by the sublime silence to wonder at the majesty of the Lord's bearing.¹ It might appear to be pride, but only to one who looked not upon Him.

Pilate's embarrassment then takes advantage of the circumstance that Galilee was the scene of all His alleged offences, to send Him to Herod: partly, that he may get rid of the matter, and partly (for the politician has always such bye-ends in view), to put an end to an unpleasant relation between them, by this act of honour.² Christ was to stand, in the counsel of God, before every authority; as before the ecclesiastical tribunal, so also before each of the civil courts, to which He was in different relations subject. But this of itself shows Pilate's defection from justice, and his surrender of the guiltless: deluding himself with the thought that he would keep himself free, he sends Him to another—let *him* do with Him what he will! Then begins a fresh vehemence on the part of the accusers, if they by any means may prevail on the weak Herod, with whom they are not however in good repute, to do anything; new and increasing curiosity on the part of all the people; and new indignities for the Lord. This Idumæan, Sadducee, Herod, neither Jew nor Gentile, a dead sinner with an extinguished conscience, drowned in his lusts—would see a sign; and asks all kinds of ribald questions. Shall Jesus give any answer, and begin to preach to him? He keeps silence, and atones by this sacred continuous silence for the sins of our tongues. Herod, thought worthy of no single word, is lax and without wrath—for *this* Baptist raised from the dead has taken away

¹ For no one is wont to keep silence, when his life is at stake, especially after having once begun to speak:—this remark of Bengel does not altogether suffice for the θαυμάζον λόγον.

² Probably, as Roos remarks, some interference of Pilate with the jurisdiction of Herod had led to their difference; and this sending of Jesus would be reparation.

all his fear—and finds Jesus worthy of no sentence: he scorns and mocks Him, in common with all his attendants, who agree with him in his ridicule. Yet in one thing he manifests some cunning, and anticipates in his royal dignity the Roman's mockery of the King of the Jews. The gorgeous apparel is the beginning of the *ridicule of the King* which the servants of the Gentiles so fearfully practised afterwards, corresponding with the Jews' *ridicule of the Christ*.

Pilate receives Christ again—and what can he do with Him?¹ The remarkable paschal custom—a token how this people, so gladly begging off those who made insurrection, stood related to the Romans!—appears to him a fortunate coincidence on this occasion. He places before the people, now assembled in great numbers, a thoroughly notorious malefactor, between whom and Jesus their choice was to be made; thinking that their choice would assuredly be in favour of the latter. This was his second vain attempt to save the innocent: he *would* set Him free, but there was no will for the decisive sentence and act. And in this he had already yielded so far as to acknowledge their charges, and place Jesus among malefactors, even by the side of a most infamous one. (According to Lu. ver. 16 he also promises a “chastisement” before he releases Him!) He falls deeper and deeper; and it has already become very plain that *Caiaphas* and Pilate, also, *must* be made friends in common against this Jesus. Sinners of all kinds remain on one side, where guilt is, together: the malignant and the wavering, the strong and the weak, the zealous and the indifferent, the exalted, too, and the common mass, the leaders and the led. Even the people must desire the death of this Just One, for He by no means has the favour and following of the multitude, as the high priests had complained; they themselves use all their influence to prove it otherwise, and like wolves give the cry to their sheep, until the clamour against the Good Shepherd gets the full ascendancy over the justice of the Gentile, who also has a law. Pilate has made another

¹ St John in vers. 38, 39, passes over much that intervened, and compresses the whole, just as we found in ch. xiii. 22: the *first* declaration of innocence he combines with the *second* (Lu. vers. 14, 15), and connects with it at once what took place after the second.

neither upon you nor upon me ! I take Him altogether out of your hands ! and then using the band of soldiers prepared for such a purpose (as in Acts xxiii. 27). He says—Crucify *ye* Him, without my judicial confirmation, if ye are willing to take the responsibility upon yourselves before Cæsar ! It is impossible to be certain whether or not *this* was intended to say peremptorily, *I cannot be a party to this !* and at the *same* time to impress upon their minds the unlawfulness of their own putting Him to death. It might, indeed, have been Pilate's meaning to intimate—I will permit you to do it, I will overlook a tumultuous and illegal execution; but ye must not expect from me any official part in it, or wait for any judgment and co-operation of mine ! Then the word would be analogous with Matt. xxvii. 24.

The Jews, meanwhile, cannot put any confidence in such connivance on the part of the Procurator, generally so zealous of his power and prerogative; and, moreover, it would be extremely perilous to themselves. They think they fully understand the meaning of that word: *Crucify*—if ye can and dare ! They hold Pilate fast with keen tenacity: Yea, we can and we will take the responsibility; but *thou also* must be a party, thou must judicially confirm what we do, thou must pronounce Him *guilty*, and of *that crime* of which we have found Him guilty. *For* we have a law, which certainly brings death upon Him—ὁφέλει ἀποθανεῖν. Thus they are finally forced to declare plainly the proper religious accusation which was the real point of importance in their own council, after the simple *Christ a king* has been fully repelled and contradicted and dismissed. *We* have a law: one specific and plain ordinance in *our* law generally !¹ The Roman Governor was supposed conventionally to respect their law and their religion; but there was at best much that was illusory and unreal in that respect, and hence they appeal to it only in their last extremity. Thus the law is turned against the gospel, as in a very deep universal sense it ever is. Behold here the false *end* of the law, which should lead to Christ, in its pharisaical perversion against Christ ! The mirror of ini-

¹ Thus the reading κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἡμῶν as an extension of the single νόμος, subsequently brought in for the sake of impressing Pilate, is well grounded; and we would not omit it with Lachmann, Lücke, etc. The omission was obviously the result of τὸν νόμον being mistaken for τοῦτον.

quity becomes itself a veil of iniquity; and they who themselves keep not the law, put Christ to death through the law—Him, who had given it to them, and who had in the same book testified His coming, and who alone had said—*The law is within mine heart.* Ps. xl. They say to Pilate: This “man,” as thou hast called Him, has *made* Himself the Son of God;—thus do they persistently return to ch. x. 33, instead of perceiving in their hearts that the Son of God had by His voluntary renunciation of His prerogative made Himself such a man. Thus King of the Jews and Son of God were not the same in their signification, although their scribes knew that the expressions designated the same person of the Coming One in the prophets. This new turn given to the charge is by no means, as Lücke thinks, a “changed expression merely.” Nor is the mediating note of B.-Crusius sufficient: “They used the word certainly not in the mere Messianic meaning, for then the matter would remain the same; but yet only in a higher meaning than that in which they *ordinarily* applied the formula.” There is no trace of this latter in the history, and it is refuted throughout the entire Gospel of St John. As a *blasphemer*, who assumed to Himself equality with God and the Divine nature, and blasphemously appropriated as man the name of God, He should die according to Lev. xxiv. 16. This is the specific *law* which they refer to; that which meets the case of false prophets in Deut. xiii. 5; xviii. 20, is applied consequentially to the liar in the highest degree, the false “son of God.” We must note, also, what most overlook: “Hereby they became betrayers, at the same time, of the most holy mystery of their Divine teaching, which they expose to the contempt of a Gentile judge, who understood nothing about it.”

This, at least, *they* must have taken for granted, and could not know that this Pilate would nevertheless have in some degree an ear to hear this mysterious word. The myths about sons of the gods had, indeed, lost all credence in the educated Gentile world,¹ so that the preaching concerning the Son of God had to apprehend but little admixture and taint from them;—yet there was some point of connection even in Pilate for such

¹ Only in some Lycaonian corners, Acts xiv. 11, were the people so heathenishly full of faith.

a word. "It was the boldness of this assertion, so foreign to the spirit of the age, which was so startling." Pilate hears for the first time this great and daring word; and as a dignity arrogated by this marvellous man now standing before him! The *υἱὸν θεοῦ* (according to the better reading), the same to the Jews as *τοῦ θεοῦ*, lays hold of him by its indefiniteness; he has some knowledge (remembering the dreams of his childhood, as Krummacher says) of the sons of the gods in the legends; he cannot but think of them, and the omen of his dream had made him susceptible to any such impressions. The doubter and mocker, who generally cared for none of these things; the Roman, who knew well, but despised the Jews and their religion of one *θεός*—is obliged now, on the ground of his Gentile thoughts, to form some indistinct conception of this kingly Jew being in some way a *υἱὸς θεοῦ*! He had hitherto despised the God of the Jews and the Jews alike; from his pagan religion he had gone over to philosophy, and had found nothing there;—but that which speaks in the presentiment of conscience, when *Christ* stands before us, is truth, and he cannot altogether escape from that response. "Through the manifestation of essential truth his hollow sceptical system was overturned; the reality of the Divine seized him by its indwelling power, while he in his supposition denied its reality" (Olshausen). When Pilate heard this—*μᾶλλον ἐφοβήθη*, he feared the *more*. This *μᾶλλον* Bengel interprets by *potius*: Contrary to the expectation of the Jews he *feared* rather than assented to them. But this does not go as deep as we must understand the word; for his awe before the "Son of God" could not have thus suddenly fallen upon him through the influence of a single word. Thus the more common interpretation is right: he feared still *more* than he had done; for from the beginning, since ch. xviii. 29, there had been ever increasing in Pilate's mind a certain dread in the presence of Christ. The *ἐφοβήθη* certainly does not mean a mere "embarrassment"—or a new "concern which he felt that this new accusation would prevent him from saving Jesus;" or, finally, *mere* "fear of taking a wrong step in this matter." Least of all is it fear of the Jews that is intended—not even as Tholuck qualifies it: "*hitherto* the subject of his concern had been, lest he should go wrong with the Jewish rulers (of which

his conduct from the beginning gives no trace!); but *now* something uncommon in Jesus, suddenly flashing on his consciousness through this lofty name, strengthens his fear." We hold that the *μᾶλλον* points to the person of Jesus alone as the object of his *fear* from the beginning. Even in the *Ecce Homo*, and now especially when it is said that He called Himself the Son of God, He assumed the appearance to Pilate, not of a blasphemer, scarcely of an enthusiast, but actually of one who was indeed a man that had come into the world differently from other men! He had seen many malefactors—but never such an one as this. Nor does this Personality affect him distressingly, as the *fearing* has been pressed to mean; but rather with a kind of attraction mingled with the awe which it impressed: else he would not have trusted himself so confidentially with Jesus in secret. Pilate's tone of mind was not, as many erroneously assume to the great injury of the whole, that of a purely heathenish imagination or *superstition*, but rather, as Rieger well expresses it, "the beginning of that which Ps. ii. 10-12 commands to all rulers and princes."

This must teach us to understand the great question—*Πόθεν εἰ σὺ*, *Whence art Thou?* which opens the conversation, and without understanding which aright, neither the silent nor the uttered answer of Jesus can be understood. There is no question here about His earthly derivation (he had already sent Him to Herod as a Galilean!), nor any more precise inquiry of what parents He was born; the presentient *Whence*, to which an *ἀνωθεν*—*from above*—afterwards corresponds, is meant as in chap. vii. 28. Pilate in truth puts now the deepest and best question which he could put,—a better question than any before. Better than the first, *Art Thou the king of the Jews*, as these Jews say?—for it is not now simply the saying of the Jews concerning the "Son of God" which prompts him; he speaks it of himself as well. Better than that other, *What hast Thou done?*—for he now asks more profoundly and fundamentally about His *Being*, and its origin. Better than, *What is truth?*—How, What, Who, *Whence art Thou?* Once more to obviate misconception, it is not by any means "only the question of superstition and curiosity" (Neander)—or so put as if he would question away the first good influence of the *fear*. But it is plainly seen here that

Pilate still belonged to that class of men to which the saying (improper enough when made universal) applies: "No man can withstand the truth who has received it even into a corner of his consciousness; it will work in him even against his will." Let this *Whence art Thou* be combined with *Behold the man*: Art Thou then a man, or in truth a higher being? Thus this questioning sprang from a heart and conscience suddenly and deeply touched, and powerfully awakened; it is the *genuine heart-question* of the understanding in the presence of Christ, whereas before the understanding had asked without the heart. It is the great, great question, "Who was Christ?" the penetrating point of which a Strauss must first wilfully break off, the piercing, living force of which an unbeliever must first destroy, before he can reason away the "Son of God." Christ's person in itself impresses Pilate more than all the miracles which he had not seen; that is the *triumph* of the truth which is in Him! It is His *suffering form* which still enforces from many a Pilate this *Whence art Thou*? but we say again that out of this one truth—This sufferer is from above—if we deal earnestly with this answer as it already lies in the question—follows everything else, all Christian theology and *its* morality for us.

But Jesus *gave him no answer*—and though this may surprise even us, His silence has its perfect justification. For, first, the "answered,"¹ following immediately afterwards in ver. 11, shows that the preceding silence was not an arbitrary determination to say no more, but pondered in Christ's wisdom. With *us*, when we would patiently suffer in silence, there may be some such arbitrary purpose of our own; or, to put a better construction upon it, we *cannot* actually speak and at the same time suffer in patience, for we have inwardly too much to do with our own spirits, in order to maintain our proper posture of mind. But Christ is in His profoundest humanity elevated above this human imperfection; in His lips (as we shall hear from the cross) the word of God is never bound. But wherefore does He make no reply to that most weighty and well-meaning question of Pilate? It would now have been easy to give His testimony, and to make this judge an humble learner! So might we think, but the

¹ Correctly *without answer*, that the contrast may be made evident: But now He *answered*!

case was very different. Ebrard : "The circumstance that a heathen would sit in judgment upon matters of revealed religion was unsuitable and contrary to the law; the Sanhedrim was the only competent court for such an investigation; therefore Jesus, who would never slight or surrender the legitimate rights of the covenant-people, answered Pilate nothing; but, when He broke His silence again, reminded him that he possessed as the governor no other power than that which God committed to him through Cæsar, and therefore that with this religious question he had nothing to do!" What shall we say to *this*? Apart from the marvellous exegesis of ver. 11 which will be afterwards refuted, even the first point is altogether wrong, through the error which a superficial spirit of interpretation has introduced of always adhering to the *external* sense. It is altogether forgotten that in ch. xviii. Jesus did enter into these questions with this heathen; "King of the Jews" belonged to revealed religion; the kingdom not of this world and the witnessing for the truth were altogether Jewish matters, and bring before the heathen the mysteries of the theocracy and prophecy. Why does He not now similarly enter into them? Further, does the *questioning* Pilate really intend to *judge* upon these things, and, moreover, *as a heathen*? Does his question mean nothing beyond "a son of the gods"—and not rather in its indefinite expression the indefinite but real *θεῖον* in Jesus which appealed to him?¹ And now, once more, it was not a judicial investigation at all, but a conversation; the *religious accusation* of the Jews as such, and *their* phrase *Son of God* (for Pilate asks not again, *Art Thou then the Son of God?*) is not concerned, but the *religious desire* of the personal Pilate as expressed in his *whence art Thou!* The Roman did not invade the prerogative of the theocratic judge, and thus transgress his jurisdiction. Oh, no, the presentiment of his fear and awe before Jesus, whom he was to crucify because He called Himself the Son of God, was most perfectly competent to put the direct question, on the reply to which all depended, to Him who was a witness of the

¹ B.-Crusius is also wrong: "Jesus kept silence here because a heathen idea of the son of God was in question." But who tells us this? Was not *that* notion which thought so earnestly of the word itself, instead of identifying it with the Messiah, the heathen idea?

truth. The Saviour acknowledges this right and competency everywhere in all : wherever a soul seeks Him He is graciously to be found, all is yea and answer in Him (2 Cor. i. 19), not nay nor silence ; but He commends Himself in the highest sense to every *man's* conscience (2 Cor. iv. 2), without asking whether Gentile or Jew. Then why does He keep silence here ? For four reasons united : on the one hand, in affirmation and by pointing to what had already been said ; on the other, for his righteous reproof and also to spare him. Let us explain ourselves as briefly as possible. First, is not silence an answer ? In truth, there was spoken an absolute *Thou sayest* it without the words themselves, as if He would say, Let it not be a question with thee ! The answer lies already in thy question, in which thou hast been constrained to utter thy presentiment of a *whence* that is higher than humanity ; My voice, the voice of Truth speaketh now in thee, I will not interrupt it, as I do not contradict it. Assuredly, if Jesus had not been conscious of a Divine Sonship, "the love of truth would have enforced from Him the confession, I come like every other mortal from a human father !" (Hess.) Thus His silence is a good confession, "itself testifies to His Divine origin," as Lücke also says—is affirmative in this form, and no other was immediately necessary :—not necessary in the face of the peculiar question which anticipated the answer ; and, further, not necessary because of what had preceded, the first conversation and testimony. His keeping silence had pointed to what had gone before, as if He had said, Have I not told thee already, that I have come into the world bringing with Me the truth and that power from above which is above all ; and that therefore I am Myself personally from above, from that other world ? (Comp. chap. viii. 23.) But now we must turn to the other side. For, Jesus was not so rigorously severe as never to repeat His words for our weakness : this we have often seen, and must ask why He did not repeat them now, and give a plainer answer to the plainer and more urgent question. Why does He not confirm by positive words the presentiment of this questioning seeker, as He is wont so willingly to do ? It was indeed difficult to answer plainly for this Gentile—but was it impossible to Christ ? He might well have chosen now, as He often did in such criti-

cal cases (to use Luthardt's words) "an enigmatical saying" which would have had in it the true point. It must not be said that every answer would have been "to this polytheist governor unintelligible or liable to be misunderstood;" for in this *Whence* it was not polytheism which spoke, and Christ could indeed have given reply clear enough to suffice at least for a beginning—that is *if* Pilate had been entirely in earnest, and his steadfastness could have been relied on. But it is time now to modify, if not to retract, the favourable admissions which we have made concerning him. Pilate was as a *Gentile* perfectly competent to receive an answer; but he was in himself not *worthy* of it, because he was not *capable* of hearing it in full and holding it fast, and that again because he was not *willing*. By that abruptly-ending *What is truth?* he had scorned away the answer in deep unbelief. Thus for his *befitting rebuke* it was said, When I spoke to thee concerning the truth, wherefore didst thou not believe Me? (Chap. viii. 46.) Finally, the Lord knew that he still would not believe, and therefore kept merciful silence, to *spare* him the increase of guilt. Very true is the plain word of the Berl. Bible: "Pilate would not learn the A B C first, but would here climb at once into heaven. My good Pilate, thou must learn first the first principle! *Whence art Thou?* Thou hast not been faithful in the first point, and I cannot answer thee to this."

Let us now make application of this typical scene to all that reproduces it in the present day. To him who knows and marks, and yet asks again with only partial earnestness or with none at all, who has heard and yet has not heard—Jesus *keeps silence*. Pilate, in contradiction with himself, had regarded this lofty One as being complacent enough in His present danger of death, even after He had been the first time left alone, to answer any questions which he might see fit to put to Him. And in this he erred: the lowly-lofty One retains, with all His gentleness, His inalienable *dignity*, and answers most impressively by manifesting that. The King of truth will submit to no trifling; the Son of God will undergo no capricious examination. Hast thou rejected His witness—then humble thyself to the dust for that, before thou darest to come back and ask new questions. Mark by the *fear* which is in thee Who He is,

and Whence He is; and that thou must come and ask, if thou come at all, *of the truth*? "Hearken when the truth speaks; and question not, when it is silent!" (Gossner.) Yea, let us with our heart and with all our soul, give heed, when this King of truth *speaketh*—and not ask further, or be offended, when He keepeth silence, for *then* speaketh He most loudly within us!

But Pilate *takes it ill*, and his teachableness is suddenly gone. Just now he stood in beautiful submission under Jesus; but when the lofty One in the righteousness of truth fixes his soul by silence, he does not remain faithful to the good influence. His proud authoritative I—instead of the smitten inner man—rises high again above the Son of God! *Unto me* speakest Thou not? Lampe rightly calls this "an objurgating reproof plainly at variance with his preceding fear." Thou mayest keep silence before the soldiers, before the Jews, and before Herod;—but before me also? What lack of respect is this! Knowest Thou not in whose presence Thou standest? "Does not this make Thee guilty, though otherwise innocent?" (Berl. Bib.) The silence of Jesus "wounded his *official consciousness*, for his cowardice had rendered him sensitive; and mortified his *official* pride, for by his vapid unjudicial words he had humbled himself before the Jews whom he hated." (Braune.) It is not the heart and conscience of the man which speaks *now*; but the haughty official consciousness, altogether untheocratic, of the Gentile:—un-Roman indeed, if Rome was the symbol of justice; genuinely Roman, if power (*δύναμις*) was everything. *Knowest Thou* not, that I have *power* to crucify Thee, and have power to release Thee? It is quite truly and sincerely that he speaks plainly now of his appeal to his simple power, for he is the representative of (impotent) *power* in the history of the Passion: speaking in the name of all those against whom the prudential wisdom of the Son of Sirach warns in the Apocrypha, Eccclus. ix. 13—"Keep thee far from the man that *hath power* to kill." But his words are pre-eminently judicial, and disgraceful to Roman justice, when he declares that a judicial murder is in the power of his hand—כְּכֹחַ יָדִי.¹ Observe it well: he *knows*

¹ As the Assyrian says, Isa. x. 13 comp. Gen. xxxi. 29, Laban: כְּכֹחַ יָדִי.

that he has the power, and therefore testifies against himself; so that he is condemned out of his own mouth when it is afterwards said—ἐπέκρινε, παρέδωκε. Nevertheless, this artless assertion of his subjective conviction is at the same time a lie, a perfect contradiction to the state of the actual case generally, as well as to the secret power over him and within him which his *Whence art Thou* had been constrained to confess. Thus, first, his *having power* generally, for the crucifixion or release of this *Jesus*, is nothing more than the vain imagination of the foolish man—that even that which cometh from above is yet in his own power. See here an example, how poor man fancies that he can use his freedom, as at his own arbitrary discretion, to the result which he would wish, because God rules with *patience*! Secondly, his power to *crucify*¹ is a contradiction to his judicial function, to which he nevertheless refers the whole. It is boldly said, as if a Procurator was appointed and set up to place might in the place of right; and this wicked *quidproquo*, so common among men, is alas disguised through the ambiguity of the term ἐξουσία, which means as well power as righteous prerogative. Is he not a minister of justice, and his responsibility so much the greater because, in the imperfection of human things, the ἐξουσία of right may be placed only in the ἐξουσία of his own personal determination, his prerogative left in the keeping of his power? If he actually has the power to release, is it in his power to crucify, and say—I *can do it*! And that when his conscience so plainly speaks, as his words betray and testify against him? A wicked *alternative* is this in the mouth of a judge, where arbitrariness glories in its might! If Jesus was innocent, he had no judicial power to crucify Him; if guilty, he had no judicial power to release Him. That was the only right alternative. A conscientious judge says conversely—I can do *nothing* against right, against truth (2 Cor. xiii. 8); and would rather set free the guilty, whose guilt is obscurely proved, than give up to death the

¹ The σταυρώσει must come first in the clause, not the ἀπολύσει as Lücke thinks more proper. For he does not speak "with a waxing feeling of his power," but as one injured, speaking at once of that power in threatening. Luthardt defends the other arrangement, because then the word of grace comes first; but it is obvious that the word of terror bursts forth first—Thy crucifixion depends on a word from me!

certainly-guiltless. There is a *power of right*, from which no man should recede; and of that (as said above) the heathen *knows*, who indeed *has a power*. To this refers that word of David, something analogous to which at least is found in every human breast: God hath spoken once; twice have I heard this; that power belongeth unto God—power is God's alone! (Ps. lxii. 11.) Thus, as Rambach preaches: "He who knows and feels what a perilous matter is earthly power and authority, will be slow to boast of it when he has it." God had come to Pilate's help in the dream of his wife; He had thus from without as well as from above cried to his inmost heart—*Sin not against this righteous one*: nevertheless he can here boast that it is in his power to be unjust. But his vain assumption, finally, that he has power to *release*, is a contradiction in itself and a mere delusion—for, as the event shows, he is constrained to crucify. And, although his hasty expression seems to let slip the secret confession that he would rather release than destroy Jesus—yet he *has no power* to do it, as we may see in vers. 12, 13. Long before and repeatedly he had said—*No fault in Him*, and therewith the accused should have been set free; but there is, opposed to the divine power of justice in his conscience, another *power of the world*, before which he *knows not* what to do with Jesus, vainly washes himself clean, and being overpowered delivers Him up. "The cultivated Roman was strangely wrought upon by all these mighty influences. First, his wonder and even fear in the presence of this man—then the message of his wife—then the mad multitude, the threatening of the rulers about the friendship of Cæsar:—verily, a man who has nothing but cultivation, even if he had the whole land at his command, *must lose his head!*" (Lössel.) "Repeatedly to declare the accused innocent, and yet to treat Him as the vilest malefactor and execute Him as a slave—was incontrovertibly no other than to place the most unbridled caprice in the place of law, and, instead of the right which has lawful might, distrustfully and in fear of the highest power, that of Cæsar, to allow its course to the most lying semblance of that right in lawless violence." (Daub.) "Pilate makes great show of his power against Jesus (the poor man in whom he had just suspected a Son of God!); but against the Jews, who should have felt his

power, he is a very coward." (Berl. Bibel.) Thus is he fettered, having bound himself; for the judicial question, what to do with Jesus, he had already surrendered to the outcry of the people and the malice of his enemies, putting his foolish answer to them in the place of a judicial decree.

It was necessary that we should thus carefully examine all this, in order to understand the critical point at which Jesus, for His Father's honour and Pilate's good, once more speaks; breaking once more His long silence by a word which we may term, in a confined sense, the last "testimony" before His crucifixion. (The word to the daughters of Jerusalem has another meaning.) And *how* does He speak? Truly, had He not been the Holy One, the temptation would have occurred to mock Pilate's boasting impotence, and to dash to pieces his lying assertion of power—I *know* far more, far better how the case is with thee! Or, to punish him by reflecting back his threat—I have power over thee! But how does He restrain Himself! Instead of that, there is first an admission of the truth in his error—Yea, thou *hast* power, but under a quite different condition and restriction, of a very different kind, from what thou thinkest. Thou *wouldst have none*, were it not given thee—from above.

It is obvious at once that in this *δυνάμει* we have the kernel of the reply; and, consequently, that it refers to *above* in the highest and only sense in which it can be appropriate here. He who cannot see this without argument, is as inaccessible as Pilate himself to light and truth. We leave those who are so disposed to interpret: The *high* Sanhedrim hath given thee the power over Me, by giving Me into your hands!! However boldly this exposition appeals to the following clause, it is utterly and hopelessly insipid. We would not say quite as much of that other view which refers it to the higher power of the Roman Cæsar, who might have occurred at once to an unbeliever, when Jesus thus speaks—but only to one who had not conceived of that other *whence*, of which Pilate had been deeply thinking. Certainly the application which this gives to our Lord's words is almost equally meagre—How evil it is, that to the poor deputy of so high a sway such arbitrary "power" should be entrusted! Lücke: "At such a moment

we cannot well conceive our Lord to cast any blame upon the existing constitution of things ;” and he is right in as far as the power, as and because given by Cæsar, would not be arbitrary, but strictly legitimate in the earthly sense, if we go not beyond this world. But we would speak more strongly : The Lord’s answer, apart from the reference to subjective guilt in Pilate’s misuse of his power which is contained in the following clause, denies in the first clause that Pilate has independent power to do with Him what he would—it by no means admits or complains that He is given up to the arbitrary caprice of a man. For this would be a most unaccountable contradiction to the general fundamental principles of Divine government and providence, and to our Lord’s own constant testimony to His Father’s counsel in His death :—at this critical time, especially, altogether incomprehensible. Matthäi : “Let us not think that *from above* means *from Rome* ! That would be subordinating above to below, and reducing the Redeemer of the world to a Roman citizen. To speak thus without meaning, without instruction (that is, without proper answer), would be altogether unworthy of Christ. Christ is elevated to heaven, the eternal God is His horizon and the scope of all His thoughts ; to behold and to point to Him is the necessity of His every pulse, in order that men may be turned away from their idolatry and from themselves ; but this is not consistent with His speaking of Rome as the source of Pilate’s authority. He would then have reminded Pilate of Rome in a manner quite contrary to His own design. It was His purpose to denounce the cowardly presumption which was in him (ver. 10), because he thought too much of his Roman power, and too little of the Almightiness of God.” Let us now observe that in this heavenly *from above* there is (as so often in Christ’s discourses) a supplementary answer, afterwards brought in, to the *whence* as to His origin, which He had left unanswered before. Grotius says with unusual point, “Thence forsooth from whence I came !” Not of this world, as I said before : from that other world, concerning which I know and speak, it comes that thou hast power, as thou thinkest, generally and specifically over Me. Christ stands now *below* ; therefore He says *above*, as man concerning God, as the Son concerning the Father. Yet He

avoids in His care and dignity, now as before, saying to this Gentile expressly *θεός* (or at this time *πατήρ*), nor does He utter the word *heaven*; for He would give no occasion to blasphemy, but rather as much as possible connect His words with the dawning consciousness of Pilate's presentiment. He therefore condescends to the seeming indefiniteness of the *ἀνωθεν*, from above, just as Pilate's feeling would apprehend it. Thus in ch. xviii. 37 He spoke, with similar abstract and philosophic language, only of *truth*, yet meaning the right truth. And in all dealing with the commencing conviction of heathens we should closely imitate His example. How measured, and restrained, and full of luminous clearness, are His thoughts and words, never enthusiastic, but always in harmony with the actual reality of every circumstance. And this too, down to the last, amid all the confusion of Gentiles and Jews!

But the Lord declares two things here: He speaks first of the power of Pilate generally, and not till then of his present power over His own person. We must lay a strong emphasis upon *οὐδεμίαν*, "no power," and hear in it,—Thou wouldst have *generally* no power, that is, against Me, or, as thou sayest, to crucify Me. Lücke protests against this first and general sense, which the Church in its preaching and teaching has always held fast: "Jesus speaks not here of the power of Pilate absolutely; and therefore He declares His fate to be in this man's hands for life or death, as a thing *δεδομενόν*,—not the *ἐξουσία* to be *δεδομένη*." But this strangely overlooks the fact that the particular clause—Thy power now extends over Me—must *presuppose* the more general one, Thou *hast* the power as governor. Pilate had appealed to his office in general, from which this particular power flowed; and the answer naturally corresponds with that. The *ἣν δεδομένον* in the Neuter has no force against this; because it brings into strong prominence the *being given from above* alone, and with a comprehensive hint—In everything which a man has, or can have, there is involved a *δεδομένον*; everything is *given*, and so consequently thy *power*. Lampe has correctly brought out the steps of the meaning: "He concedes to Pilate, *first*—*power*. He acknowledged the authority of the human court; because His kingdom was not of this earth, destroying human magistracy. Nor did He dispute

the power of Pilate and the Romans over the Jews. *Secondly*, He exalts that power, as *given from above*. This is the Christian doctrine, that all power is of God. *Thirdly*, He acknowledges that that power extended over *Himself*, since all things touching Him were done by a Divine decree." This last is indeed the chief point, to which our Lord presses onward; but it is necessarily and naturally as *based* upon, or mediated by, the former and more general truth: for the counsel of God gave Pilate, as the present judge in the land, the jurisdiction over Jesus and the power to judge Him. If we have taken a right view of the pretension of Pilate, as already exhibited, we must be prepared to admit that the answer would not touch the heart of the question—on account of which the Lord's silence was broken—if it did not administer some preliminary lessons touching the arbitrary perversion of official authority generally.¹ Consequently, the word is spoken not for Pilate alone, but for all who bear rule in the world; and the *recognition* of existing authority, just as in Matt. xxii. 21, precedes the instruction, both *admonitory* and *encouraging*, which is based upon the conceded "given from above." Christ standing before Caesar would have asserted the same "from above," and would have in the same way bowed before it. He does not hold the Gentile judge incompetent to pronounce sentence upon His life, whether he was righteous or unrighteous; and in this His submission is the direct opposite of the rebellion of the Jews, who cast from them their divinely justified King as a pretender. "What Jesus says to Pilate is an actual acknowledgment of his judicial function. And He acts as an accused person standing before his judge; not holding up to Pilate his unrighteousness and the terrors of coming judgment,² as He would have done if He had had to do with him simply as a prophet dealing with such an unrighteous man." (Hess.) Suffice, that Christianity derives from these two words of the Lord (here and Matt. xxii. 21) its entire and impregnable theory of the divine right of the powers that be: as St Paul

¹ Roos says of Pilate: "He would not learn religion, but only do his duty; his example, however, teaches us that man cannot do the duty of his office well without religion."

² St Paul so dealt with Felix, only because he desired to hear *privately* of his faith in Christ.

develops it in Rom. xiii., but as the spirit of the age now utterly rejects it. The doctrine now runs, breaking down the Divine principle of all right and ordinance, that all authority and dignity of rulers flows from the sovereignty of the people, and thus from below—alas, from *below* indeed! (Jno. viii. 23.) Nevertheless, God without doubt remains in the authority of His kingdom supreme as “the only *potentate*” and “King of kings” (1 Tim. vi. 15) in a twofold sense: as He who *gives* or *distributes* to rulers their authority for justice; and who also *gives* or *permits* their authority for injustice. This latter, however, not one step otherwise than or beyond what His hand and counsel hath decreed; so that the authority remains with God, as He in His time *will show* at the *appearing* of our Lord Jesus Christ. Meanwhile there is no danger to the theory and practice of obedience and patience, in which this our Lord is our forerunner: for if they even take our life away, as it is permitted them to do, the kingdom and the authority of truth is evermore with the good confession, which cannot be bound with those who are in fetters, and cannot be crucified with the crucified.

All this *general* truth is now concentrated in the words which follow—spoken not indeed merely for the present occasion, but, in their typical demonstrative force, for all occasions of the arbitrary misuse of power—Thou shouldst have no power over or against *Me*! This *kar' emou* is to be taken, as it has been remarked, *with the utmost emphasis*. *Over Me* and *against Me* are here united in one; but the latter is prominent, as the reply to the bold “power to crucify Thee.” That Pilate the governor has power *over* Jesus of Nazareth, his subject in common with all the Jews, follows from the power “given from above” in his appointment; but that, abusing this power, he can condemn and give Him up to crucifixion, proceeds from the most absolute counsel of God.¹ Therefore it is said, with this specific

¹ “Pilate was thus the man who had been chosen to be the judge of our Lord. Such a character as his was fitted for this work: a man who withstands long enough for full light to be thrown upon the business, but who then lets it proceed; a man who interposes continual questions, but is too impotent to follow the course of justice; a man who at least had none of the abject passions of the Jewish rulers, and who had no interest against Him. He was a Roman, and so belonging to a nation which Providence

reference: Without that thou wouldst have, because no right, therefore no power, *against Me*, who have done nothing worthy of death; and still more, against *Me*, the king of truth and righteousness, the Son of God come down from above! Because, however, this was "given from above," the Lord says at the same time, as if it was self-understood—*Under this*, not under thee and *thy* power, as thou thinkest, I *bow* and am submissive. And in this He is our pattern: "The pious man looks, like Christ, not at him who exercises the power over him, but ever at Him who permits to him the power which he exercises." (Gossner.)

The conclusion would now be: *Therefore* I suffered meekly, as thou seest and wilt see, all this power perverted against Me, and all this *sin* committed by thee and My enemies in the violation of right, and in the absence of authority—and let not Myself be overcome and turned aside by all this *sin*. But *this* conclusion was left to be self-understood in the first clause, which has recognised and submitted to the authority, while denouncing the sin of its perversion; with the highest dignity and humility combined, the Lord speaks no further of Himself, but of others; and utters a quite different *διὰ τοῦτο*, the meaning of which, so much contested, we shall enter upon presently. First, let us observe the parallel between this word, this *δεδομένον* and the *ῥησιμύονον* of Lu. xxii. 22; and note that God's counsel does not abolish the *guilt* of the men who execute it. Moreover, let it be marked that in the midst of His self-surrender to be judged as a malefactor, the Lord is still the supreme Judge. Those who have power now, have, alas, sin also; yea, we all *have sin*—and He, who alone has no sin, speaks most plainly and judicially concerning this. And He speaks with truth and

had used in earthly things to pour the whole world into a new mould. He was no imaginary sovereign, but the deputy of an absent lord and a higher power; which makes it all the more easy to feel (or rather symbolises it) that he does not speak in his own name. And, finally, I gather from the questions he puts, as well as from the character of our Lord's replies, that he had not an inferior kind of soul, but on the whole possessed something of the Roman manhood, integrity of character, and decision." So Tobler:—we would add, just as much of these qualities as Rome herself then had, the representative of the *power of this world*, which he again represents.

righteousness which recognises the degrees and stages of that sin. He knows not, nor does the entire Scripture (Lu. xii. 48; Matt. x. 15, etc.), that false doctrine of the Stoics, pressing a sound principle too far, which makes all sins equal and alike:—there are *degrees* of guilt, and specifically here where sin reaches its highest manifestation,—degrees of guilt towards Jesus. He *weighs this out* with the sublimest repose; and graciously attributes to Pilate, who had just now spoken so severely to Him, a lesser sin than that of one who knew more than he.¹ Is not this blessing instead of cursing? Is not this at the same time the most penetrating and perfect answer he could receive: I *know* not merely thy *power*, how far it goes and how far not, but I know also thy *sin*!

But what, in this connection, is the specific meaning of *διὰ τοῦτο*? It might *seem* as if the whole of the preceding clause is regarded as being the reason; hence Lücke (with whom Alford agrees) earnestly maintains that every exposition of the *διὰ τοῦτο* is incorrect which does not set out from this, that in the *δεδοµένον ἄνωθεν* lies the reason why Pilate was the less, and the Jews the more, guilty. But we cannot see the force of this, and hold that in the “given from above” there cannot lie any guilt, and that none could result from it, less or greater; consequently the inference drawn in “therefore” does not rest upon the main idea of the preceding proposition, but upon an *unexpressed intermediate thought* which it presupposes. Lücke says that Pilate’s guilt was less, because he was simply the instrument of a higher power in the council. But that cannot be admitted: we would simply ask, Were not the Jews also in their acts “the instruments of a higher counsel above?” Did not Caiaphas *prophesy*, as previously in the “*expedient*,” so afterwards in the decree of death which was valid before God? Does not the Lord say of Judas himself, that he was only the instrument of the Divine counsel?² Euthymius (with Chrysostom and Theophylact)

¹ If He then held the balances—how will it be on the throne of judgment? But then it will be otherwise! The greatest sin is now too great for forgiveness, only in the thought of the Cain who so declares it—but then the smallest sin will be great enough for condemnation.

² Thus there is a fundamental error in the exposition of Cocceius, which Lampe, passing over this *noxum difficilem* with unusual superficiality, adopts

would understand it : Because thou, Pilate, as thou sayest thyself, has power to release Me, and does not release Me, therefore thou art not free from sin, though thy sin is the less. Thus the conclusion would result in a direct proposition : Therefore *thou hast sin*—to which the fitting qualification was then appended. But this is not admissible, for the Lord's *κατ' ἐμοῦ* had spoken of Pilate's power to *crucify* Him ; the conclusion does not speak of *sin* generally (which was to be understood of itself), or of guilt as nevertheless remaining, but expressly of the difference of degree. This difference therefore is the thing deduced in the "therefore." We must not make it mean : *Therefore*, because it is a thing *δεδομένον* and "decreed," it might appear that thou art excused ; *but, nevertheless*, it is not so (which would make the "therefore" a "not therefore," a "notwithstanding"). Nor as follows : Therefore hast thou sin, *although*, if the distinction be strictly made, a less sin than theirs. All these are forced expedients, quite inappropriate in the interpretation of this simple saying. What then is the unexpressed *intermediate thought*, from which the "therefore" arises ? It is very obvious to our understanding : Thou hast asked Me, *Knowest thou not ?* Behold, I say unto thee that which I do know, and very differently from thyself, concerning thy "having power,"—that *thou knowest not !* Is not this most certainly the *foundation* of the whole answer ? Because I know, as I have spoken, therefore I suffer thy power ; because thou knowest it *not*, therefore thou dost exercise it (guiltily, notwithstanding the Divine decree) against Me. The Lord, adjusting His words with supreme dignity, does not offend him by giving back his own word, and saying expressly, "*thou knowest not ;*" but it was what Pilate must have inferred and felt at once—Thou art one who art ignorant as to the ground and limit of thy authority, especially as to the counsel of God concerning My person. It of course is to be understood that Pilate, like every other man, is ignorant only through the fault of his own evil will ; that he has sin is a fact which is silently admitted ; but the Lord who judges

—viz., that Christ had declared by the same words that this power, to put Him to death, had *not* been given to the Jews ! Assuredly, not given as an official *ἰξουσία*, but given them as a *δεδομένον* generally, an *ἰξουσία* in the widest sense.

him, weighing out to him merciful right, makes prominent his ignorance, as, equally with his power, an actual fact. Bengel gave this interpretation of the *διὰ τοῦτο*—"Because thou hast plainly not known Me:" but we would make it more complete—Because thou hast plainly not known Me, nor thy power, nor what has been given thee "from above." Thus the saying of Christ resolves itself into the fundamental idea of that other Lu. xii. 47, 48 (to which Matt. x. 15 is only a parallel), for the degree of guilt must in the end be one with the degree of knowledge. Thus He at once includes Pilate within the scope of His subsequent intercession—They know not what they do!

But even thou art about to *sin* in thy impotent power, of which thou so foolishly boastest; I know well that thou wilt not retain the power to set Me free, and that thou wilt not finally be "innocent" of the *blood of the Just One*. And even thy sin is essentially *great* and not little, though by reason of thy ignorance it is the less sin. In His careful respect for the official personage, whom He was thought to have undervalued, the Lord does not directly express the fact that Pilate *had sin*, even the lesser sin; but He places first the counterpart and other side of the matter—*He that delivered Me* unto thee hath *greater sin*; nor does He add to this—*than thou*. Whom, then, are we to understand by this *παράδοις* (or, according to another reading, *παράδοίς*)? This is a new question for exposition, in the answer to which it has gone widely astray. Many have answered it by Judas. But the Lord would scarcely think of him now, without any direct occasion; his case was despatched and his judgment sealed; so that it is quite inappropriate to suppose him referred to here, especially in a word spoken to Pilate, who probably knew nothing about this betraying disciple. Nor did Judas in any sense deliver Christ to Pilate; "he that delivered Me to thee" points plainly back to ch. xviii. 35, so that the person meant must be sought among the people and the high priests. Finally, Judas had not the greater, but the *greatest* sin; if he had been intended, as thus put in opposition to Pilate, why in this contrast of extremes was there no word of those who stood between, and who were there before the hall of judgment as the accusers who had *then* delivered Jesus to Pilate? The

word spoken to Pilate would pass unintelligibly and most abruptly to a depth beyond his thoughts, instead of taking hold of present circumstances. Grotius was disposed to embrace together all in one :—Judas especially, in the second place the senate, and in the third the people. But Judas is too distantly referred to to be “especially” the object, and the senate and people of the Jews would have been referred to in the plural. Lücke understands a reference to the Jews “collectively,” with the ancients (Euthym. τῶν παπαδούτων), and most in the present day. Lampe, too, would combine all : “The *deliverers-up* sinned in *common* (as it were in one mystical person) ; not only Judas, but the legislature of the Jews, the whole Sanhedrim *acting as one person*, and *especially Caiaphas, by whose authority all things were done* :”—and this last approaches nearer the truth. The *acting as one person* is indeed true ; but on that very account this person can be viewed only as represented by that one *by whose authority* all acted. The *Singular* produces here, as put in comparison with *Pilate*, the decisive impression that *person* must stand against person ;¹ and that person, too, one who was *well-known in his wickedness to Pilate*, so that he might see the propriety of the Lord’s judgment. He consequently can be no other than *Caiaphas*, he in whose *ἐξουσία* all things on the side of the Jews originated and were accomplished ; just as all things depended on *Pilate*, on the side of the Gentiles. Bengel : “This was *Caiaphas*. *Pilate*, when he heard a certain mention of the Son of God, feared ; *Caiaphas*, when he heard Jesus Himself calling Himself the Son of God, termed Him a blasphemer, and decreed His death.” *Caiaphas* knew of the power of the living God, and that he himself was only His servant ; *Caiaphas* knew the Scripture, and from it the counsel of God, knew not merely the meaning of “the Son of God,” but also (almost entirely at least) that *Jesus was He* :—with all this the ignorance of *Pilate* stands in contrast. *Caiaphas* took the *initiative* in the whole matter (which lies in the *παπαδούτης*), and acts according to *his own wicked will* ; *Pilate* was drawn by circumstances operating upon his feebleness into guilt. *Pilate* had not from the beginning a malignant will : in his case the ap-

¹ As Nonnus has correctly used *ἀντί*, rejecting all collective meaning.

pointment of the overruling God comes rather into prominence, as in that of Caiaphas his own essential wickedness.

Thus we have here in the most appropriate place—what we might have expected, and would otherwise indeed have found wanting—a further judicial utterance concerning the *second* person, after Judas, among the sinners who rose against Jesus; concerning this “high priest,” whose character, here held up to him as a mirror of *greater* sin, could not possibly have been unknown to Pilate. Thus the Lord by anticipation speaks in the same gracious judicial tone in which His Apostles afterwards, Acts iii. 13, speak of the governor who would willingly have released Jesus. Braune, however, puts this too strongly, and even incorrectly: “Jesus here spoke a word which should *pacify* the conscience of Pilate—others might have sought to *alarm* it by threatenings.” But this much is true: “the calm gentleness of Jesus had already alarmed his conscience to the utmost”—as the sequel in ver. 12 shows. And B.-Crusius is right in saying: “The *first* (thou wouldst have no power, etc.) strikes down his pride; the *second* encourages him by the same consideration”—that is, generally, by showing him that a higher *δεδομένον* of which he was unconscious ruled over the whole matter; and, in particular, by holding out to him in the distance the forgiveness of his lesser sin. We remarked before that Jesus intentionally forbore to speak to the heathen directly of *God*; and now we must note that He does not spare the word *sin*. For even the heathen in their ignorance knew what sin was; and by that knowledge they might be apprehended on behalf of God. But how *gently*, how *graciously*¹ does He speak of the relatively-ignorant sin of the heathen as the lesser sin, as human sin generally; while the wickedness of those who *knew* in Israel borders already, as the greater sin, on the greatest—the Satanic sin in Judas. Having this last as it were in His thought (for Caiaphas is a second Judas) He names the representative of opposing Judaism, in opposition to the representative of blind heathenism, the *παράδοδους*; He does, indeed, at the same time, designate two numerous classes of sinners (with many gra-

¹ “There is in this expression a certain token of love to the person of Pilate, which, coming from Him, whom he was conscious of condemning unjustly, appeared to Pilate all the more exalted.” (Tholuck.)

dations in each), but He refers primarily to the two individual persons. *I am now delivered up to thee*—thus He stands, and on this He rests, before Pilate—to *thee* a proud impotent man, who wilt really have no further *power* than to become the instrument of *Caiaphas*, and thus wilt *deliver Me up again to the Jews*, My sentence of death being ratified. (Ch. xviii. 36.) He does not, however, expressly utter this last; He leaves it in the background as the lesser sin of weakness, which he measures and defines now before its accomplishment.

Pfenninger makes Pilate, pondering this answer, say: "a God in bonds could not speak more nobly!" Quite true—not more nobly in combined dignity and gentleness; but we doubt whether the governor received so deep an impression—he thought of nothing beyond the release of this man, as in Acts xxvi. 31, 32. Offended he certainly is not, and that of itself says something in his favour. Here belongs Lu. xxiii. 22–25 as the parallel passage; we cannot place this *before* the choice of Barabbas, and the first sentence accompanied by the washing of the hands.¹ St John, ver. 12, says, ἐκ τούτου he sought opportunity to release Him—but this cannot be merely in the sense of time, *from now onwards*. For he had been quite earnest about this before; indeed more so than now. (Lücke: "he appeared to John previously to have rather trifled with the matter"—is quite unjustifiable!) Thus it is *on that account*, as the Syr. מִתְּלֵי הַיּוֹם. Lampe and Klee assent to this; Augustine, indeed, corrected the Vulg. *exinde* by *propter hoc*; B.-Crusius points to ch. vi. 66, and here as well as there, combines the two—From that time, *and* on that account. He endeavoured from this saying onward, moved by it anew to release Him:—but he *only* endeavoured, he did not deliver it as the sentence of right, by his personal authority. The *fourth* and the last, still *weaker* attempt of the feeble man to deliver Him! (The three previous attempts were in connection with Herod, Barabbas, and *Ecce Homo*. Lu. ver. 22 reckons differently, not regarding the send-

¹ Ἐπιτίθειν, *superjudicare*, as Bengel might say; βεβαιῶν τὸ κριθῆν—does not refer to the desire of the Jews, for an ἀιτημα is not a κριθῆν, but to the earlier judgment which he would retract. It says now, He confirmed conclusively the first sentence—not without a laconic addition of the Evangelist, He decreed that their *requirement* should take effect!

ing to Herod as a declaration of innocence in order to His release.) The matter must be ended: enough has been done, I pronounce Him free—but how did Pilate now finally miscalculate! The Jews return to the “king” instead of the “Son of God;” and declare, We will go further to Rome, and complain of thyself! Now first have they touched the point where Pilate was most susceptible; and, as sinners generally are quick to find out this in each other, and these sharp-sighted hypocrites especially knew the selfishness of their political rulers, it is almost a wonder that they did not resort to this expedient before. But God’s counsel had held them back, purposely that all might proceed as it had. They now suddenly bethink themselves that Pilate would in the end inculpate himself before Cæsar, and know very well that “Pilate was not the man to sacrifice his own interest to the defence of injured innocence.” A Procurator was very lightly degraded by the capricious Tiberius. “If the thought had been suggested to Cæsar’s suspicious mind that a strange people were more faithful to him than his own servants—what punishment would he have devised for these!” (Dräseke.) Whether or not the title “*amicus Cæsaris*” was given to all the higher officials of the empire, or by way of distinction to some, and possessed by Pilate, it was doubtless with a keen and significant allusion to it that they now denied Pilate’s fidelity to Cæsar, if he should let *this man* go free. *Whoever* should make himself a king within the Roman empire opposes himself (ἀντιλέγειν, as Lu. ii. 34) to Cæsar. The position was incontrovertibly true, but its false application to this Jesus must have its own force, as they knew it would: they ironically hint as the consequence that whoever releases and does not punish such an one, is also an enemy of Cæsar, and that they would in their devotion denounce both alike

Τοῦτον τὸν λόγον says St John, ver. 13 as in ver. 8,¹ and means to say—the word concerning *Cæsar* outweighed the word concerning the *Son of God*! And it suggested to Pilate—Better that this man should die, than that I should lose the government of the land. Thus he first sacrifices the guiltless to *his own* selfishness, and then afterwards to the clamour of the

¹ The reading τῶν λόγων τούτων, sanctioned by Griesb., Schott, Lachm., Tisch., and the Vulg. *hos sermones*, takes away a very fine point.

enemies. Had he been hitherto upright in his government, and had he been now strong in the confidence of right, he would have had nothing to fear from Cæsar; but there were many doubtful things in the past, and many cases in which he had subjected himself to similar threatenings of denunciation, as the learned may find in Philo and Josephus. At a later period he failed to escape his fate, and was deposed. For this time he saves himself; and *again* (after the first time, Matt. xxvii. 19) sits upon the judgment seat, to decree the execution of injustice. Thus miserably ends his anxious running to and fro, his going in and out, which had been but the external symbol of his vacillation between Jesus and the Jews, of his internal conflict and surrender to the power of sin. The result of his entire conduct, mixed up of *weakness* and *haughtiness* (in which the haughtiness from beginning to end ruined all) is, that the *weakness* remained alone at last. "In order to conceal old abominations, he must decide upon committing a new one. Now justly chastised for old and new acts of wantonness, he stands before us in all his impotence. In fact, he will not let the lost game be utterly lost; the sport with the *king of the Jews* comes again, as it were in its last convulsive efforts, down to the superscription on the cross." So Drüseke profoundly interprets, and gives at the same time the most correct signification of vers. 14 and 15. It has indeed been thought that by this repetition of the "king" he would remind the Lord's former friends of their Hosanna, and encourage them to clamour for His release; but this needs no refutation, after the whole statement of the case. Similarly with the interpretation of Grotius: "He reproaches them that they had been so foolish as to desire such a man for their king." Thus is it *mockery*, but only of the Jews, who indeed would be glad to have a king, but could bring forward in opposition to Cæsar no better a king than this.¹ Or, as v. Gerlach says, "does he seek to avenge himself throughout on the Jews, mocking them in every way?" We cannot think that he consciously and deliberately does this. When he acts thus foolishly as it respects his object to release, adding "Behold your king," to his former "Behold the man," and asking further, "Shall I

¹ Lampe: "This much is certain, that the irony did not touch Christ, but only the Jews."

crucify your king?" he seems to return back, half unconsciously, to the abject trifling which had been all to no purpose; but, strictly speaking, he knows no longer what he does and says, he shifts round with his *σταυρώσα*, which, put as a question, recoils upon *himself* with almost the mocking echo of an Indicative. His "irresolute unrest" is painted with the highest historical truth in the narrative, down to the final *παρέδωκε* and *ἐπέκρινε*.

Then rings out, after the first *crucify*, the wild cry, *Away with!* *Away with!* as in Luke xxiii. 18, *Away with Him!* which in Acts xxii. 22, and how many times since, has been echoed against both the Head and His members. Then the Jews abase themselves as in thoughtful requital, *We have no king but Cæsar!* In the background there might be, as Hezel supplies it—"That is if he is not mighty enough and willing to make us free"—but this they say not. The saying of the Talmud, standing there in proud impotence, though well-grounded in itself—*Israel has no king but God*—they blasphemously and hypocritically subvert. They thereby, rejecting the true Messiah, finally, formally, and solemnly renounce all their Messianic hopes; they testify against themselves, utter their own condemnation, and once more (as in Matt. xxvii. 25) invoke their own judgment by the hands of these Romans. Lampe very suggestively compares Judg. ix. 14, where the trees call upon the bramble to be their king, and out of the shadow of the bramble came forth the fire which devoured the cedars of Lebanon.

TO THE DAUGHTERS OF JERUSALEM.

(Luke xxiii. 28-31.)

Our Lord's going forth without the gate in reproach (Heb. xiii. 11-13) is the counterpart of His entrance a few days before: now also the cry is that He is the *King* of the Jews—while He dies with two other malefactors! Is this most gentle Sufferer of the most unheard of wrong—a revolter against Cæsar? Yes, that was His currently-alleged crime; but the

name which Pilate recognises, and which the Jews reject, remains unaltered as the symbol of His honour in the midst of His reproach—The King of the Jews! And He bore *His* cross; He the first and the only one who bore it with perfect consciousness and perfect freedom of heart: not as the typical Isaac bore the wood for the burnt-offering; not as Simon the Cyrenian, or even Simon Peter. Properly speaking *our* cross:—love takes it up, and obedience bears it as His own. His garments were taken from Him, but we find nothing in Matt. xxvii. 31; Mark xv. 20 of a removal of the crown of thorns: that was left to mark Him out as the “king.”¹ Worn down and exhausted—not in spirit, but in body and soul—by all that had befallen since the evening before, He begins to fail under the burden before the time: but the Jews, who nevertheless have such a law as Ex. xxiii. 5, feel no sympathy with their king; the Gentiles, who have now full freedom to mock and pour indignity upon this kingdom, feel no sympathy with this Messiah! No man will take hold of His cross: nevertheless, in order that the crucifixion may not be delayed, and to spare Him for greater sufferings, they constrain, by magisterial right of pressing, a stranger coming in an opposite direction to the crowd to bear the full weight of the cross. Nowhere is there compassion in all the multitude; acclamation, rather, and merriment. At length, one voice of humanity breaks forth: only women indeed, but yet women who mourn over and bewail Him²—so loudly, that their smiting upon their breasts and their lamentations drown for a moment the tumult of the mob. Whether or not the Talmudical ordinance, that there was to be no loud bewailing at an execution, was in existence,—feeling here burst through all, and what could not be suppressed must have its course. They were not, however, the women-disciples from Galilee (Lu. ver. 49), but women from the city, belonging to the crowd. Neither St Luke’s statement, nor the ensuing word of our Lord, justifies us in regarding these weeping women as believing dependents, or in assuming that their feeling was anything more than the human impulse of woman’s stronger

¹ As, according to the legend, Christ was condemned to be crucified with the *mock tokens of kingly dignity*.

² The first *καὶ* before *ἐκένοντο* is certainly to be struck out.

sensibility to such scenes of suffering. Thus it was not "the outburst of nobler feeling, which displayed itself most unambiguously in thus bewailing Him whose condemnation was the cause of so much joy to the rulers and the rest of the people." Nor does Lange exhibit it rightly: "Now already began the first breathings of another mind to be felt; these were the early signs of the future courage of the cross." Nor does the language of Jesus warrant the exposition which Hiller gives: "*Partly* out of common sympathy and pity, for tender natures are ever ready to mourn over the wretched; *partly*, through the special love of attracting grace, moving those whose faith in Jesus was now in the fire, and to whom He was deeply precious." We must always maintain that these women did not weep with conscious sorrow over the unrighteousness or sin of what was done. All was kindly meant, indeed, on their part, according to the impulse of blind nature in the womanly feeling, not easily excited to wrath:—thus Braune adds the interesting observation, that "the sacred narrative has no record of any woman's enmity against the Redeemer."¹ Yet they felt on the whole and collectively only that which was *human*. They mourn over *Him*, indeed, especially, as St Luke remarks; and therefore their feeling is not precisely the same as any other malefactor's melancholy execution would have excited: but there is no proper perception of His innocence, and the guilt of His enemies, in their minds. "Their sympathy was not better than Simon Peter's enforced and violent help"—Braune admits, but then adds: "he, however, hastened to carry his feeling into action. Did these women do the same? *Sympathy* often disappears more speedily than its tears dry up."

Nevertheless, as this voice of human compassion—which is perfectly in keeping with the historical truth of the whole narrative, that voice being never wanting amid the utmost horrors—is almost a refreshment to ourselves while we read, so must it have been acceptable to Jesus. It goes to His heart; He hears it and is once more moved to break His silence. He

¹ Souchon: "It was reserved for our time, in which hell, conscious of the coming judgment, lets loose all its Furies, to exhibit the new horror of even women lifting up their feet against Him." But compare Acts xiii. 50 with xvii. 12.

speaks one word, and *that* of itself is His acknowledgment. Otherwise, however, *what* He speaks rigorously repels their weeping. Thus He rewards them by the most fitting word which He could utter to them; and this *correction* is His *thanks*.

Jesus *turned* unto them, turned backward to them as they followed. The eyes of love, which had been sunk deep in sorrow because sinners rejected His love, He now lifts up: He stands still, and all, constrained by secret power, stand ready to hear His words. He begins to speak—Ye daughters of Jerusalem: and *all* are silent and hear! “Gentle as was the tone of His voice, the words which He spoke have an earnest and almost severe tone; not like gratitude for their sympathy and their tears, but rather like a reproof.” (Jakobi.) Yes indeed, His words are calmly solemn: we would add, keenly penetrating. The men had thought—What matter is it that the *women* weep? He counts these women worthy of a word, which He had denied before king Herod! But what He says is for them and for all—the last *preaching of repentance* on His way of death, His last word of public teaching. For us also it was spoken; and His words should be preached to Christian people, especially on the Palm Sunday before Good Friday, that a genuine Hosanna may prepare the way for the King who enters as the Man of sorrows. It is, as the Berl. Bible says with partial truth, “a preaching of the law in the midst of the passion; for the law is not to be dismissed from the history of the atonement.” More correctly it is *the passion-sermon of Christ Himself* in its *first part*, which the Seven Words on the cross complete by a second; it is *telling* the Daughter of Zion in the best sense *how* she should first of all receive her *King*. It is at the same time the text for the typical symbol of Simon the Cyrenian, with which St Luke connects it; and we may primarily embrace them thus:—The Lord does not at first demand our *sympathy*, but our *suffering together with Him*!

We exhibit thus our general arrangement, which, like the word itself, points through the historical meaning to that which is of universal application. The theme is—The true signification of the *suffering* of Jesus as it regarded Jerusalem *rejecting* Him; consisting in this, that not Jesus but Jerusalem falls into the *judgment* which alone should be mourned over. First:

The general turning of their thoughts from Himself to Jerusalem, ver. 28. Secondly: The nearer exhibition of the judgment impending over Jerusalem; ver. 29 in itself, yet with reference *backward* to what should precede—then in ver. 30, with typical prophetic reference *forward* to the final judgment upon all who should reject Him. Thirdly, in ver. 31, the full explanation, giving the ground of the whole: *the difference between the judgment of grace and that of wrath*, spoken not without a glance back to the Baptist's first preaching of repentance.

Ver. 28. Ye daughters of Jerusalem—this still remains a term of honour, here as in Matt. xxiii. 37, where Jerusalem is rebuked and condemned. *Daughters* of Jerusalem,—His first word is a prophetic expression, in which He regards these women as representatives, not merely of Jerusalem, but of the whole land around the mother city. (Daughters like *children*, Matt. xxiii.) Read the whole prophecy Isa. chs. ii. and iii., especially ch. ii. 10, 19, 21, iii. 16–24; and compare further ch. xxxii. 9. Weep not for *Me*—He thus recognises and acknowledges that their tears refer to Himself, and so far their slight degree of spiritual knowledge; for He does not say—Weep not for *us* three malefactors! But weep for *yourselves*; that is not at once—for your coming judgment; nor is it—for your own people; but literally and strictly—for *yourselves*, for that which is now on you and in you most properly your own, that is, *your sin*—that ye may not have to despair in your own judgment! Tears plentiful were shed that day in secret, as by Peter; but these were not *such* tears. Tears on account of sin are the Saviour's joy! “The same lips, whose gracious breath had dried so many tears, now cries on the way to the cross: *Weep—for yourselves and your children!*” (Dräseke.) It is the only time in all His life that He commands those who hear Him to weep.

The *weeping* over suffering is the first step to true and wholesome sensibility and emotion:—over our own suffering and then in sympathy over others' as our own. And the excitement of such emotion in regard to the passion of our Lord is humanly true and therefore good—why else is the Man of Sorrows depicted before our eyes in all the lineaments of His grief? We should, indeed, rejoice whenever a hard heart is even thus moved by His woes: but that is no more than the

mere commencement, out of which very much more must spring. The Lord forbids not *weeping*; for taking up the word He commands at once—*weep ye!* but He would give this excited emotion its proper direction, and its right object. The tears of mere sympathy are of no avail. Of *mere* sympathy? Is then sympathy, that beautiful impulse of otherwise selfish man, not right? Should we not weep with those that weep; and is not that weeping an expression of love, the source of many virtues? Yes verily; the sympathy which understands aright, and goes to the deep foundation of the reason for its exercise. But mere natural sympathy is neither serviceable nor salutary; it is involuntary, and therefore an impulse of pure nature, without value or power. Through our fleshly effeminacy it often leads us, on the one hand, to a weak sympathy with injustice; and, on the other, to all the greater hardness of heart, if we suppress our feeling and thrust away from us its object. “The natural man can weep the tears of sympathy without any change whatever being produced in his heart. Such softness and good nature may consist with *sin* in all its thousand forms; even vanity and worldliness has tears of sympathy to shed; the slave of fleshly lusts may be moved to tears, and then go the same hour and serve his sin.” (Jakobi.)

Thus, to mourn from the heart over *sin*, which is the people’s ruin, and to recognise it as the cause of all evil, according to Lam. iii. 39–41, is the *second* stage: then first do we weep the real tears of truth. The transition to this is in our own proper feeling for self, by which we are apprehended when He, for whom we weep, says to us—Yea, there is much here for thee to weep over, but *on thine own account!* Thus the Lord, according to the remark of Grotius, “regards the general tendency of men, who weep more for their own than for others’ calamity.” Such penitent suffering for sin should be excited within us by every personal calamity, as the type and beginning of its future condemnation, Jer. ii. 19. But this, alas, seldom takes place; because our false egoism, disturbed and provoked but not broken by calamity, hinders our deeper reflection upon what conduces to our peace and what leads to destruction. Then should *sin* become more plain to our eyes, if possible, in the sufferings of *others!* Where there exists a higher neces-

sity of suffering, our knowledge of that should rule our sympathy and make it fruitful. See, this sinner suffers his punishment—Think of thine own sin! This is the voice which we should hear at every execution whether of human or Divine justice upon others. But, finally, it is our Lord's will that even His guiltless suffering for the world's sin should preach to us the sin of the world and our own; for he who learns not to weep over his sin, will one day fall into that condemnation which will abide for ever as properly and alone to be mourned. But the recognition of sin as the cause of Christ's suffering also, leads first to the profoundest, most thorough weeping over the *suffering* which *we* have inflicted on eternal *love*, in order to the perfecting of our repentance;¹ and then, immediately, in most living transition, to *joy* over those redeeming sufferings which have obtained eternal glory—to that word of triumph, *Weep not*, He hath overcome! We do not merely mourn, we do not always mourn; to us also sorrow is the way to joy, as suffering was to Him the way to glory. For, does not the same suffering of the Just One manifest to us the highest love in order to our forgiveness and salvation? In truth, the cross of Christ does not merely preach to us the condemnation and punishment of sin, but also the blessed glad tidings of grace. If the Lord's word to the daughters of Jerusalem does not include this as yet, but ends with the threatening of judgment, yet it would save through threatening, lead to joy through repentance, excite its true tears to dry them again. The whole saying, especially its first words—*Weep not for Me, but weep for yourselves*—is spoken for all mankind out of the depths of the fundamental thoughts which we have developed. He Himself had only wept over Jerusalem when He entered it; and His farewell words coincide with those of ch. xix. 42–44, almost repeating them. He has nothing else in His thoughts but the salvation or the ruin of His people, of mankind; *of that* alone He speaks here; He forgets and renounces Himself in His profoundest personal sorrow; and will have sin alone bewailed, on account of its inevitable doom.

¹ Schöberlein: "He is grieved at heart, not merely for having insulted the Divine majesty, but at the same time for having brought the Divine love to suffering."

Christ's suffering is not to be mourned over on its own account; and our suffering with and in Christ, while it begins with weeping, brings joy in the end. Only the suffering of those who are condemned out of Christ, the misery of the rejected rejectors, is essentially matter of weeping:—that is, for Him and for us; to the rejectors themselves there is despair without tears, rather than salutary weeping! The *passion of Christ* is no tragic spectacle to move men's hearts; the history of His sufferings is not recorded to excite human and sentimental feeling. Meditations of that kind on the passion are not really such at all, though whole books are full of them. Christ is infinitely exalted above our weeping on His account; and wills not thus to be mourned over. "Who can worthily bewail Him?" But He does not reject this commiseration for the reason that harsh dogmatics sometimes assign, "because He regards Himself in His present condition as one for whom sympathy is unbecoming, and as being unworthy of it on account of the curse and wrath of God resting upon Him." For if He Himself weeps over the doom of the damned, how can we speak so hardly of the wrath of God? But because the counsel of God leads Him to victory and glory, there is no need for weeping on His account. But much on our own; so that we, weeping for ourselves, may be partakers with Him of His victory in the only way in which we can share it. Only when the "For us" penetrates our hearts, can we experience the passion-sorrow and engage in passion-meditations; and know the grief of Lu. ver. 48 afterwards, as the preparation for the Pentecost. But the lamentation of the Daughters of Jerusalem had not this meaning; therefore St Luke writes only ἐκόντρον here, and adds not τὰ στήθη, or εἰς τὰ στήθη αὐτῶν.¹ They knew Him in some general sense as relatively guiltless; but they knew Him not as the absolutely just, as the Holy One of God, who is offered up, and offers up Himself:—had there been more of that in their tears, they would have wept in still and solemn silence; entering into themselves they would have mourned without any κόμπεσθαι of excited feeling, which nevertheless was no smiting of their own breasts. At most they

¹ As in the Heb. N. T. it incorrectly stands: לִבָּאֵם בְּלִבָּאֵם.

thought: "Alas, the innocent one! who can convict Him of sin? He has told our rulers the truth, and they therefore crucify Him." But that truth itself, which He had told not merely the rulers, but themselves also, they knew not. They knew not themselves, and what in themselves was to be mourned over; they knew not the sin of Jerusalem and God's people in such a manner as to see their own sin in it. The first thing—to know Jesus Himself—He requires not as yet at the beginning; that will be preached afterwards. But the second—to know *themselves*—He really makes the *first*, and requires it rightly from every one. No one, indeed, at least no dweller in Jerusalem could honestly regard Him as a malefactor, or as such as He now appeared; but every conscience might and should have discerned and felt his own sin in the fearful sin of the multitude rejecting Him. Oh that many in our day would think of this! For to know Jesus (as a supposed Redeemer) without knowing ourselves, is a melancholy delusion of carnal security: to know ourselves without knowing Jesus—can only lead to despair! Most assuredly the glorified Lord needs no more any lamentation of ours; but we need to lament over ourselves that He may enter into us, and in order to that our first need is that *repentance* which He here preaches at the end, as He had begun by preaching it. What the Baptist had said to the unfruitful trees, He now says to the dry.

But that repentance which He, as the Suffering Saviour, preaches and works, is nevertheless (as is here hinted in undertone) something different from that first still-selfish weeping on account of wrath and punishment—"since it makes the *sympathising sorrow of Divine love* in some sense its own," as Schöberlein profoundly and yet simply says. And that first *sympathy* with Jesus should be in us elevated and glorified into a truly intelligent entering-into His *sympathy of sorrow* with us.

For yourselves and for your children—He adds; not without sad remembrance of the people's word, Matt. xxvii. 25. He thereby indicates already the (not mentioned, but easily-understood) *sin* which should be bewailed, as one which *would be propagated* from generation to generation, and the judgment therefore as one which would burst upon mothers and children alike.

Ver. 29. *For*—the judgment will infallibly come! Thus the Lord testifies by His prophetic *behold*. The *intervening thought* in this connection is obviously the presupposition that space will be given, between now and that judgment, for the repentance of all who would escape that judgment. It is true that the Lord in ver. 28 requires them to weep for the *judgment* which would surely and swiftly follow the sin; and His words would appear to go on—Do ye ask Me what there is then in yourselves which is so much to be bewailed? Behold, I foretell to you that which I already behold, the impending destruction. This is the application to their own anxiety for self, which weeps most readily over its own misery. But when we look more closely, there is a change in His meaning:—He who weeps in anticipation over the condemnation of his sin, impending and pointed out beforehand, already weeps with penitent faith in God's righteousness and truth, over *sin*, over *himself* in the true sense; and thus *escapes* the judgment. Or when this, as in the present case, is to come externally upon a whole land and people, and therefore to befall the penitent also with the rest, he will be delivered from the *wrath* of the judgment; it will not be to him a judicial and wrathful condemnation, it will not be the doom of despair. All this is contained in the Lord's words, if we understand them in their simple and easily-intelligible application to the case in hand. Hence it is now only "they shall say," and in ver. 30, "they will begin to say:"—by no means, *Ye* shall say or make answer. For with those who receive the exhortation to weep *now*, it will be more tolerable, although they might be involved in the general tribulation; they shall find a far better refuge and covering. Bengel very incorrectly supplements the *ἐποῦσι*—"They will say, *i.e.* your children;" as if *these* would then curse their mothers, and thereby their own birth and being. We cannot see to what end he makes this restriction. But neither must we extend the distinction between those who will "say" then and those who weep now, to signify that their weeping *for Jesus* was already a security against the judgment in their own case, as being the token of their real repentance and better feeling. No, the Lord does not in the following "they shall say" speak *merely* of His *enemies* in contradistinction to those who were now weeping; for in that case there would be no

meaning in the first words—Weep for *yourselves*; and the “for” would simply tell them to weep for their people and their land. He could not *then* have blamed and rejected their weeping for *Him*, that being their salvation from wrath and from judgment. Oh no, it is the very point of the severity of His words, that this mere weeping for Him and not for themselves would not by any means save the weepers; that it was idle and useless in itself, unless it led to deeper repentance. Thus these mourners themselves remain included in the *threatening*, on the supposition that they learn not to weep for themselves; while they are excepted from it, if they go on to repentance. They are, on the supposition of their penitence, at once included in the external tribulation which would befall Jerusalem, and excluded from the despair which would seize upon others in that tribulation. It is to intimate these two things that the word is thus indefinite. The judgment is threatened as impending and near,—that their repentance might be awakened; yet it is not immediately and expressly denounced against these persons,—to give them room for repentance. Thus alone is the *ἐποῦσι* rightly understood: it is not merely “it shall be said;” still less a contrast of other persons who should say; nor is it a decisive *ἐπεῖτε*, ye shall say yourselves.

When the Lord by the prophetic “the days are coming”—*הָיָה יָמִים בָּאִים*—repeats, as it were, the prophecy of the Entry, ch. xix. 43, He continues it by dwelling on the last word—and *your children*! It is thereby indicated that these children then adult (or those afterwards born of the present *daughters* of Jerusalem), and with them at least many of their *mothers*, will live to the days of that judgment, and, moreover, the word affectingly paints the misery of the mothers especially as having those children. At such a time of distress the rule of prosperous days is reversed. In these the unfruitful are bewailed, the mothers are congratulated; but then it will be said (otherwise than the usual language)—Woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck, in those days. (Ch. xxi. 23.) The Lord in this proverbial expression alludes to Hos. ix. 14; where in vers. 11–13 and again ver. 16, such destruction is denounced against the children in which fruitful Ephraim gloried as “beloved fruit” (*מִחֲמַדֵּי בָטְנָם*), so that it would be rather to be wished

that God had given them "miscarrying wombs and dry breasts." He includes, at the same time, with the misery of the generation grown up in the interval (as we have shown upon Lu. xix.), the frightful literal fulfilment of the ancient prophecies and types, in the horrible cruelty of the foe upon the *little children* who would then be in existence. His words, finally, are uttered in that mother-feeling, with which He would have gathered the children of Jerusalem under His wings; intentionally exciting and moving the womanly and motherly sensibility, even while He is pointing this excited *sensibility* to its proper object and ground. Not that the mothers are selected as representing "the *loving* souls among His people," for whom such bitter tribulation was in store, this being interpreted of more than natural and human love; but He does indeed touch this human feeling, in order to *excite* its keenest emotion,¹ in that point where as sympathy and *compassion* it makes the fruit of the body one with self. Again, and it is to be observed as expressing His own personal feeling and its sparing tenderness, He does not positively say, *Woe* to the mothers who have children! but, *Blessed* will be those who have not. Pfenninger beautifully represents a woman as reminding Mary afterwards, when this account was read, of what had been spoken in Lu. xi. 27, 28; whereupon Mary exhorts them, "Then keep, ye daughters of Jerusalem, the word which He said to you!" But the *men* who were around must also hear the word, and understand that judgment and sin should be bewailed on their own account and on account of their *children*, upon whom both pass over:—a very touching and powerful reflection for all preaching of repentance! The Lord did not lift up His voice as a trumpet when He uttered this prediction of judgment; but His words were loud enough for the hearing of all the silent multitude around.

He spoke expressly and primarily of the judgment of *Jerusalem* and Israel; yet He contemplated and referred to that which was shadowed out in this historical type—the judgment

¹ It is one of those few passages in which Jesus speaks expressly to the sensibilities—wherefore else the mention of the womb which bare and the breasts which gave suck! And it is so here, obviously because He speaks to weeping women, and because He would use and give a better application to the feeling which He moved.

of all the impenitent and of all unbelievers in common, down to the last. How could He have withheld, at such a crisis, such an enlargement of His circle of vision? His word is not merely the voice of a Cassandra; He does not speak thus only as a "friend of his country," but as the Saviour of the world, as is more plainly shown in the ensuing words. As He bears with His cross the sins of all the world, so does He behold not His people's misery, sin, and punishment alone, but the condemnation of all the condemned together.

Ver. 30. The same persons do not continue to speak, as the *ἀρξονται* proves; but this new word is the universal answer to the preceding, which fearfully *surpasses* it—Verily, *unblessed* are we! All of us, whether we bemoan our children, or only ourselves! To mark the highest degree of this misery, where despair begins, there is once more a scriptural, proverbial, and figurative saying—the calling upon the mountains and hills for protection within them; and that *in vain*, as is self-understood. The word is taken from a passage in the same prophet Hosea, in which Samaria was doomed even as Jerusalem, become like her, is doomed now. We read in ch. x. 8, And they shall say to the mountains, *Cover us*; and to the hills, *Fall on us*; and with this is connected the echo of Isa. ii. 10, 19, 21—the humbling of the proud daughters of Zion following in ch. iii. Thus we see once more *the Scripture* spread open, in its concert and harmony of passages from many parts, before the Lord's eyes; and in the midst, too, of His sufferings! In that Scripture He had ever had His being; in its words, become now supremely and essentially His own, He thought and felt down to the last! But it is remarkable, as we have just seen, that the Lord inverts the order of words of Hosea, and makes as it were an anti-climax out of them; the Old-Testament word being deepened into a meaning which, however, perfectly corresponds with it in spirit. The doomed first wish for utter destruction under the mountains; and then, forasmuch as this is vain, they desire, in terror before the majesty of the Judge, to *hide themselves* under the hills! The Lord ends with this "*hide*;" He does not continue the words of Isaiah; for it is self-understood—*before Whom*. It required, if the whole truth were spoken down to its final fulfilment, that He should name *Himself* as

this Judge who should *come*. Yea, verily, He is the future Judge even on the way of Redemption; and, that He *must* condemn so many who will not be redeemed, in His deep sorrow on sorrow. Therefore He breaks off, and in His grief does not expressly say that before *Him* such terror will seize all who then and thereafter should cry—*Away with Him*. But the Holy Ghost in Rev. vi. 16 most significantly brings to mind *this* word of the Saviour's threatening on His way of sorrow, and completes it:—Cover us from the face of Him who sitteth upon the throne; and from the (now aroused) *wrath* of the (once patiently for us suffering) *Lamb*! Such terror and amazement has the refuge of tears no longer; it is infinitely worse than that salutary weeping which is now commanded in order to escape from future howling and gnashing of teeth. Then will they *begin* their terror—then at last—but the better *beginning* of repentance they would never enter upon while it availed! Therefore their terror will be only the beginning, the torment of eternity to ensue will cease no more! This is the inmost meaning for the final consummation of judgment, which is only foreshadowed by the doom of Jerusalem. *Then* first, but too late—Oh that they had in a former time voluntarily humbled themselves before the majesty of their God! The historical and actual specific fulfilment of the figure, when, according to Josephus, the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled for refuge to subterraneous passages and sewers, and literally were hidden under the hills of their city, is the least thing: the meaning of the word reaches much further. Bengel: “Men have often been concealed in mountains. *Great terror!* when that which is horrible in itself is desired as a place of safety.” But this is the terror of despair. The sinner falling into the condemnation of wrath mourns not merely over the children, to whom with life he has given sin, the others whom he has involved with his doom; but before all things curses his own life and being:—he would, as far as in him lay, rather exist no longer, as Rev. ix. 6 further explains the word. But it will then be told them, that those who seek death shall not find it; that they may desire to die, but death will flee from them. They are preserved and spared for the greater terror—Oh that we could be delivered from a sight of *His countenance*! And the prayer to the rocks,

to cold and dead nature, is in vain ; for (as Baxter somewhere says) "thou hast made the Lord of the hills thine enemy ; His voice, and not thine, they will obey !" Oh that thou hadst, while there was yet time, called upon *Him* to save and hide thee from the coming wrath !

Ver. 31. This future judgment of wrath is now as a warning shown forth even in connection with the present judgment of mercy which proceeds upon *Jesus in His sufferings* ; for that which is common to both is the judgment, the righteous severity of God against *sin* ! Yet the connection is exhibited only in such a manner that we must draw the inference from the one to the other by a *how much more*, making plain the great *distinction* between them at the same time.¹ We find in this conclusive utterance our Lord's own decisive protest *against* that identity which is assumed in a certain theology between the full wrath of God and His own sufferings ; and *for* the position, which should need no argument to establish it, that he who sinks into despair and damnation through his own sin endures a different suffering from that which the Redeemer endured, and which we share with Him for our sanctification and life.

But before we deduce this from the simple word before us, we must do the great Bengel the honour to set aside his strange misinterpretation, which has been followed by only a few. He understood by the dry wood or tree, old, feeble, and *unfruitful* people, in opposition to those who were yet young and vigorous—appealing to Isa. lvi. 3 ; Ezek. xxxi. 3. He received all in the external, literal sense ; and supposed ver. 31 to be a continuation of ver. 30, expressing the amazement of those whom this misery should befall. If the enemy thus deals with the young, as we see—what have we aged to expect ? In the German New Testament he defines the matter very simply : in ver. 30 the *barren*, who were counted happy, *reply*, and then in ver. 31 liken themselves to a dry tree, as the fruitful to a

¹ Not as Krummacher despatches this word, so unfavourable to his doctrine of substitution : "That which passes upon Him must be of the same nature with that which is threatened against the ungodly." Perfectly and entirely the same it certainly is *not*—that is as clear as day in the very progression and conclusion of the sentence.

green. For "when Jerusalem fell, the aged and useless would find less mercy from the Romans than the young and the strong." Apart from the questionableness of this last remark,¹ the whole exposition (which some might be ready to embrace, in order to escape from ours) has nothing less than the whole saying against it. After the word of amazement, ver. 30—manifestly the *last* which mortal could speak—it seems in the highest degree inappropriate to represent these despairing souls as beginning again with the feeble conclusion—For how will it be with us! And equally so to represent the Lord as having *closed* His words with such an expression of the wretched, so definitely describing the *judgment* of Jerusalem! We expect, and should then find strangely lacking, something said about *His own present sufferings*—for they were the subject now. Though they were not to weep over His sufferings, yet they should rightly contemplate and understand them; nor could some reference to this be wanting here. But the first and most immediate influence by which Christ's sufferings arouse us to repentance, is this, that they point out to us a *suffering on account of sin*; and teach us to conclude how awful must be the wrath of judgment unto eternal condemnation, if the judgment of saving suffering, purchasing grace and redemption, and absolutely necessary to our salvation, is so severe! This remains the necessary conclusion, without which the whole saying would lack its appropriate close. This penetrates at last the whole depth of His meaning, as He connects the predicted condemnation with the lamentation which was before His eyes, in such a manner as the case required. On the other hand, how superficial and feeble would be the termination of the discourse according to Bengel's interpretation.²

We have in the Old and New Testaments clear parallels for the meaning of this saying, Jer. xlix. 12; Prov. xi. 31; and 1. Peter iv. 17, 18; in which last passage the sufferings of

¹ For one cannot see why the old should endure *greater* cruelty. Hiller, who always follows Bengel, only brings out—"Those who pierce the young and vigorous with the sword, will not spare the old." Comp. Deut. xxviii. 50; Lam. v. 12; Isa. xlvii. 6; but also Isa. xlii. 16-18.

² *Ξύλον* like *γῆ* also equivalent to *tree*—*ὄφυς* is in the Vulg. *viridi*, comp. *אֲרֵז* Job. viii. 16.

Christians with and in Christ, consequently the sufferings of Christ Himself, appear to be regarded as a commencing judgment. It is generally acknowledged that the Lord by the green tree signifies Himself, and by *ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν*—if they do these things—refers to the sufferings which the women wept over. The connection of the present figure with the former words is very slight, merely that which the unfruitfulness and fruitfulness might suggest. He refers once more to passages of Scripture, combined together; but it is probable that He thought of the *cross*, the dry tree of the curse, when He chose the expression. See what was said in Ezek. xvii. 24, with another application, concerning the drying up of the seemingly green tree, but the making of the seemingly dry tree to flourish; in a type which manifestly points to the judgment of the enemies and the kingdom of Christ. This will make it plain that the Lord here calls Himself the condemned green tree, that is, the *Righteous One* suffering on account of sin the judgment of God, while those others are the *unrighteous* who deserve to be plucked up by the roots. (Jude ver. 12.) That, further, is the plain interpretation of Ezek. xx. 47, where the fire burns up without distinction all trees, green and dry;¹ that is, according to chap. xxi. 3, the righteous and the ungodly are cut off alike. V. Gerlach embraces this full meaning: "If the green and fruit-bearing trees are rooted up, it is a sign that all trees are to be destroyed; and thus, most certainly and above all, the dry trees. When in the hidden purposes of the Divine counsel of salvation, the pious are cut off, it is a sign of fearful judgment and doom for the ungodly." But it is of importance to look more closely at this. The reason of the Divine plan is not so entirely a hidden one: *suffering* takes place assuredly only on account of *sin*. Even those who are relatively righteous and devout go not through their course without the fellowship of suffering. But, finally, in the application to the sufferings of Christ, who is the Righteous One, and who is alone by person and nature the green tree, we should not adopt the ordinary style of speaking and say (with v. Gerlach): "The accomplishment of the Divine *punishment* of sin in the person of the *guiltless* (this is

¹ Or "the rod of my son, it despiseth every tree," as chap. xxi. should be translated.

even juridically impossible ! this *summa injuria* in order to maintain *summum jus* !) is a sign beforehand that God will leave *no* sin unpunished." The question, rather, would arise as to why any sin was to be punished after all had been already punished in the one. The *τί* indicates not merely a contrast with the *ταῦτα* as to degree ; but rather that *what* will take place upon the dry tree is something altogether different, which we may conclude a *minori ad majus*, from what did take place upon the green tree. Theophylact's paraphrase is a good one : " If they do these things in Me, fruitful, always green, undying through the Divinity—what will they do to you, fruitless and robbed of all life-giving righteousness ? "

Only thus does the entire discourse find its appropriate close, in the final words which give the fundamental reason of all. What is it in all *suffering*, whether of the righteous or the unrighteous, which is, properly speaking, lamentable, and to be mourned over ? Nothing but *sin*, of which it is either the wages or the atonement. For there is a *judgment* of sin, and that, *finally*, a permanent, eternal *judgment of wrath*. That ye may escape from this, mourn ye sinners over yourselves ! Behold in the judgment of *grace* which falls upon the Just One on account of sin, a hortatory warning of that infinitely-heavier judgment of wrath ! The judgment of *grace* begins and is fulfilled first in Jesus and His people ; and in this sense judgment, as St Peter rightly interprets the external symbol, Jer. xxv. 29, Ezek. ix. 6, begins in the house of God, yea, on His own beloved Son. (For, believers are included with Christ in τὸ ἵγρνν ξύλον—the definite article is not to be omitted from the text—and must enter into the fellowship of His sufferings. As it is wrong to say that He really and fully bore what should have been our punishment, so it is also wrong to say that this is now imputed to us *only* as the suffering of another.) But the judgment of *wrath*, which brings final and eternal despair without salvation or refuge, will fall upon those who persevered in unbelief. What an awful reality is sin ! What will remain for those who would not be reconciled and saved, *seeing that* their reconciliation and salvation in and through Christ could not take place otherwise than by such sufferings on His part ! *This* alone is the right and salutary contemplation of

Christ's sorrow and passion; it is this which He points to, instead of an unintelligent and sentimental lamentation over it. "*God's wrath is heavier to bear than Christ's cross*"—is an excellent word, by which Rieger abolishes his own dogmatic system.¹ Indeed, the sin of the crucifixion was atoned for through the cross itself, had repentance followed. Jerusalem was not destroyed because it crucified Jesus, but because it *rejected* Him; that is, because it persisted in that rejection, and would not receive the apostolical preaching, Acts ii. 23-38; iii. 17-19, etc.

"If *they do* such things in Me," the Lord says—not "*if ye do*"—to the women; but it does not follow that He distinguishes His enemies and crucifiers from these sympathising and better-minded women. That the sin of these women, too, is regarded as part of the guilt which brought upon Him His woe, was already assumed, as we have seen, in the "*weep for yourselves!*" He might have plainly said—If such sorrow comes upon Me *through you*, what anguish will one day come upon you *through Me!* But He does not say so; for, on the one hand, He veils now in the way of suffering His future judicial dignity; and, on the other, it would have been a not-yet-intelligible anticipation of the future passion-preaching of the Holy Ghost, if He had thus early told these daughters of Jerusalem, in the midst of their wailings, that *they* also joined to crucify Him! The indefinite *ποιοῦσιν*—*if they do*—corresponds with the *γένηται*, and the meaning so far is that *both* (what the Jews now do and what the Romans will do to the Jews) were not the act of men, but the counsel and the judgment of God. Yet it is not without design that "*they do*" is used the first time, since there is in it (what is suggested to be deeply pondered) an unrighteous *ποιεῖν*, a deed of wickedness; and none should conclude from this rooting up of the good tree, although fruitful in the works of God,—Consequently, he also an evildoer! But, rather—If God permits and orders such suffering for the righteous,

¹ The perfect opposite of Bengel's perfectly incorrect position:—"The punishment of Christ was heavier than that of any Jew when the city was taken:"—but it should also run, "than that of any condemned soul, when the world is destroyed!!" This, however, is contradicted by ver. 31, rightly understood.

what shall *be*, what must *befall*, finally and fully to the unrighteous! In this latter, the reference to the execution by human hands¹ falls entirely away; because the word already penetrates beyond the Romans to the fire of the last judgment.

If the women and the men who first heard and pondered this saying were moved in their hearts to ask, *Why* is it permitted that this should be done to the green tree? the very first word from the cross, interpreted by the Spirit of God in their consciences, and apostolical preaching most fully afterwards, would unfold to them the answer, and deduce from the *grace* revealed in the sufferings of Christ the piercing conclusion: — *What* must come upon all at last who persevere in rejecting this *grace*! And we ourselves may think further— *What* will come upon the branches which had been partakers once of *grace*, and then became dry and withered again! These the Lord includes, without any distinction, in the dry tree fit for eternal fire.

And after He had spoken these mighty words—words which preached repentance, predicted judgment, exhibited a possible salvation from a misery which was yet inevitable, measured out *grace* and wrath, pointing from His redeeming sufferings to future eternal anguish—He turned round again; and the procession went onward to Golgotha, where “these things” which they do must have their full accomplishment, more awfully and more perfectly than the sympathising women could imagine to themselves.

FIRST WORD FROM THE CROSS.

(Luke xxiii. 34.)

We are now come to GOLGOTHA. Oh that all our readers were such as already sing, or are learning to sing, with the poet of the Brethren—“Through all times, through eternities, has my spirit restless wandered; but nothing seized my whole heart, until I came to Golgotha!” Every one, whose heart has been thus seized, knows full well that there is nothing else within the

¹ Which is made prominent by the reading in the Vulg. *quid facient*.

discovery of man's seeking mind, whether in time or eternity, which can absolutely bring the heart, full of sin and longing, to God, that it may in Him be renewed and restored to man again. Wander whither thou wilt, with thy feet or in thy spirit, thou must at last come to the *place of a skull*, consecrated to death and judgment, pointing to the Jerusalem at hand. But here is not only heard the word from Sinai, *The wages of sin is death!*—but the gift of grace in eternal life is victoriously glorified on the cross, which is lifted up in the scene of judgment. Out of the profoundest depth of ruin breaks forth in its most glorious exhibition the love of God in Christ Jesus; he who embraces that love by faith can praise God who hath given to him also this victory. The superscription in the three theological tongues bears witness for all the languages of the earth, concerning the King of the Jews as the Saviour of the world.¹ All, even the most shameful circumstances of His crucifixion, fulfil the *prophetic word*, and become most convincing arguments in the preaching of the Gospel. But the *historical Scripture* of the Holy Ghost celebrates in this most sacred narrative its triumph over all that can ever come to pass in time or the ages of eternity.²

¹ We may say this, inasmuch as the *ἰσχυροί*, the idiom of the people at the time, represented the Hebrew tongue, as in the Eli-invocation of Jesus. Strictly speaking, the *sacred* language is wanting by the side of the *official* and the *learned* languages; but in this it was shown that *all* the tongues of people and commerce were to be anew sanctified for this King.

² We cannot resist quoting an anecdote which Hess received from an eye-and-ear-witness. "In one of the soirées of Baron d'Holbach, where the most celebrated infidels of the age were in the habit of assembling, great entertainment was afforded by the witty way in which the pretended absurdities, stupidities, and follies of all kinds which abound in the sacred writings were descanted upon. The philosopher Diderot, who had himself taken no part in the conversation, put an abrupt end to it by suddenly saying: 'Gentlemen, I know no men in France, or elsewhere, who can speak or write with more talent or more art. Nevertheless, in spite of all the evil we have spoken, and doubtless with reason enough, of this book [*de ce diable de livre*], I defy you, with all your power, to compose a narrative which shall be as simple but at the same time as sublime and as touching as the recital of the passion and death of Jesus Christ, which shall produce the same effect, and make so strong a sensation, felt so generally by all, and the influence of which shall continue the same after so many ages.' This unexpected apostrophe astonished all who heard it, and was followed by a long

The saying written in Isa. liii. 12 is now fulfilled: He is reckoned among the transgressors, in order to bear the sin of many. But that all might be fulfilled, or rather that its fulfilment might be made manifest, *He utters that which was there predicted in His intercession for the transgressors.* This is His first word; for His rejection of the stupifying drink was most probably accompanied only by a gesture which declined it. The custom of closing the mouths of malefactors, a custom of rare and most extreme barbarity, was probably not yet in existence; or, if it was, they could not put it into practice, because the world was yet to hear some further words of His mouth. They crucified Him—St Luke records this first, so that after the Lord had meekly undergone this, He speaks His first word from the cross, and *probably* while the nails were being driven. The never-ceasing intercession of His pleading heart becomes here an uttered expression and testimony. Let us approach, and reverently seek to understand it. What a word is this!

There is no resistance here! He defends not Himself; and although He might have said—*Remove hence! Fall down before Me!* He says merely with perfect resignation—What they do (Ποιοῦσι, probably connecting itself with the ταῦτα ποιοῦσι of ver. 31 before). There is nothing of wrath. He threatens not, nor invokes vengeance—*Let me see Thy vengeance on them!* (Jer. xx. 12). There is nothing of accusation or lament, no invocation of help—*Save Me!* Nor is there heard the word which we poor sinners are too ready, half in truth and half in pride, to utter—*I forgive you!* although He as the Holy One has the power to forgive as well as to condemn (Jno. viii. 11). Nor in this death for sin not His own is there any place for *Forgive Me!* Asserting His own rights while renouncing them, He thinks to the end not of Himself, like other children of men, but—as in the way with the daughters of Jerusalem—of others; nevertheless, He avails Himself of His prerogative in calling upon His *Father* for others. It is an infinite graciousness of self-denial, and humility of self-concealment, which is blended with the sublimity of this word. Thus He does not now say, silence.”—After this note, we would beg every one, whom it is needful thou to beg, to read through the entire history of the Passion, before our exposition of the words from the cross.

I will not complain of you to the Father, I will pray *for you*; but He *prays* at once in most childlike simplicity, as if in so doing He only fulfilled an obligation, like that of the dying sinner, to confess and supplicate for himself. That every trace of personal judging, every tone of the most allowable and necessary thought about Himself, might be taken from the word, He does not even say—"what they do *to Me* or *against Me*." He further cries, Forgive *them*, what *they* do:—for "Thy children" He cannot say, although His appeal to the Father does avail even for them. But He specifies whom He means in no other way than by the 'gracious presupposition, *For* they know not! He restrains Himself in His most gracious expression from making any such distinction as, Forgive *all those who* do not altogether know; or, Forgive them *if* they know not what they do:¹—although, as we shall see, this awful distinction remains in the background.

His "intercession" is infinitely more than any such intercession as is possible and appropriate to sinful men generally, and specifically quite different from it. For, He utters His word not merely as a request, like others; but with the same consciousness which had been formerly expressed—Father, I know that Thou always hearest Me. His intercession has this for its ground, though in meekness it is not expressed—Father, *I will* that Thou forgive them. "Father!" By this He confirms to us once more, in the most humble and yet the sublimest manner, His own avowal that He is still *the Son* of God, and abides such upon the cross and in His atoning death. It is not as merely a holy man, but strictly as the incarnate Son, that He appeals to God by the name of Father; but the expression of His prayer immediately follows—being strictly connected with it—which speaks of *forgiveness* as its great object.

When we examine and analyse it, this first word from the cross discloses to us three things. First, the *perfect love* of the holy Son of man, maintained and approved even unto death: for the cry which went up to God has for its *presupposition* that He as man retains nothing but forgiveness and love. His whole

¹ Indeed, just as little *can* He say—Even if they know it; forgive even those who sin without ignorance. Least of all could the word include the author of all this sin; and say of Satan, Forgive *him*!

life was an expression of such love ; His death set upon it the last seal. So meekly and humbly does He die in the hands of His tormentors, that it seems to Him needless to speak of forgiveness on His own part. But, secondly, when we penetrate deeper, the word points us to *atoning love*—and that, too, of the *Father* himself, as it is revealed through the *Son*, who thus knoweth, and thus appealeth to, Him. With God there is forgiveness, and thus man may fear Him in order to love Him. No man can—even in that sense in which Scripture condescendingly uses the word for men—forgive until He is forgiven ; otherwise his unjustified “I forgive !” is both untruth and sin together in one. Thus Christ, now hanging upon the cross in the likeness of sinners, though He does not of course pray first for any forgiveness for Himself, yet keeps silence as to any forgiveness on His own part, referring that to the Father above. Once more, however, this God who reconciles the world unto Himself, not imputing to it its sin, is no other than the God who is in Christ, the Father of this Son. The Father, that is, who *through Him* then wills to be and *will be* our Father also ; by no means is such *already in Himself*. Consequently, that is not indeed expressed which is implied in itself, *My Father*—for that Father-love which is now free to all is appealed to ; but neither does He say—*Forgive Thy children !* In this supplicatory appeal of the Son, which is heard and granted at once, the voice of eternal love itself utters its promise—I will forgive. But only through that propitiation, in which the Just interposes for the unjust. Consequently, finally, and in the third place, this word exhibits together and at once, as well the *ground* as the *limit of forgiveness and reconciliation* for the sins of the world.

Its *ground* is and must ever be this intercession of the Son, who in the appearance of like condemnation can yet say “*Father*.” While His blood is being poured out, the testimony thus given beforehand declares—*For you, for the forgiveness of sins !* Thus, we have here in the beginning of the proper sufferings of death, the sufferings of redemption, a testimony concerning their cause, their design, and their fruit—Therefore, to this end I suffer what they do ! For He Himself “knoweth what He doeth” in this His suffering fulfilment of all ! “The saddest lamentations in the passion-psalms turn constantly to exultation in the blessed

results which would follow, in the life which so many miserable souls would derive from them; and we may therefore say that *the Lord Jesus sweetened His bitter crucifixion to His own thoughts* by His testimony to the blessedness which would follow His passion." (Rieger.) He who hangs as a king naked upon the cross, does thereby not merely testify that "one may be a king and not have a thread of the trappings of this world"—but this naked One alone covers our shame (Gen. iii. 21). Thus the type and the interpreting word are brought directly together; and hence St Luke adds in the same verse—And they parted His raiment.

But how *far* extends this atoning word, which then and now restrains wrath against evildoers? Who are the evildoers for whom it was spoken and avails? The word says with designed indefiniteness no more than "*them*," in order to make room for every one who *will* and who *can* include himself. He does not say, *My enemies*—but He means in the widest sense all who are guilty by participation in what was done to Him. First of all, most assuredly, the executioners *who crucify Him*, as the connection in St Luke teaches us; the four soldiers who execute the deed. One might indeed be tempted to say (with v. Gerlach): "This intercession was not offered for the soldiers who nailed Him to the cross; they were not directly guilty of their act, doing it simply in obedience"—as their duty. But this is only a misleading fallacy, for they were otherwise *sinners*; moreover, their obedient, undoubting performance of their duty was done not without a sinful pleasure in doing it, or at all events was closely connected with their general condition as sinners, included in that common sin of the world to which the Lord now ascribes His crucifixion. The word applies primarily to them, inasfar as in them was embodied the general fact—They crucified Him. Once more, as so often elsewhere, the Lord seizes the immediate and concrete exhibition, but means while He does so all that is exhibited and symbolised in it. He says, *Forgive My crucifiers*, and means all sinners as His enemies; as far as possible all men, in opposition to whom He stands before God as the Holy One, even *while* He becomes their Brother in all things, in their misery and their ignominy, and as the alone guiltless makes Himself the representative of *their*

guilt. Here prays He *for the world* (John xvii. 9), and even this intercession continues in heaven. (Heb. vii. 25.) But not only for the world, as opposed to His disciples. Peter, who denied Him, is included, with that which He did toward the fulfilment of the griefs of his denied Master; even John and Mary too, with the *doing* of their *hearts* in sinful infirmity, as the Lord sees through them. Even the murderers, between whom He hangs as numbered with the transgressors, are included, with all that they have done and all they have to do; inasmuch as here the whole world with its sin is regarded as the cause of the death of Christ upon the cross. Are *the high priests and rulers* also included, who condemned Him, delivered Him to Pilate, and raged for His crucifixion with the most furious zeal of malignity? Certainly many among them; all, indeed, of whom Caiaphas had already given in John xi. 50, a prophetically true testimony—*Ye know not!* But far indeed is the word from availing for *him*, this ringleader of the counsel and of the act. They are greatly in error who say that “the Lord had His real murderers especially in His thoughts in this prayer, and petitioned expressly for the terrible men who urged on His condemnation with devilish malice.” Oh no, we cannot give any specific interpretation to the word thus spoken in widest generality, and yet (as we shall see) expressing its own restriction; we can no more refer it especially to the judges and accusers than to the soldiers who executed their will. The Lord does not indeed *say now* what we have found expressed in the *Σὺ εἶπας*—*thou hast said*—to Judas and Caiaphas; it is not His *will* to exclude and except those who *knew*, but He commits all to Him who judgeth righteously. He closes His word, however, in such a manner, that it prays for the forgiveness of those sins only which were capable of forgiveness: not for the sin unto death, 1 John v. 16.

What they *do*—this expression, uttered in the present between the past and the future, embraces assuredly all sin of all sinners, which is seized in its central manifestation in the crucifixion of the Son of God: thus the sins which preceded this intercession, and the sins which followed it. The intercession looks back upon all that had brought them to the point of crucifying Him, and forward to all that would thereafter be

done in continuation of that act. "The word of this intercession stretches out two arms; the one, to atone for all the sins which had gone before, the other, to atone for all the sins which should follow." This is certainly true; but we further ask—Is *all*, can *all*, be forgiven which *all* do, have done, or will do? and must answer *No*; for the intercessory word, while it gives us the ground of this reconciliation, gives us its *limit* likewise.

The first and proper *objective ground* of all possible, and therefore actual, reconciliation was unexpressed and only *intimated* in the appeal to the *Father*; if we bring it into completeness, it is,—*For* I, the Son, supplicate for them on the same cross on which I am pierced for their sin! But then at once comes out the *limit* of this reconciliation; since a *subjective condition* and consequently a *restriction*, which supposes something different, is expressed *as* the ground. Thus the intercession veils, as much as might be, and gently passes by, the excluded; yet the "*for*" which is the ground of forgiveness, has plainly enough the force of a conditional "*if*." All are meant, concerning whom the all-knowing Son can say, because He knoweth it—that they *know not* what they do. "That does not signify that their ignorance would *deserve* grace; but the reason is derived from their miserable condition." So speaks the Berl. Bible rightly, but not the whole truth; the whole truth would be: *for* it is yet *possible* that forgiveness should be extended to them. *This* alone is the inmost meaning of the reason assigned in the *For*, which has a restricting *If* as its undertone. Indeed the most gracious word of the widest *πάρεως* and most ready *ἄφεως*, which we have here, does not expressly name their *ἀμαρτίαν* or *ἀμαρτία* (as Stephen, Acts vii. 59)—nevertheless *sin* is intended in the word, because *forgiveness*. This word of our Lord, which is so unintelligently and wilfully perverted, is very far from sanctioning that superficial conscience-condemned theory, so ignorant both of *grace* and sin, which derives sin so-called from not knowing simply, and makes it one with ignorance. How often do we hear in various tones the effeminate wail and empty hope of such words as these: "Alas, poor mortals, if they only knew and understood, they would not sin;" that is, in fact, *they do not sin at all*! Then doctrine would be sufficient for their deliverance, and their re-

conciliation with God would consist only in the removal of their error! Oh no, in this pregnant *et* (they know not *what*, how great evil they do) the doing is defined to be sinning.¹ The *erring* sheep (Isa. liii. 6, which passage might well be in our Lord's thought) are at the same time, and notwithstanding, no other than lost, voluntarily and knowingly rebellious, children of their heavenly Father.

The slightest actual *sin* is not committed without a knowledge that we transgress in will; else it would be no sin, and nothing would be *done* that required to be *forgiven*. For all *forgiveness*, prayed-for as yet possible, presupposes two things—a conscious *guilt*, and also an *error* connected with it. Guilt as such lies always in the *evil* will; in mere error there is nothing to-forgive, it is to be pitied and helped; but every moral error has in it guilt, and is rendered guilty by previous sin. Nevertheless, there is on the other hand in every sin which may be forgiven a *not knowing*; from the first “deceiving” of the serpent *down to that limit* where consummate sin finally ends in perfectly conscious wickedness. Such was the condition of all those who were embraced originally in this intercession, from the most unknowing and yet not guiltless soldiers, up to those who had the knowledge in Israel; whose sin was not without blindness, but this blindness again the judicial consequence of their sin; so that Langer may well say, “almost greater than this act of horror (the crucifixion of our Lord) was the guilt out of which it had sprung.” Even for the whole people of Israel, who, invoking blood-guiltiness upon themselves, in a sense “*prayed against* their forgiveness”—the words of Jno. xv. 22-25 avail. But the greater part knew not the essential *what* of their act; they knew it not in its profoundest, fullest meaning. Many brought the sacrifice of fools, and thought they did God service; but knew not the evil which they did, because they knew neither the Father nor Christ. (Eccles. v. 1; Jno. xvi. 3.) Almost all knew the innocent man, the Holy

¹ The usual and well-intended remarks upon our Lord's gentle and gracious apology and excuse, do not apprehend the matter in all its force; for they seize at once upon the Lord's *excusing* words, instead of first penetrating the whole saying in its depths, and then being amazed at the apology which is so wonderfully found in the depths of human sin itself.

One approved of God by signs and wonders ; but only a few *knew* that He *was* Christ the Son of the living God. In fact this last is the great point in the not-knowing *what* they do ; for the Lord's concealed meaning is—They knew not to *Whom* they do this ! Is it not so even in our own day with many whom we should regard as exhibiting the full conscious and malignant contradiction of perfect wickedness, but in whom the Searcher of hearts sees something different ? He sees error, and therefore room for an offered and afterwards received forgiveness, here in the most awful outburst of human sin, before which our thoughts are lost in amazement. “Awful, that they know not what they do ! Incomprehensible, that they know it not ! Yet they really know it not. This judgment of the dying Lord sprang not from His sparing them, but from His knowledge.” So Dräseke ; and Rambach is not merely more plain but more profound : “In this the Son of God exhibited a *master-stroke* of His love ; for He makes that which might have been matter of accusation (for their ignorance was unjustifiable) matter of *excuse*.” The *law* of God knows nothing of the plea—I knew it not ; but His *grace* judgeth otherwise. Christ on the cross knows that these blinded sinners themselves pray not for forgiveness ; therefore He prays in His compassion for them ; places Himself in their persons, and speaks on their behalf, that they may be encouraged to come to the “Father” through Him. Augustine : “Mercy prayed, that misery might pray ; the Physician prayed, that the sick might pray ; the Judge, willing to be merciful, prayed, that the guilty might plead to be spared.”

Wide, very wide, does this appealing intercession, with its gracious excuse, extend its arms over all sinners, and all sins in which error may yet be alleged. We may further say with Lange : “It availed for the individuals who were guilty *in proportion* as they in fact did not know what they did.” But we should be in error if we continued, as he does : “no man, however, could altogether know. For how could sin be clearly conscious of itself ?” This double position, which denies the possibility of any such actual and full knowledge, and therefore denies the existence of any such as could be excluded from the intercession, not merely in the actual history of the text, but

generally and unconditionally, is *false*; for it misapprehends the abysmal nature of sin, the error of which must finally, unless kept back, end in the abyss (by the *fire* sufficiently enlightened); and contradicts the Scripture, especially all that we have discovered in it (vol. ii.) concerning the unpardonable sin. It may be enough to refer to our exposition there. The Lord would not have added His *οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν, they know not, if that were understood of itself touching all sin*, and if there were not, beyond their limit, an *οἶδασιν* to be attributed to others who were not included in this *αὐτοῖς*. There is a sin unto death, for which no prayer is to be offered; this was committed by Judas at least, probably by Caiaphas and others, and may have been committed oftentimes since, where the knowing has been directly within the spirit's reach. Compare also what we have said upon Lu. xxii. 53 (in this volume) concerning the judgment upon this question in the Acts; and understand by that the similar limitation in 1 Cor. ii. 8. The sin of *man*, deceived by the serpent, may as such be called that of ignorance, and find a sacrifice; hence the expression in Heb. ix. 7. The sin of the *devil* knows well what its aim is and what it does. Finally, those who have become altogether the devil's among men, equally know; they are therefore, and must ever be, his portion.

Finally, we must not overlook what is intimated by this ignorance admitted in the first word from the cross:—that on that account a salutary knowledge, and confession of *repentance*, still remains possible; that *this* is doubtless presupposed as the condition of forgiveness; yea, for many here referred to, is in a certain sense foredeclared and prophesied. Otherwise, this intercession of grace would supplicate forgiveness generally and unconditionally, in direct contradiction to the whole of Scripture, which everywhere demands the strictest repentance of every, the least, sin, in order to its being forgiven. See simply Lu. xxiv. 47. Out of repentance alone rises faith; but *repentance and faith* are everywhere inseparable and indispensable, where forgiveness is to be enjoyed. The apostolical preaching has no other law; were it otherwise, that preaching would be as it were useless after this redeeming intercession! That is a miserable perversion of this sacred word which regards the petition for forgiveness, obviously presupposing the conditions

of that forgiveness, as an unconditional *assurance* and bestowment of it. The Lord is merciful, but He says—Acknowledge thine iniquity! (Jer. iii. 13.) When the sinner's eyes are opened (Acts xxvi. 18) to see his former sin, *then* he knows *what* he has done, but now ceases to do, otherwise than he had ever known before; then first repentance speaks with a new and full perception of the word—I have *sinned*. This knowledge, however, becomes the further knowledge—I have crucified Thee, my Lord and my God; I have made Thee to serve and wearied Thee! (Isa. xliii. 24.) Thus the fulfilment of the “*forgive them*” lies in the *future*; when they attain to a penitent knowledge, who now know not what they do. Their present not-knowing makes their future forgiveness possible, *because* there is yet possible an opening of their eyes unto conversion; and *as long as* such a future is before them as possible, the intercession of Jesus avails and exerts its influence.¹ The same supplication therefore cries at the same time to the Father—*Bring them to this knowledge!* Give them space, and give them motive to repent! But, again, as is obvious—*If they may receive it.* (2 Tim. ii. 25, 26.) The calling to mind this word concerning a forgiveness, even then prepared, was helpful to the *repentance* of many even then; and certainly of many under subsequent apostolical preaching. For, it was instrumental in producing trust and confidence in that grace which had regarded the ignorance in the sin which they had hitherto committed. But without such confidence the first beginnings of repentance are not possible. This saving return to God may often take place long afterwards; and therefore the “*Forgive them!*” extends far into futurity, through many judgments which precede the last. Yet there remains a limit, and a final judgment of wrath; as Luther, correctly enough at least as to the main point, preaches: “The simple meaning is that the Lord intends to point out *two sorts of sin*; and we should make the distinction. All sins have the sacrifice and intercession of Christ between them and God, and God will not impute them, *if* they are (known and) acknowledged, and the

¹ “Jesus acknowledges in them a certain ignorance, as something which might make them capable of Divine forgiveness, if it should afterwards give place to a knowledge of the truth.” Weiss.

sinner's faith rests upon the High Priest, with His sacrifice and intercession upon the cross. But *those sins* which fight against grace and will not know that they are such, such as those of the thief on the left hand and the blasphemers of the high priests, are not included in this intercession of Christ. There is a great difference between the sin which man acknowledges to be sin (how great sin it *has been*) and the sin which man will not know (wilfully refuses, though he knows it to be such, to acknowledge it in penitence)." Thus, how loudly does the Lord here call upon the sinner to seek the true knowledge of repentance; and at the same time what a *warning* is contained in His encouraging word! For, there is no such thing as standing still in a career of sin; a man does not become more and more *ignorant* of what he does, and therefore more and more worthy of compassion. The tendency of continuance in the works of sin is to make the *knowledge* of it more clear, until, repentance becoming ever more difficult, the point is at last reached of the unpardonable—*They know not what they do!*

Meanwhile let us who have knowledge, penitence, and faith, make the Lord's word our example, in praying for those who know not what they do. His word denounces for ever all that Christian Pharisaism which would uncharitably condemn and pass by others in their sin. It is true that we have the saying of 1 Jno. v. 16; but it is not expressly said there—If any man see his brother sin *a sin which is unto death*. For we may indeed see with increasing clearness our own sin; but very seldom *can we see*—what the Searcher of hearts on the cross would not, as it were, see, and omitted to speak of—that this man or that knows fully what he does. Stephen makes the *last* word of the cross his first *dying* word—that is now obtained for us as our privilege; but he also makes the *first* word of Jesus on the cross his own *last* word in *death*—and that is thereby commended to our imitation.

SECOND WORD FROM THE CROSS.

(Lu. xxiii. 43.)

What was the influence of the first word of the Crucified upon the sinners who heard it, and for what did it pave the way? It wrought, probably, repentance in some; in still more it distantly prepared for it; but the greatest part, and among them many who were afterwards converted, were for the present only moved to more excited energy of evil in word and act. The internal history of the hearts around Golgotha remains hidden from us; but their external course of conduct is recorded in a manner so impressive as to furnish more for our exposition than it can ever penetrate and interpret. According to the connection of the narrative in St Luke, that mockery now follows which led to the railing blasphemy of the one malefactor, and the prayer of the other. The promise to this latter of entrance into Paradise is therefore obviously the second word on the cross. Rambach says of this order: "The first was a word of intercession, the second a word of promise. The first prays for a term of repentance and grace: the second throws open the door of grace to a great sinner. The first has for its end justification, the second glorification; the first has to do with the kingdom of grace, the second with the kingdom of glory. In the first our Lord executed His High-priestly function, in an intercession founded upon His sacrificial death; in the second He anticipates His kingly office and act, and at the very moment when His kingly office was subjected to most supreme contempt." But, in order to understand the answer given to the thief, we must first study carefully his request; and that again will require us to expound the scene of mockery which gave rise to it.

And the people stood beholding. This mere contemplation involved a perilous stillness, which, to the consciences of the rulers, the real enemies and crucifiers of Christ, was insupportable:—for much worse might arise out of it. Then began these *rulers* their mockery, to clear the stifling air, and deafen the voice which was stirring even in themselves. The *ῥοιῶες*

δὲ καί, *also with them*, Matt. xxvii. 41 and Mark xv. 31, does not refer simply to the time, but intimates an entire forgetfulness and throwing aside of their dignity on the part of these great ones; and St Luke also in ver. 35 plainly records that the rulers began the mockery; for, "with them" is rightly expounded by Bengel with reference to vers. 33, 34—"with those who had crucified Him." It points us partly to the mockery in the hall of judgment, and partly to the railing spirit and words of the soldiers who had just accomplished the act; and tells us that even the *rulers* reduced themselves to a level with the lowest and meanest of the Gentiles—and that they also crucified Christ, at least with their words. (Heb. vi. 6.) There is a holy derision in the mouth of God, and of Christ, and of holy men, which unites the purest truth with the keenest love; but the mockery of the ungodly against truth and love is fearfully godless, and all the more fearful here as being the first effect and answer which the intercessory word upon the cross produces. "The highest love prays above on the cross for those who stand below; and while that prayer is being uttered (properly, after its utterance), those for whom that intercession is urged are speaking and acting nothing but hatred." (Langer.) That was "the crucifixion of the sacred *soul* of Jesus"—according to the title which Rambach gives his sermon upon it: these were the nails which went through His heart.

The mockery of the rulers, and presently afterwards of the people, was given-vent-to partly as a needful protest against and suppression of any favourable feeling towards Jesus, and still more as a protest against the first mockery of the Gentiles as directed against this "King of the Jews:"—for they could contradict this only by joining in it. Thus the malignity of Gentiles and Jews, though mutually contradicting, is united in its outburst against the Man upon the cross. "Have we not long ago said that he was a deceiver?" Thus their words begin, and then continue—"Behold, also, how he is brought to confusion as the pretended Messiah!" He had in the sublimest and most affecting manner directed their thoughts away from Himself to their own state, and to the guilt of their own deed, which yet might be forgiven. But they will hear nothing of themselves, or of their own forgiveness; all their thought is

against Him, and they continue what they have begun. All cry at once, *Save thyself!* and go still further, *If thou be the Son of God*—just as in the first temptation of Satan, which now recurs in its perfect consummation. One after the other ventures to bring forward his own keen railery; even *passing by* with wagging of head and blasphemy, no longer standing still as before! The first daring word addressed to the Lord Himself (with an *Ah, Oὐά*, Mark xv. 29) came doubtless from among the rulers; for it brings forward again the charge concerning the temple, but at the same time *betrays* in its passion an almost correct understanding of its true meaning. (Build then the temple again—*It is in the way of being destroyed now!*) The same rulers who had first decreed—He is not Christ, as he said, and *therefore* he must die! now say in their mockery—He dies and *therefore* he is not Christ! “This is the helper of all men”—with a tone as if throwing doubt upon all His miracles; this at least was the design, but in the confusion of their tongues it runs as an enforced acknowledgment—*He saved others!* and so not only His love but His perfect faith is extorted from their admission—*He trusted in God!* Taken together these are their testimony to His pure devotion and unselfish charity to man. He must come down from the cross to save *Himself*:—thus speaks *selfishness* which knows of nothing but take care of *thyself* (*Aide toi-même*); and thus speaks *unbelief*, *Take care of thyself* (*Aide toi-même*) if thou canst! They know not now what they *say*; they know not that He had ascended the cross, in order to save others with an eternal salvation. But that even the high priests and scribes mock His admitted “trust in God,” as now put to confusion, betrays the inmost wickedness of their hearts, for thus they really blaspheme God Himself in Christ. Finally, when they, according to Matt. xxvii. 43 (either ignorantly, or in their customary manner of perverting holy words into proverbs), speak in the language of Ps. xxii., this their mockery becomes a witness to truth, in His favour, and against their own sin.

Thus, Gentiles and Jews, rulers and common people, those who were standing there and such as passed by, all join in derision—and with them even those murderers who were also crucified, at least one of them. What Matt. calls *ὁνειδίζεν*,

Λυ. βλασφημεῖν, must have been, according to these emphatic expressions, no less than *mockery* too. Thus it was not, as Krummacher thinks, that the reviling thief might have made a despairing attempt to touch the Lord's honour, thinking of the possibility that He might yet save Himself and them, if He only would! Oh no, *this one* had received no such influence from the Man by his side, and the meaning of his word is altogether different. Nor was it "in the intoxication of frenzy," after having received the stupifying draught, but, more correctly, it was partly in the "madness of anguish," and partly through the excitement of the mockery raging around, which he would imitate. It is with a side-glance of wretched vanity upon the multitude (I can mock too!)—using the tongue which alone is now in his power—without any emotion of penitence, but with a shameful joy that this insurgent against the powers of the world is now also like himself—that he utters his cry, *Save thyself and us!* Thou wast one of us—Canst thou do anything now for us? We hold with thee still, and are thy first dependents! What intensity of wickedness! What depth of shame for Jesus Himself!

The daring man had thought to excite general derision, and thus to perform a great exploit—but it is otherwise. He had been bold to speak in the name of his crucified companion, as well as his own—*Save thyself and us!* But before any one has time to laugh, this other crucified one protests with all his might against any such fellowship with those who fear not God.¹ One malefactor begins to preach to the other! Still

¹ Was he a *Gentile*, in opposition to the Jew who had spoken of "Christ?" An anonymous writer finds in his words and those of Zaccheus the purest Greek in all the gospels! Bengel regarded him as a Gentile, but incorrectly. For this malefactor on the cross, and the Roman centurion afterwards, represent together the confessors from the Jewish and Gentile world; the former, especially, the remnant of the Jews saved in the impending judgment. The Lord would scarcely have spoken of *Paradise* to a Gentile. Bengel's ingenuity hides a double error. When he says, "He alludes not to the promises given to the Father, but the original Paradise," we must reply that the Gentile could not have known anything about that. When he goes on, "Nor is there any obstacle in his speaking of the one God; for faith in *Christ* infers faith in *one God*"—we cannot admit this. Rambach more correctly remarks that both belonged to the seditious Jews mentioned in Mark xv. 7. But we shall meet this question again.

more, a fellow-crucified begins to bear witness to the honour, dignity, and power of the crucified Just One. In the midst of the mockery of blackest hell, a lightning flash of faith and confession to the truth breaks forth; and it is as a peal of thunder to all hearts and consciences around. "One who was cast out from the society of men was the first and only one who was penetrated by the truth and glory of Jesus, and bore a free and artless testimony in His behalf." "Such a testimony of one dying in deep anguish through his own sin is not to be despised." Let us observe, once more, the most wonderful mingling of honour and indignity, of confessing truth and mocking lie: one crucified with Him is the only one who now confesses that Jesus is king—but what power has the honour paid to Truth in *such* a confession as this! Luther: "This is a comfortable symbol and example for all Christendom, that God will never let faith in Christ and the confession of His name go down. If the disciples as a body, and those who were otherwise related to Jesus, confess not and lose their faith, deny Him in fear, are offended, and forsake Him—a malefactor or murderer must come forward to confess Him, to preach Him to others, and teach all men who He is, and what consolation all may find in Him."

Long had the penitent hanging upon the cross kept silence, while hearing the general mockery; his indignation was not expressed until his companion included him in the "us." He was then compelled to rebuke him by a word which came from his deepest soul: Dost not thou—even thou not yet—fear God? The *οὐδέ* condemns at the same time all the rest; the inference from his words was, Hast thou not yet *learned* it (like me) upon thy cross? The *ὅτι* is not to be taken simply for *quavis*, in favour of which probably Acts i. 17, though not Jno. viii. 45, may be compared; but it is to be filled up thus—Dost thou not fear God, *as thou oughtest to do, since—?* (Bengel: *because—* seeing that this should be a reason for fearing Him.) Then follows his beautiful confession: in which he first places himself on a level with the rebuked malefactor by "we," that he may then set over against the daring "*save us*" of his fellow a better word, spoken to his conscience and soul; and then vindicate the Righteous One from the appearance of *the same condemnation*.

and then, finally, speak to Jesus otherwise and more becomingly on his own behalf. He thinks of himself at last; not till he had rebuked his companion, and acknowledged the Just One.

But now, too, what a contrast between this petition and that derision! Arndt: "Unbelief mocks, faith prays." The *Remember me* is really a word of prayer; as in Nehem. xiii. 14, 22, 31, v. 19, and often in the Psalms spoken to God, besides Ps. xxv. 7, which has been referred to. It is *not merely* parallel with the request of Joseph, Gen. xl. 14, comp. Ecclus. xxxvii. 6; or used in the sense in which among the Jews survivors commended themselves to the intercession of the departing for admission into Paradise—though the incorrigible arch-Catholic Sepp finds here the doctrine of the intercession of the saints! But the *κύριε, Lord*, in connection with the *kingdom*, gives full evidence that the thief thought more highly than this concerning Jesus. This *remember me* includes, first and before all, a supplication for a *forgiveness* to be obtained from God His Father for him; and is as such connected with the intercession of Jesus, which here will be followed by its first anticipatory fruit. But then, still bolder, he continues, not indeed to say it openly but to hint it, that he himself would fain after his forgiveness enter *into the kingdom* of this Divine Ruler—Remember me as thy subject! "the firm conviction of the dying man as to the immortality of his soul," on which Niemeyer lays such stress, is the least thing, and is self-understood. His faith presses far beyond this! Luther's translation is, alas, very incorrect and misleading; its meaning being—When thou comest *into Thy kingdom*: he follows the Vulg., and many persist in maintaining that *ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ* is to be explained as *εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν*. This is not the meaning, even as understood, with de Wette and Neander, "to found and establish Thy kingdom upon earth." But, as he sees Jesus patiently *dying* upon the cross, he means by the *coming* a *coming again*; and that, in opposition to His present lowliness, *with His power and glory*. Thus it is—In Thy self-manifesting kingly power, as King. (Comp. Matt. xvi. 28): not, certainly, When Thou comest into Thy heavenly kingdom, to God Thy Father. What kind of king of the Jews He is *not*—that He is not a king in the carnal sense of Jewish expectation—is made plain to the malefactor, and to all the world, by the cruci-

fixion ; but this thief is not, like the other,¹ offended at this ; he understands, what Pilate would not understand, that He is nevertheless a King ; and that He will in His time reveal His heavenly, spiritual, kingdom upon earth, as a kingdom coming with His own person. Thus He declares firmly His knowledge and conviction—*He can and will save both Himself and others !* He puts his confidence in this Dying One, whose last garment is taken from Him, and whose kingdom visible among men is now given up finally, that He will nevertheless appear as a King in His glory. Thus he reads—“ with Divine clear-sightedness in this deepest night ” (Krummacher)—the superscription aright, as if he had heard the confessions made before Caiaphas and Pilate ; with astounding faith, in the face of the whole mocking world,² he looks forward into the kingdom of this Crucified One by his side who was scorned by all men ; and becomes an Apostle of His honour, while His own Apostles are oppressed in silent despondency. To such far-seeing clearness of spiritual apprehension can fundamental penitence purge the eyes !

To all that had preceded, the Lord—*hearing* all, however, as we now see—had kept silence ; but He cannot keep silence now, He must *speak* once more ! Not like any feeble son of man, involved in himself and thinking only of his own pain, does He hang upon the cross ; but His open love and sympathy are ready for all, even the most fearful, expressions which these sinners, whom He redeems, cause Him to hear. Probably He cannot see these two criminals, cannot direct His glance to this last, without adding to His own agony by movement upon the cross. But that He forgets, and turns with an impulse of joy, as well as He can, to the soul that speaks to Him—thus making the nails more firm. (Pfenninger.) How *could* He keep silence, He whose heart never received supplication in vain ? “ Hatred is silent, and *His love* has the last word.” Still more, it is not merely in His love to the miserable, but in His *joy* over this word of penitence and faith, that He gives answer. “ No

¹ Who *probably*, as Lange says, though without direct support from the text, had hoped in Jesus as the Jewish Messiah.

² “ This thief would fill a conspicuous place in a list of the triumphs of faith supplementary to Heb. xi.” (Alford.)

strengthening angel from heaven could have been more welcome" — says Arndt with deep feeling. That He can already assure and impart to this first-born the fruit of His now-accomplished redemption, is (as the commencement of Jno. xii. 32) His last human joy and first full Saviour-joy upon the earth, in which *He Himself* has the foretaste of Paradise in the midst of the *ὁμολογία τοῦ κλήματος*. He therefore begins with His sacred *Amen*, as in former days; and Pfenninger touchingly remarks that this would in a moment recall to the disciples, in the midst of their sorrow, His former "Verily, verily, I say unto you." "In this word," says Lange, with equal beauty, "all is *certainly*: the trust in the reality of the penitence of the thief; his merciful acceptance; the assurance of his continuing to live; the promise of his future union with Jesus; the instant fulfilment of all his wishes on the same day; the pledge of his elevation to heaven." To the last expression "heaven" we shall find some objection presently; but the first point, the trust in the earnestness (as to his repentance and as to his faith) of the thief, must have its counterpart in this, that Christ first by His "*verily*" strengthened the faith of this believer into perfection.¹

Let it be observed how definitely the Lord replies to *all* that he said, and gives assurance in each case of more than was asked for; promising abundantly more than even this bold petitioner could ask or conceive. For—"He directs His words in His sympathy to the sore conflict of faith which this poor sinner had *still before him*; for he makes everything more definite than his humble request had ventured to do." (Rieger.) The appeal cried—*Lord!* therefore He says, *Verily I*, this Lord, say unto thee. *Remember me!* this also is surpassed—Thou shalt *be with Me!* instead of the mere remembrance, perfect fellowship and communion is promised. *When Thou one day* shalt come in Thy kingdom: in opposition to this indefinite futurity, we hear—*To-day!* This last declaration also surpasses the request, since it places a condition of blessed satisfaction for the malefactor in the place of the kingly authority of Jesus; yet there is on the other hand something in the *to-day* which corrects and restricts the indistinct notion of his petition:—Not at once

¹ As Rambach says that "He must strengthen by His *verily* the soul which, with all its first strong faith, still needed the *strong consolation*."

into the *kingdom*, but first into *Paradise*. For up to this time the Lord's clear glance into all the relations and stages of the way which He Himself would go, and in which He would lead His people, had not yet been obscured, as it afterwards was in the final darkness of His soul.

The word concerning *Paradise*, and that concerning the *forgiveness of sins*, are closely connected; though the connection does not exhibit itself in the expression. As the prayer did not first expressly ask forgiveness, while yet this lay in the background of the supplication, so the assurance of the corresponding answer leaves it unexpressed (though the intercession for all sinners coming to repentance had just preceded), but thereby gives the fullest promise of a presupposed pardon. "All who are cast out of the Paradise lost, are attracted by the inscription over the way—Forgiveness of sins. He who can make this word his own, is on the way to Paradise. Without forgiveness of sins Paradise would be hell. *Through* the forgiveness of sins—were that possible there—hell would be Paradise. Therefore, the Redeemer's word, To-day thou shalt be with Me in Paradise, is only another form of the consolation—Be of good cheer, My son, thy sins be forgiven thee!" (Langer.)

The Berlenb. Bible says: "Here we must not play with the shell, but go to the kernel." We add: The kernel of the word is, first, the plain declaration—Thou shalt *be with Me!* But, secondly, the sweet kernel of the word "Paradise"—which, with the to-day, has always been a hard nut to expositors—is the promise of *blessedness*. The Lord obviously chooses this expression, in order, both for the thief *and for Himself*, to place in opposition to present anguish the thought of *rest* and *joy*; graciously promising the *peace* after and as springing out of the present condemnation. But then the expression points still further back and further forward: it says much more than merely—"with the blessed." The confession of the sufferer, "We receive the due reward of our deeds," sounds in the thought of Christ as the universal cry of sinful humanity, with which, therefore, He includes this specific sinner. It was natural and necessary that in the contemplations of His soul He should fix His thoughts upon the loss of Paradise

by the whole race of evil-doers; and upon the tree of the curse remember the tree of life. Proceeding from this He utters His new and independent word: how far His language is connected with *Jewish ideas and expressions* customary at that time, is a question concerning only the *shell* of the ripe and bursting word within, which, however, is itself not to be taken as the kernel! So far back as Ezek. xxviii. 13, xxxi. 8, 9 (and even by hints yet earlier, Isa. li. 3, comp. lviii. 11) we have the beginning in canonical Scripture of the profound phraseology which, referring back to the primitive *בְּעֵץ* and *בְּגִידֵי אֵלֶּיךָ*, speaks of a state of innocence and delight generally, which it was very easy to assign to the blessed as their restored place; comp. ii. Esdras vii. 53, viii. 52. In the Talmud, Paradise is now a place in heaven where souls are gathered together, and now a place where some are caught up in trance (see Buxt. Lex. s. v. *פֶּרֶדִּים*); then, again, it is the region of Hades appointed to the righteous, as Gehenna to the wicked. This last is found expressly in *Chagiga* fol. 15. 1; hence Lutz correctly maintains that the Jewish Eschatology provided a twofold intermediate state—Paradise and Gehenna. From this arose formulas of good-wishing as to a happy death—May his soul be taken to the garden of Eden; may he have his portion in Paradise, etc.; see Grotius on Lu. xxiii. 43. The manifold and, for the most part, vapid teachings of the later Jews concerning Paradise, may be found in Eisenmenger. But how much of this was current in the time of Jesus is very uncertain; and hence we cannot admit at once what Friedlieb says, that Jesus in His word to the malefactor presupposed this predominant view. In the New-Testament writings, not only does Rev. ii. 7 (comp. xxii. 2) confirm the truth of a restoration of "Paradise," but, according to 2 Cor. xii. 4, St Paul was caught up to a Paradise, which is made equivalent in ver. 2 to the "third heaven." This is obviously to be understood on the principle that *now*, after the completed victory of Christ, the true and perfect Paradise can only be *above*; although there may be a lower Paradise for many as a stage of transition. For (as Olshausen rightly remarks) the Jews themselves divided Paradise into the upper and the *under*.

To enter more at large into the whole obscure doctrine of

Hades, and to extract the truth from the mists and perversions which surround it, would carry us too far : we therefore content ourselves with remarking that Christ, before His resurrection, can mean by the *to-day* of His promise only a lower Paradise, the "region of joy in Hades;" and therefore that Lutz is right in asserting an "intermediate state" to be here established. The two things are quite consistent : on the one hand a certain adherence to the current ideas and language ; and, on the other, a new meaning in the significant word, which is not to be explained according to Jewish opinions. In one point of view, Grotius is quite right : "It is not to be doubted that Christ spoke in a manner which would be understood by the thief," and by the *Jews* who already knew something of a Paradise. In another point of view, it is still more certain that on His lips and at this time this important word would receive another and more perfect meaning, as well for all who should afterwards appropriate it, as for him who received it first. It was not without design, that our Lord in the parable of Lazarus spoke only of "Abraham's bosom," and not as the Jews did, proleptically, of "Paradise;" for "it was not till the manifestation of Christ that that resting-place of the faithful dead became *in truth* an abode of the blessed, and changed into Paradise" (Arndt). Now first was *Paradisè* opened by the second Adam (as Chrysostom preached), *the new Paradise founded*, as Lange says (only that the latter, with his "church of spirits" and "spirit-congregation" idealizes too much ; invades the prerogative of heaven ; and leads us away from the obvious sense of the words, as it respects Jesus and the malefactor). Certainly, as "Paradise lost" is a term which expresses and combines all the misery of man, and all his hopes and longings, as they first look backward to what has been forfeited ; so we may say that the promise of Paradise is the greatest which could be given, that is, the most comprehensive ; for all that has been lost, and that has been sighed for with infinite longing, is to be restored to us in glorified form. And so far the established *kingdom* of the consummation, the new earth, as described in Rev. xx., is actually the final, most real, and more-than-restored *Paradise* : consequently this reply to the supplication does most profoundly and internally *surpass it*. But with this is quite consistent the

truth and reality of a condition and place, the rest and joy of which the Lord promises to the penitent *before* His "It is finished!" and for a to-day preceding His resurrection and ascension. Even the entrance at the first into this *lower* Paradise, the type and earnest of the *higher*, as of the last, is a transcendently great blessing for this *malefactor*; whose faith, apprehending the "Father, forgive them!" had secured His justification, so that nothing needed to be said first about that.

The *to-day*, belonging to a time before the Resurrection, proves that the soul may be and will be consciously without the body in a particular place; but much more may be deduced from it. It is by no means right to paraphrase the word as Braune does, making it signify the day which begins with the evening of death and ends with the morning of the resurrection; or, to regard Jesus as meaning simply eternity, which is no other than an absolute present! The simple *to-day* is the rather to be taken in its simple literalness, because it was intended to correspond with, while it surpassed, the hope expressed in the indefinite *when*. But, taking into view the whole doctrine of the descent into hell, as elsewhere taught, we cannot suppress a question of surprise. Was then Christ that day, at first and *immediately* after His dying, in Paradise? Was He in heavenly places, from which He then descended into the kingdom of the dead? Most assuredly not, for in 1 Pet. iii. 18, 19, the descent is placed first; and in John xx. 17 the ascent into heaven has not yet taken place. The word upon the cross does indeed seem to say so, but it only seems to mean this. While indeed an immediate transition into Paradise is promised to the thief, and must be promised to him in order that he may not be below other believers who had entered before, this does not necessarily intimate that Christ went the same way at once. It would then have been—To-day shalt thou enter into Paradise with Me. But Christ, as the vicarious Redeemer, even of the apostates, continued necessarily in His own person the humiliation of death down to the *lowest* regions of death and judgment, in order to conquer there, and thence to ascend again victorious. The note of Meyer, the great authority on this question, must maintain its propriety: "In the abode of joy in Hades, whither the soul of Jesus *after* its descent

into the prison ascended, and remained till the resurrection." Compare the invaluable though too-much-neglected little treatise of Meyer on "Hades,"—where the opinion, originating in ignorance, that Christ first entered Paradise with the malefactor and then went to Gehenna, is called an *entire perversion*, which contradicts alike reason and the doctrine of the Apostle. Lange also so understands it as to say, "Christ's death was necessarily and essentially a triumphal course through the waiting underworld into Paradise:"—only that he does not regard the first Paradise as still belonging to the underworld, and then first by Christ's victory elevated into heaven. The notion that the Paradise meant by Christ was heaven must assume without any good reason that the Jewish thief could already understand His meaning. But to investigate all this would require us to write a treatise on Hades and the Descent. We content ourselves with remarking that this critical *σήμερον*,¹ in as far as it certainly means literally "this day" and contains a *bis dat qui cito dat*, will teach us that in those regions beyond, while on the one hand torments may seem protracted to a thousand years and peaceful enjoyment may continue long without weariness, yet on the other hand we may conceive in spiritual occurrences a very swift *measure of time* in relation to the world above. Hence in the space of time, to us very short, *between His own and the malefactor's death*, Christ might perform His great work in the lower parts of the underworld, and yet be in Paradise on the same day.

This *to-day* predicts, at the same time, that although other crucified ones lived longer, the death of the Lord was near; and it promises the like to the malefactor, as the shortening of his sufferings. So far it is a strengthening of the *Verily*, a confirmation of his assurance by declaring its immediate nearness.

But now let us single out and mark carefully the *μετ' ἐμοῦ*

¹ By many, to extricate themselves from all difficulty, connected with *I say unto thee*, though Christ never used such an expression as—*I say unto thee to-day!* Olshausen almost ridicules this superficial view, according to which our Lord would tell him, "I to-day say unto thee that thou shalt one day enter Paradise, God will yet save thee!" Notwithstanding, the *Evangel.* Nicodemus (cap. 26) actually reads *σήμερον λέγω σοι*; and Theophylact mentions, only to reject, such a punctuation in his time.

ἐσθ—*with Me*; and first of all *with Me*, as *through Me*. For without Him there is no fully re-opened Paradise; from Him and His forerunning entrance, in the virtue of His merit, comes all salvation into life, even though, in the case of the Old-Testament saints who entered into the place of peace, that salvation may have gone before in time. Similarly, again, true and perfect blessedness consists in nothing but the fellowship of Jesus, in *being with Him*. And thus the promise passes onward beyond the lower into the upper Paradise, and gives us to meditate upon that which in John xvii. 24 is made prominent as the highest bliss: Thou shalt be *to-day already*—and then further with Me everywhere where I am and shall be! In *this* more plainly than in the *Paradise* lies the transcendency of the assurance, of which we may say—More He could not promise! This is His *remembering us*! All sinners crucified with Him, but who call upon Him in faith, He takes with Him, in the way of life which was opened up for Himself, to the fulness of joy. (Ps. xvi. 11.) Whether this is to be interpreted that we *all*, like Him, must go, although only in passing, through the fearful deep, and that He thus leads His people to Paradise—is very much to be doubted. Some would admit this as it regards the malefactor before us,¹ when the suddenness of his conversion is urged. But it appears clear that the word of Christ abolishes the Hades of torment *from this time forward*, from the period of His death and victory, as it respects all the believers of the New Testament; and that He here assures them, in this their first representative, of that instant presence with Christ which afterwards in Phil. i. 23 means still more.² And so far Neander's remark is quite correct, that this answer of Christ "contradicted the common Jewish views"—though in a sense probably far beyond what he intended. The sinner is accepted and taken to blessedness "without any further condition, and without the test of perseverance" (Lange); and this is the "first manifestation of

¹ As Meyer elsewhere expresses himself to the effect that he probably went down with Christ to the lower parts of the earth—that is, thus accompanying the Lord throughout His whole course, and in this sense being with Him (?).

² "Thus it is the state of blessedness, *immediately after death*, of those who die in the Lord; Paradise in conscious union and fellowship with Christ."

that limitless glory of grace which now began its dominion in the death of the cross." This word therefore decidedly witnesses (as does the whole Scripture) against any intermediate sleep of the soul; and most decidedly against every Romanist return to the Old-Testament position: it allows no place, at least as it regards such penitent believers as this man was, for any still needful purgatory, or intermediate process of purification or instruction. (What truth may be in this as it respects those who had not reached this point, but yet were not ripe for hell—that is, the unbelievers up to that period—is altogether another question.)

Thus Golgotha has become an absolving judgment-seat, and the stake of the cross a throne of grace, from which the Dying One promises to the dying paradisaical life. In its *most general* meaning it has this gracious application for us all: and we may cry—Hear, O Israel! Hear, O world! Before the justifying, sanctifying, and glorifying grace of God, one final look of perfect faith is of as much avail as the lifelong evidence and exercise of faith in good works which the same grace might enable others to exhibit. "Only a poor *Remember me!* is all that we can do; he who can utter this aright may be fully assured of the whole blessedness of salvation." And in this sense every deathbed of Christians is the cross of the malefactor, from which he turns his supplicating eye to the cross of his Lord; and every one who dies happy in the Lord is like him who is here finally accepted. Yet we must, in order to a complete exposition, mark now the *specific* application of the whole to that *repentance* of which this malefactor's is the type.

It is not an empty and feeble sigh of final appeal which ever obtains such an answer; this penitent supplicant himself teaches us otherwise, for his was of a very different kind. Even if we assume that he thus suddenly and vehemently laid hold of the consolation because grace was offered him now for the first time—even then he would be a warning to all who wilfully reject such offers of grace. But that is a very improbable assumption; he exhibits too much knowledge, and witnesses too sound a confession for such a supposition. But how and to what extent had he been previously prepared for it? Had he already repented in his imprisonment, and then turned his thoughts to the

Nazarene whom he had known, but hitherto despised, and whose crucifixion now rendered keener the sting which his conscience had already felt? Possibly, but we cannot tell. It may be that it was the "Father, forgive them!" joined with the superscription on the cross, which first awakened and instructed him; or the words spoken in the way concerning judgment and the dry tree had fixed the first impression upon his heart. But at any rate *his words* teach us this—and it should save his example from being unhappily perverted by any—that he did not suddenly change his mind, after having joined the other malefactor in his blasphemy. This last supposition was indeed advanced by Ambrose, "Probably this thief blasphemed like the other, but was suddenly converted;" and has been defended by Lange.¹ But it may lead to dangerous consequences,² and is exegetically unsound. For, first, it is not necessary to assume that (according to Matt. and Mark) both at first reviled Christ, and that then (according to Lu.) one of them came to a better mind; but St Luke expressly records that only one blasphemed, and consequently the undistinguishing language of the two other Evangelists must be interpreted accordingly. Secondly, this is confirmed by the character of the rebuke which the penitent uttered; for in the *Οὐδὲ σὺ*, as we have seen, he expresses a displeasure which he had felt for some time, but which he had *restrained*; and, moreover, his words contain more than could have originated at the moment. Hence it is time for us now to look steadily at this point, that we may clearly apprehend the conditions under which the gracious word of our Lord was spoken.

The malefactor exhibits not only the fear of God and repentance, but the confession of sin and faith—faith of the strongest kind; he exhibits his penitential love and desire, also, and consequently all that the plan of salvation requires. The tokens

¹ "His conscience was awakened, just at the moment of his last endeavour to find rest in his old manner of life!" But such blasphemy was no seeking rest. And, again, "this very last error would hasten his conversion!" But this at such a time is psychologically unimaginable. Nor is there much significance in the distinction between *ἀντιδίκον* as to both, and *ἑβλασφῆμαι* as to the one.

² Zinzendorf: "Had he not blasphemed, who knows if He would have converted him; had he not blasphemed upon the cross, who knows if his hard heart would have been broken!"

of the fundamental reality of his late conversion are neither insufficient nor doubtful. Langer's sermon gives full prominence to the *fear* of God as the first condition on which all else might be founded, even where no love had been shown, in a soul at least which was not altogether hardened; as well as to his confession of sin, his unrepining acceptance of his punishment, his susceptibility for the acknowledgment of the righteousness of Him who was crucified near him, and his glimmering hope in a victorious kingdom of grace. But this last is far from acknowledging the strong *faith* and desire which was in his soul. His admission of the *justice of his punishment*, and his most public confession in the face of death—"we receive the righteous award of our deeds"—sprang from the most fundamental repentance, a repentance which was not that of the moment; and it is a pattern confession for all mankind, for *every one* on his cross, in his death! But now we must add the equally strong confession of his bold *faith*, as expressed in a double sentence, which testifies not only the *innocence* but also the *kingly authority* of Christ. His faith penetrates through the semblance of "the same condemnation," and retracts it at once as regards Christ: he believes in the Crucified One as the Righteous, the Ruler, and the Helper, to whom his whole soul turns!¹ We may regard it as certain that it was not the superscription of the cross which told him of the *kingdom* of this Jesus (this would be too direct and immediate); but that he had in earlier times known concerning Jesus, and "now believed what he had once heard about Him, or from Him." We may doubt whether "he felt and believed the Divinity of Christ," as it respects his developed

¹ In *εὐδία δόξης* (which indeed, according to Hesych., may be equivalent to *καμπός, ἀλεξρός*, comp. Prov. xxx. 20; Job xxvii. 6, xxxiv. 12, Sept.) there lies a specific meaning, as the unwontedness of the word intimates, which may be seen in 2 Thess. iii. 2; it already refers to the "kingdom" of this King of the Jews, and in the mouth of this *insurgent* would have some such significance as Rieger gives it. This crucified man had also been zealous for Jewish freedom; but now he sees "for what a miserable kingdom he had contended—how rash and wretched had been all his way in the world." But, on the other hand, he glories in the Lord Jesus: "This man has not aimed at His kingdom in such a lawless way as we have done in our blindness." It was his protest against His condemnation—His wishing to be king was no *ἀλογος*, no *ineptia*.

consciousness; but this was implicitly at least involved in his faith, and Bengel's note is correct, "Not even the Apostles had such pure views of the kingdom of Christ." His bold and clear faith, as he here avows it, is so great, notwithstanding all that prepared and assisted it, that he may himself be reckoned "among the *miracles* which occurred during the passion and death of our Lord. The darkening of the sun, the earthquake, the opening of the graves, the rending of the rocks, were not greater miracles than the strong faith of this malefactor!" (Spener.) Finally, let it not be overlooked, that the first fruit of repentance and faith is seen in the exhibition of charity which precedes; for what but the love of pity to his comrade, in connection with and in his zeal for the fear and honour of God, inspired his mind with the thought of rebuking him? It is true that no one enters Paradise without holiness, but this malefactor was sanctified too. In truth, this one *good word* weighs as much as many good works before God, if not more; for goodness as well as sin is estimated by Him independently of its acts in continuance. It included all that the most rigorous preaching should desire in order to a happy death:—humble reverence before God, knowledge and confession of sin, expression of faith in redeeming grace and in the Redeemer, the prayer which seeks salvation, zeal to bear witness for the truth, and zealous love in preaching to others. As some one says: "From a robber he becomes a teacher of righteousness!" Thus this forgiven sinner is, as Niemeyer terms him, "one of the most elevated characters in the New Testament." His acceptance was not only a perfect justification by faith alone, but—in opposition to the perversion of this "alone"—it was at the same time a quickly-accomplished new birth unto holiness. His *cross* was to him in swift succession—first, a deserved punishment; then a wholesome discipline which taught him with the fear of God¹ all wisdom; and, lastly, the way to salvation and glory.

All this will more than sufficiently counteract the perversion of this word of Jesus, and the false hope derived from it by those who are not what this malefactor was. We are all sinners together, like the two by the side of Jesus; we belong to the

¹ It is from his own inmost experience that he says, *φρὸν τὸν θεόν, ὅτι*—a fresh reason for giving a causal meaning to *ὅτι*.

we, of whom the penitent first of all speaks. We cannot indeed be converted too late, as it regards the mercy of the Lord; but we cannot turn too soon, as it regards our sin, which so swiftly hastens to obduration.¹ For *warning* therefore the other thief hangs on the other side; who, with death in his bones, blasphemes, and “rushes to hell because he believes not in hell”—because there is in him no *fear* of the judgment of God. But why is he, and does he continue, so blind and so hard? Wherefore is this *saving* on the part of *Christ* only matter of mockery, down to the moment when all salvation is shut out? He blasphemes the Lord on the stake of his crimes, just as others do, equally hardened, who lie on their soft deathbeds² proclaiming the complacent ἐπαύξαμεν of their good works! Or who despond and despair because they can no longer believe, and God’s righteous judgment even takes from them the wholesome cross upon earth, reserving them for eternal pain! Vischer: “He would be an arrant fool who, because he saw a man fall many fathoms without breaking neck or limb, should straightway imitate him. But such leaps are dubious; the coming down is often woeful, and there is not always a sound getting up again.” Yes, verily; and who would stake his soul upon the contingency that one out of a thousand so narrowly escapes the abyss?

Concerning the other malefactor the Lord is silent, and gives his scornful *save* no answer:—this says enough. Did the accepted one speak no word, return no thanksgiving to the Lord? Possibly he did, though it is not recorded; it is indeed probable that his grateful heart could find no word which would suffice for the reply to so great a promise. But it is *not* possible, as Langer says, “that while this gracious declaration was still vibrating in his ears, the angels of God carried him to the company of the blest.”³ For, that would substitute *now* for *to-day*; and then he would have entered Paradise *before* Jesus, instead of entering at the same time *with Him*.

¹ “Ours is only the present moment; and while I maintain that no time is too late for repentance, I only assert that at the moment when grace calls us it is never too late (or too soon).” Theremin.

² Bengel says: “Rare is conversion on a soft bed!”

³ Like the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus, which represents him to have died immediately after the promise.

THIRD WORD FROM THE CROSS.

(Jno. xix. 26, 27.)

We agree with Ebrard in rejecting the hypothesis of Wieseler, that Jesus commended His mother to John only on the ground that John was her nephew, and therefore independently bound to take care of her. We maintain that *because* the care of His mother was left to the free love of John's heart in spiritual relationship, the wife of Zebedee cannot have stood in the relation to Jesus of mother's sister. Consequently, we find in John xix. 25 only the three Marys. "That John does not record the presence of his mother is easily accounted for when he is narrating the Lord's gift of another mother; the mention of his literal mother would have been quite inappropriate." So Ebrard, and Bengel's feeling was equally correct: "John modestly omits his mother, Salome, who however was present." Female love, though in weak vessels, is strongest and most enduring; the women are the last at the cross, and the first at the sepulchre. The oppressed Peter and the other Apostles—John excepted—are only isolated spectators, if at all, from afar. Thomas may have seen the prints of the nails, which he afterwards required to see again, subsequently on the dead body. According to Matt. xxvii. 55, Mark xv. 40, Luke xxiii. 49, the remaining friends, and the women, stood for the most part afar off. But John xix. 25 marks a moment when it became possible for those whom he specially named to draw nearer; for, otherwise, the Lord would not have been able to address to them any *confidential* word. That John himself was there is in ver. 26 mentioned by the way, and as a thing of course; it is probable that he had already attached himself especially to the mother of the Lord, to be near as her stay and protection. *Mater dolorosa* is Mary indeed under the cross, as Simeon had predicted; yet she *stood*, with all her grief, in the strength of faith and love; she *could* thus stand near the cross, not far from the crucifying soldiers! She held her spirit under command, as alone became her dignity and her experience. That which first the Fathers,

and then the series of Catholic writers, describe or invent of the anguish and despair of the Saviour's mother under the cross—even to fainting and convulsions!—has been amply protested against; and especially by Lampe, who, in his suggestive manner, points to the contrast between her firm contemplation of the dishonour done to the ark of God, and the death-pains of the wife of Phinehas, 1 Sam. iv. 19.

St John in ver. 25 intends to intimate by his *εἰστήκεισαν*—*had stood*—that these beloved and loving ones had already stood there some time, waiting for at least a token or glance of His observation, though they might conclude in their hearts that they must not hope for a word. Christ had, in truth, previously cared by His first word for the impenitent, by His second word for the penitent, sinner, before He comes in the third to those related to Him, especially His mother; “from which order of His words we may learn that poor sinners lay nearer the Lord's heart than His personal relatives; and that His great work of saving sinners must first be done, before He could think of the bodily need of His own mother.” Rambach. There is much that is true in this artless meditation; although, when we look deeper, we must remember that Mary herself with John belonged only to that humanity for which, according to its need, the first and the second words were spoken.

The *ἰδών* marks the commencement of our Lord's special observation of the beloved disciples who were waiting in sorrow; there is something unbecoming in the thought that their drawing nearer, now first observed, was the occasion of His speaking. In His supreme collectedness of spirit, and in His undisturbed and unbroken love to them, His glance seeks them out. After He had promised to the thief the consolation of Paradise, He naturally remembers the residue of His disciples who would still remain in the world: should He not care for and comfort them also below? It is especially His mother who now connects His affectionate human spirit with the race of survivors. The burden of the world's redemption with all its increasing horror of sin, lies upon His soul; boundless anticipations, now gradually receding and passing away, of the glory to be obtained (Jno. xvii.) had filled His spirit:—yet He has room still for the exercise of

the minutest care! Nor do we err, if (with many in all ages) we regard it in another point of view. He feels that more awful suffering, the last fearful conflict, draws nigh; He would spare His mother, at least, the sight of this, and therefore provides for her earlier departure from the place. (Bengel: The sword had now pierced the soul of Mary enough: He provides that she should not see His severest sufferings, the darkness, abandonment, and death.) Thus does He close His earthly life—that He may die alone with His God and Father.¹ The first three of the Seven Words were expressions of love towards others; the last four, after the darkness, refer only to Christ Himself.

The word for Mary is certainly not the second in order, as many arrange it. Dräseke strangely expounds: "His heart turns from His murderers; His bruised soul takes refuge, so to speak, with His beloved ones, His mother, and His friends. The transition is made plain by the very *antithesis*." Even then, however, it remains still true, "nothing but benediction!" Blessing to His murderers, blessing to the malefactor! But that the word to the crucified robber follows immediately after that to the crucifiers, has a more appropriate meaning, and is, as we shall see, required by St Luke's record. Least of all can we justify the supposition (of Neander, for example) that the word of provision for His mother was not spoken till after the *Eloi Eloi*; there was no more place then for anything of that kind; there remained then only the swift succession of events, through the thirst, the "Finished," to the death. Bengel (in the Harmony) opposes that close connection of "I thirst" with the word to His mother, which has arisen from a misunderstanding of St John's "after this;" he says that this *μετά τοῦτο* must not be referred to the particular words which were spoken, but to the whole crucifixion to which the Scripture pointed. We shall give presently a different interpretation. The fourth Evangelist here introduces supplementary and fragmentary particulars; and presupposes the darkness and the cry of anguish

¹ Lampe is not correct in including all before the *παρῶν* of ver. 30 under the head of "preparation for His death." That in the Evangelist's sense would apply only to the Testament; and all that followed was itself the conflict and victory of death.

as having taken place at the period alone appropriate to them. According to ver. 35 (as Bengel again remarks) he had returned to the cross,¹ after having led Mary to his home; whence it is to be gathered that she had been led away before the three hours' darkness.

The first and the second word the Lord spoke as a Saviour in his office: He speaks the third primarily as the Son of man, having a mother, and personal obligations to discharge. The word of the Priest and the word of the King are followed by a word of the son and the friend, or, still better, of the Master of the household: for He "remains even unto death most affectionate and gracious in all human relations." (Dietz.)

His mother has naturally a claim to the first word. Yet He addresses her only by *γύναι*,² *woman*, as at the beginning in Cana ch. ii. 4—and as He addresses the Magdalene in ch. xx. 13-15. Lange is quite at fault: "*Woman*, trembling, impotent, dependent nature"—just as he would translate Jno. ii. 4: "Troubled heart of woman!"³ Altogether different is it in its connection *e.g.* in Dio Cassius (why this passage only instead of so many similar?) a *Θάψει ὁ γύναι*—such a subordinate meaning is applicable neither here nor at Cana. Lange's reference to the encouragement spoken to Mary Magdalene is rather specious than solid; we gather, on the other hand, from Jno. iv. 21 (*Woman*, believe me!) and Lu. xxii. 57, that *γύναι* was the general and honourable mode of addressing such as were otherwise unknown, instead of the name or any other designation. This is the fundamental idea here, as at Cana (to which it in a certain sense refers back): it is a general appellation instead of the name of mother; not otherwise than affectionate, yet having a tone of strangeness, and in some degree repellent. But why does He not now call her mother? It has been said, to spare her; that that word might not still further excite her

¹ The only eye-witness among the apostles of Christ's death, while all were witnesses of His resurrection.

² Which St John would make emphatic, probably by the mere *τὴν μητέρα* and again *τῇ μητρὶ* (without *αὐτοῦ*, according to a reading which this makes more probable).

³ There was certainly no *trouble* in her mind then, but strong and premature confidence in miraculous help.

grief over her son upon the cross. It has been also said, in order not to publish the fact of her being His mother, and thus expose her to hostile observation and treatment. There may be something true in both these suppositions; but the chief reason is this, that her relation of mother is now finally abolished and given back. Her person retreats; she is for the last time regarded as mother, in order to be so no longer. This is involved in the words which follow: *Behold thy son!* (I am thy son no longer)—as also in the profound and significant crisis of farewell. The earthly relation, which at Cana might not intrude into His office, is now entirely dissolved: the dying Son of God and Saviour of the world, afterwards exalted, has no longer a *mother* according to the flesh. Mary is not even mentioned in connection with the Resurrection,¹ and there is no account of any special appearance of the Lord for her sake; in Acts i. 14, she appears for the last time as belonging to the little company of the disciples, and to the Church.

Thus we have here once more a testimony against the Romanists' honour of Mary! They are not at a loss, however, for arguments to defend their doctrine; and (as Allioli forgets not to remark) the "holy fathers," and Augustin in particular, serve their purpose by maintaining that *all the children of the Church* were typified in the Apostle John, and that therefore Mary was given as a *mother* to all believers! Quesnel on this passage is still more emphatic: "The holy Virgin has, as it were, the Church's cause laid upon herself, that she may offer up Jesus Christ crucified upon the cross, and herself with Him. The holy Virgin receives as her children all Christians in the person of Saint John. The mother-title of Mary gives us our right and is our justification in putting all our interests into her hands." But how manifestly is this opposed to the expressly tender and personal reference of this legacy; *this* is assuredly the first and obvious meaning, and *all further interpretation must be in harmony with that!* We say with Arndt: "Is not this a most violent perversion of the words of holy Scripture? Does the Lord intend to say to John, She will take the place of a mother to thee? Does He not rather say, Thou shalt take

¹ But the legends of the middle ages tell us of a first visit paid to her by the Risen Lord; fore-announced, too, by Gabriel!

My place and care for her? John was to be the stay of Mary, and not Mary the stay of John. Jesus does not refer John to Mary, but Mary to John. (Therefore does *this* also come first, and the other is added as its corresponding confirmation.) Mary was not to be to the disciple the representative of Jesus, but the disciple was to be to Mary the representative of Jesus. The dependence and need of help was not to be on the side of John, but on that of Mary." As Richter's Family Bible has similarly and more concisely said, "Christ does not refer the caring for His disciples to the offices of Mary, but *conversely*." Another unbiassed interpretation, moreover, according to which Mary does represent in these words the Church, we shall find at the close, when we contemplate the prophetic and typical meaning of the Seven Words together.

That John does not receive any direct appellation, any *ἐταίρε*, *φίλε ἀδελφέ*, or the like, is to be explained at once by the close connection of the sayings as they belong to each other; for him there is nothing repellent or renouncing (as in the *γίναί*), but a new bond which gives to him as a mother the mother of Jesus. The designation by name was here quite needless. There may be assumed, too, a certain concealment from those who stood around and heard; so that no one precisely knew to *whom* the word referred. Both looked up to Him, full of expectation; as soon as He observes and looks directly at them, nothing more was necessary than the gentlest and most confidentially-spoken word; the *Behold* was uttered with a glance which passed from one to the other. The gracious meaning is well brought out by Fikenscher: "Woman, look up; thy Son—is not lost;" behold Him in the person of another whom I appoint to that end!" G. K. Rieger says, anticipating the universal significance of the word: "He gives to them (the souls which love Him beneath the cross) new eyes to *see* with, which are especially keen-sighted under the cross." He *is* henceforth thy son, she *is* henceforth thy mother; this was not expressed, but all the more strongly assured in the *Behold*. It contains a twofold *gift*, by which He, who after the parting of His garments possessed nothing in the world, but was yet infinitely rich in the love which creates love, gladdened the souls of His beloved. In the all-comprehending *Behold thy mother*, everything was self-understood to John (who

had indeed already in profound inward love adhered to Mary under the cross¹) which pertained to the care of her earthly life. To whom, but to the *ἐπιστήθιος*—the disciple who lay in His bosom—could the Lord have committed His mother? Christ and John—to quote Daub once more—were united in unchanging *confidence*; for in Christ was Divine purity, in John perfect faith. John here calls himself the disciple whom Jesus loved; it might have been said with equal truth—who loved Jesus with peculiar personal attachment, and was to him as the *brother* among the Apostles to whom He should necessarily commit His mother. Or, to speak with Grotius: Peter was *φιλόχριστος*, John *φιλήσους*; hence to the former, as the lover of Christ, the Church was committed; to the latter, as the lover of Jesus, His mother was specially commended. But we may regard this office of son to Mary, for which the loving disciple receives a new supply of love, as silently giving him a high place in the Church, higher indeed than that of Peter. It is beautifully observed by von Gerlach: “But he placed John in the nearest personal relationship to Himself upon earth” (and, in the sense in which that alone is possible, actually—) “*in His own place*; He thus sealed in death the internal covenant of His heart with him, and breathed into him anew thereby the Spirit of love—that he might hereafter pervade the Churches, founded more especially by others, with the sacred fire of the Redeemer’s heart.”

It might be said that John would of himself have cared for Mary; it might also be said that he would never have assumed that honour to himself beyond the others. But now the impulse of his heart was sanctified by a new grace and gift; his office of honour was made also a gift of honour; and all conflict of love and humility was prevented. This third word of the cross spoken by our Lord Jesus has been rightly termed His human *testament*.² In it He typically performs, to fulfil all

¹ To which, at the same time, the *Behold thy son* spoken to Mary may point!

² Ambrose: *Testabatur de cruce Christus, et inter matrem atque discipulum dividebat pietatis officia. Condebat Dominus testamentum; signabat Johannes.* (Lib. iii. ep. 24.) Jerome observes, however, that the domestic testament and the public testament in the Supper must be distinguished.

human virtue, His filial duty for the last time ; thus giving testimony, too, that if He had previously placed His mother in the background, it had not been through any neglect of love : —for if now first John was to be her son, we are assured that Jesus Himself had hitherto Himself discharged the filial office. But in this dying provision for His mother He no longer calls her mother ; and we may say that in the first word to Mary there is rather a *taking away*, and not till the second to John is there a proper *giving*. After the reference to *Paradise*, and the assurance which that gave of the certainty and near approach of His own death, Mary must have heard in the appointment of the son, who should take His place, nothing but a most sad *farewell*, the final close of His earthly life—after the manner of any other dying man. Yet, He does not take His farewell in words ; and the sublime repose, like the heart-piercing propriety, of His appointment, evidences at the same time the Son of God, the Lord and abiding Protector of His people, in His own power and love. But as to *John*, already now admitted to the confidence of the glorifying death of his Master, the word which he receives contains nothing but invigoration and a most costly gift. Invigoration, as far as he was cast down, through “the feeling of a new and great duty which bound him to life by new bonds” (*Lange*). That the mother of Jesus was given to him as a *mother*, is an inestimable legacy, and a precious promise. “He himself is thereby provided for,” for he knows well that he will now eat with this holy widow as long as God permits, and not, as it were, she with him, like the widow of Zarephath with *Elijah*. The externalities of the relation, to which the testament refers, are with the highest tenderness of propriety omitted ; for *such* hearts the short word was enough to explain all. The *hearts*, the *persons* were commended and given to each other—and that was the essential matter !

The Lord establishes, founds, and blesses here the spiritual family-life of His new kingdom. This new *relationship* in the love of Christ goes far beyond all relationships after the flesh. That John had already, and still retained, a mother in *Salome*, is not affected by this ; but that he (according to sure tradition) had no wife, may have been regarded in the prevision of the

whole.¹ That Mary had other sons subsequently born (in favour of which much contested though simply historical truth we have often declared our opinion) does not so enter into the case here as to make this testament an argument *against* it. Paulinus of Nola (ep. 43) says, "this shows plainly that she had not had, and had not now, any son but Him who was born of her as a virgin; for the Saviour would not have taken such care of her desolate state if He had not been her only son." Venturini, too, thought that this committal of Mary to the care of John would argue against her having other sons. So v. Gerlach: "Thy son in My stead—thus she had no other!" and Olshausen is confident: "This passage is to me decisive on the question, that Mary had no bodily sons; the Redeemer would not otherwise have commended His mother, as a solitary widow, to an alien: this would have been a slight to the brethren!" Strange proof! Was it, then, no "slight" to Salome, the literal mother of John, who, according to Mark xv. 40, comp. Matt. xxvii. 56, stood with the rest under the cross? The children of His mother, to whom the Lord had as yet been unknown and an alien (Ps. lxxix. 8), could not possibly, as spiritually-alien, take his place, or be to Mary what Jesus had been, even after their conversion; but John was in spirit no *alien*. The whole objection rests too much upon mere external care. This the Lord of course included, but connects it with that inmost spiritual relation of love which could alone satisfy the heart of Mary, and which she would find most abundantly in the fellowship of John's spirit. It is the Lord's purpose in this arrangement, not indeed to neglect His brethren, but to put them to shame as still unbelieving, and refusing to become *such* brethren of Jesus as John was. His word is at the same time the *farewell which he utters to His brethren*, which their unbelief merited, and which urged them, through humiliation, to faith. For in Acts i. 14 we find them among the disciples.² But what we afterwards

¹ Jerome (contra Jovinian.): "The virgin-mother was commended by the virgin-Lord to the virgin-disciple John." Comp. Nonnus: ἡ ἄνθρωπος παρὰ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ἀγαπῶντα ὡς υἱόν. More, however, in the text.

² Hence Braune well says: "Was this a slight put upon the brothers? But they believed not in Him! Should He slight His mother, however? The choice was not difficult. For, natural birth avails not in the kingdom of God as spiritual regeneration does."

learn of the character of James, at least, a brother of the Lord, shows us that, with all his excellence, he could be no "son," in the inmost meaning of the word, for the heart of Mary.

Thus we may at first learn from this symbolical filial word of Jesus, that we should in dying think of and care for our own with like love and wisdom. Let us learn to make our testament without delay of forgetfulness, without any pretext of higher duties or neglect of other thoughts. Let us observe well that He Himself here fulfills unto death and sanctifies anew the commandment, *Honour thy father and thy mother!* and that He in general confirmed relationships after the flesh, even while He abolishes them and puts a higher in their stead; since He cares most tenderly for His mother, and at the same time by His own Divine authority takes from His brethren the rights of the son. But all this is far from being the full meaning of His word, which in its significant order in the Seven Words (of which more in the sequel) must approve its universal significance as a *word of the Redeemer*. He can now neither speak nor do anything merely as a human person, as the son of Mary; and even this must be glorified into its full meaning as a Divine-human testament. Thus we may adopt the traditional spiritual interpretation which the Church has always given to it: He here, when taking farewell of earthly things, gives His promise, as to His mother so also to all His people, of sufficient provision in all earthly things. While He releases Himself from all earthly relationship, He avows Himself to be in a higher and heavenly manner the Provider for all His disciples. Will not He who pointed the malefactor to Paradise in the other world—thus should our faith argue—provide for us a place in this, as long as we live in it? He who so graciously cared for His mother will assuredly not leave or neglect us! To this in truth belongs what He had before said in Matt. xii. 48–50. Just now, when Mary ceases to be specifically His mother, He becomes a Saviour to *all*, both in this world and the next *remembering* every one of His people. We are therefore perfectly justified in taking His word as a general pledge of sufficient provision for all His own upon earth. We behold in Mary and John, mutually caring and cared for, in all that pertained to the evidence of love and help, "the little flock of God's children, brought together and united under

His cross."¹ Thus the Lord establishes from His cross *new* bonds and relationships in the Spirit (Mar. x. 29, 30); He points all who love Him and whom He loves to each other, and thus "once more confirms the great law of love from the cross" (C. H. Rieger). "The constraining love of Christ draws us to Him even upon the cross; draws down Him to us under the cross; draws believers together through the cross." (G. K. Rieger.) But this must not lead us to forget the *care* in this love, which is its specific point. He *remembers every one*, and provides for his way through the world from which he is not yet taken; and when we think ourselves forsaken we should commend ourselves—and when we cannot provide for others should commend them—to Him. He will care for, He has cared for, He provides for His people by *means* of His people; and is evermore repeating the commendatory word where it is needed, Behold thy son, thy mother, thy brother. To hear and to accept this word should be our highest privilege and honour: not only when it says to us, Behold one who will care for thee; but also when it says, on the other hand, Behold one who is commended to thy care!

From that hour that disciple took her *to himself*, εἰς τὰ ἴδια, that is, manifestly, to his own *home*, to the house which he probably had in Jerusalem. Luthardt is right that this last is not proved by τὰ ἴδια²—yet he admits that Jno. xviii. 15 makes it likely that John had a residence in Jerusalem. Mary had not gone again to Nazareth, which rejected her son, but had followed Him from place to place; Jesus takes it for granted that she would not return to that home, and confirms her in that purpose. He appoints her her place for the remainder of her life in the Church, especially of Jerusalem, with the Apostle who had been hitherto most trusted and so far most honoured, and who in the beginning of the Acts always appears with Peter. That ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας (for which only one codex reads

¹ To symbolise this these two were chosen as "two of the most elect souls which after Him the earth had seen" (Lange). His supposition, however, that "the house of John was to form the bond of union for His elect" is altogether too external in its view. The truth lies deeper: the bond of love between Mary and John is the real and secret home and hearth of the Church.

² Remarked also by Alford.

ἡμέρας) is to be taken literally, is manifest from the general exactitude as to time which pervades the entire history of the Passion; and with this it perfectly agrees, that St John in his *μετὰ τοῦτο* passes at once over the intervening three hours. We cannot admit Luthardt's argument here; but regard it as intimated by the exact "*hour*," as well as by the whole context, that Mary left the place at once, and did not wait till the death of Jesus. At once, understanding the Lord's design, John led away, in filial affectionate love, the mother, whose soul was once more deeply moved by the word of farewell; so that she did not see the increasing agony of her Son, who could be and would be no more her Son. She also understood the sad dismissal from the lips of her Son, who had many times before laid His commands upon His mother for her good,—and she obediently follows her new guide for the sake of Him who committed her to that guidance. Bengel: "Great is the faith of Mary, to be present at the cross; great was her submission, to go away before His death!" But the Lord sees the fulfilment of His testament before His eyes, before the last waves of His anguish rolled over His soul.

FOURTH WORD FROM THE CROSS.

(Matt. xxvii. 46; Mark xv. 34.)

The *darkness* mentioned with one accord by the first three Evangelists,¹ at the time of full moon, about midday, and lasting three hours, stands in close connection with the words of Jesus, themselves dark, which at length proceeded out of this darkness. To the consideration of those words we now proceed. It must be left to others to investigate, and if possible to decide, whether *πάσαν* or *ὅλην τὴν γῆν* actually indicates the whole earth then enlightened by the sun (as Lu. xxi. 25)—or the Roman empire—or the Jewish land only (as Lu. iv. 25; Jas. v. 17). This affects not the question; and although the remarkable accounts of the wider extension of this miracle² seem to us perfectly un-

¹ In Lu. moreover *ἰσχυρίσθη ὁ ἥλιος*, as Acts ii. 20.

² The Fathers referred (espec. Origen contra Celsum ii. 33, and Euseb. in

biased and trustworthy, yet we count it only folly to contend about them; and content ourselves as interpreters with the assurance of the historically-certain sacred text—so that $\gamma\eta$ goes beyond Golgotha or even Jerusalem. In St John these three hours belong to ver. 28.

Up to this time the light of the sun had shone upon this scene of horror and lamentation. The mockers mock, the multitudes stare, the Lord suffers, His sacred head and face given up to contumely on the cross:—all goes on its way, as if nothing were occurring which might move God to interpose. “If God *to-day* give no sign”—so spoke or silently thought many, with manifold inferences in their minds. And, behold, a sign is given! Not “unmarked” and by slow degrees, but instantaneously the darkness swallows up midday; even as at the birth of Christ the midnight had been illumined. *First of all*—as pointing back to that darkness over Egypt, refusing to give up Israel the Son of God, which was soon followed by destruction—first of all, it was a *warning sign* to all whose hearts were affected, that Israel was now committing a horrible work of darkness which God’s sun would no longer shine upon, and by means of which the darkness of doom would overshadow them.¹ Let us imagine the impression of this darkness on Golgotha and throughout Jerusalem; let us depict to ourselves the individual details of terror and fear—the stings of conscience, the interrupted lusts, the disturbed midday meals, the derangement of the temple-service, the confusion as to the evening sacrifice, and so forth. Most assuredly all blasphemy and mockery is now silenced; Pfenninger is incorrect here, making Caiaphas cry: “God shows you the darkness into which this deceiver would have plunged your souls,

the Chronicon, and Tertull. Apol. c. 21) to the testimony of profane history itself, viz., to that of Phlegon of Tralles, a freedman of the emperor Hadrian (to whom, according to Spartian, the writings bearing Phlegon’s name ought to be assigned) of an “eclipse of the sun, the greatest of all recorded,” and the “great earthquake which was felt in Bithynia.” Julius Africanus, also, mentions the same account as from a certain Thallus, the same perhaps whom Euseb. meant.

¹ This signification is maintained in a remarkable dissertation by C. F. Bauer, *De divinitus prædictio et oculis dato miraculo obscurati solis*, etc. Wittenb. 1741. He joins Tertull., Lact., Euseb., Cyril., Hieron., Aug., in regarding Amos viii. 9, 10, as predicting it.

and that darkness now puts him to confusion. Behold, where is now the Sun, the Light of the world!" It is true that the sign was liable to such blaspheming perversion, in as far as it did really (as we shall see presently) refer itself most directly to the person of Jesus: but it cannot be supposed that any one would dare to entertain such thoughts.¹ Anxious silence reigns over the Place of a Skull; so should it be, for the Divine sign cried then, as it cries ever, Be silent and think! (Oh that this sacred and awful darkness might seize on all who now read the Passion history!) Not a few, it may be, then *expected* that something more would follow—His coming down from the cross, the revelation of His kingly power, and the destruction of His enemies. But neither *punishment* comes to them, nor help to Him: the darkness continues. No man dares to go away; all are laid under a spell; others, rather, are attracted to the place. The very drops of blood are heard falling, and the gentle sighs; all listen to the cross in the middle, passing by the lamentations of the other crucified ones, and the murmuring of the crowd around. Thus we paint the scene to our thoughts; let us then investigate the significance of the sign.

It has a manifold meaning, like the language of God generally; but there is one interpretation which is alone perfect and true, as it is given by Christ Himself. We might supplement the warning signification which has been mentioned, and say that here was exhibited the amazement of nature, and, as it were, of God, at the wickedness of the crucifixion: The sun will no longer shine upon the scene. Or it may be put as in the apocryphal account of Dionysius Areopagita, who said in Egypt concerning this darkness—"Either the Divinity Himself is suffering, or sympathises with one who suffers!" Or, as Dräseke expresses himself: "men strip themselves of all feeling, and sympathy passes into inanimate nature, when the Son of God dies."—Indeed this interpretation of the *sympathy* of nature penetrates the reality of the matter, and corresponds with the general character of many similar miracles, which attest the correspondence between the material arrangements of the world

¹ There is more probability in Pfenninger's representation of the perversion to which His lamentation, after the return of the sun, might give rise—"Thus is it with all who have forsaken God!"

and the doings of mankind and the Spirit.¹ We may say, further, that when created nature (the inanimate image of a hidden spiritual world) hides itself in mourning, there is, as it were, a *veil* of sorrow thrown over the scene which now first, from this hour of noon, was going on to its full consummation; the silent sign cries aloud that here is exhibited a *dark mystery* of the Divine counsel. Hitherto they have *seen* the Crucified—some with malicious joy, some with profound grief, all with astonishment, none with indifference; but now none shall *see* what remains for Him to suffer, what no mind can conceive. All these thoughts have their truth; but they lead us finally to the only real and true signification of the *darkness*, as it is the sympathising, teaching *symbol and image*, silent but speaking, concealing yet revealing, of the *internal darkening of His soul* which the Lord of nature now undergoes, of His final *abandonment by God*.² If at first this sign from God was a consolation to the sympathising hearts below—soon were they conscious that His sufferings had become more terrific and dark! Yes, verily, He *now* passes through the last valley of the shadow of death, amid the darkness of the judgment of God—not, indeed, in the pains of the eternal condemnation of hell, but certainly under the *judgment* of grace.³ Deeper darkness than could ever overspread the outer world fell upon His soul, when He cried unto His God—Thou hast brought Me unto the dust of death! (Ps. xxii. 15).

Three hours does He thus hang between heaven and earth. Cast out from earth as a curse, and not yet received to blessing in heaven. These were hours the full meaning of which eternity alone will disclose. *How long!* was the language of His spirit—*How long!* penetrates for ever the souls of all who are His. Hark, He *speaks*—"becomes the interpreter of this darkness, and tells us what it signifies!" (Berl. Bible.) And we must hear;—but only *hear!* The first three words had brought out for

¹ Krummacher, strangely at variance with his ordinary poetical vein, has no toleration for "this poetical view!" Yet as the veil of a more profound truth it is very obvious, and not at all inconsistent with a deeper interpretation.

² As the title of J. And. Schmid's dissertation bespeaks: *De labore solis, laborante sole justitiæ.*

³ Dräseke suggests another analogy: "He died not gradually; His sun went down at once in high noon."

our pure consolation the fruits of redemption—Peace, life, love; though the third had in it a tone of farewell and preparation for bitter death. But now the midmost of the Seven Words (Matt. and Mar. record *only* this, and it is the only one which is witnessed by *two* witnesses) takes us into the heart and centre of His passion unto death. *He cried with a loud voice*—with the infinite power of most internal pressure of spirit He ories out into the dark heavens above Him, the plain and intelligible words of lamentation in the Psalm—*My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?*!

It has been said by many from the beginning (down to Krummacher) that when Jesus uttered this cry of anguish, the sun had already begun to shine out again; but we cannot admit this supposition. *Out of* the darkness still present within Him, consequently while the darkness still continued around Him, Jesus uttered His cry—but that cry of itself must bring the light again!

The Evangelists give the original with a translation—the former, indeed, in order to make intelligible the perversion of *Eli* into *Elias*, but mainly for its own sake, on account of the sacredness and soleness of this word—“as if they were unwilling that a single tone of this lamentation should be lost.” We do not read the Hebrew text, but as mixed with the Chaldee, according to the current language of the time; for Jesus appropriates the word to Himself, and it was provided that every one should understand it.¹ Hence עֲלִי instead of אֵלִי, as the Targumist also has it. (The reading *azabtani* in the Vulg., which Luther followed, is a correction it may be of Jerome.) The *Ἐλωί* in St Mark was probably Syricized afterwards instead of *Ἡλεί* or *Ἡλῆ*. The unusual Voc. *Θεέ* in Matthew (Sept. elsewhere also *ὁ θεός*, see however Judg. xvi. 28, xxi. 3; Ezra ix. 6), will bring into prominence the specific meaning in

¹ Otherwise the sacred *original text* of Scripture was familiar to the Lord. It has been said very truly: It is not to be thought that Christ, if He would speak with foreigners, could not have at once spoken their tongue; and was He not perfectly at home in the Scripture, the true home of His Spirit? To this also we may apply John vii. 15. Nevertheless He was so accustomed to *speak* the Scripture, not as a scribe, with the people and to the people, that He utters it in the same manner in His own most solitary anguish.

this place; as also the putting μέ before ἐγκατέλιπες (deviating from Sept. and ordinary rule) has the same emphasis for its reason. Finally, we shall speak again about ἐναντί or εἰς τί, λάμμα, λαμά or λημά, λεμά. These, however, are trivialities; it is now above all important that we should bring clearly before our minds the twenty-second Psalm, in the language of which the Lord spoke.

Let this be read, let it be read *entire*; but simply, as by a Christian, who, with a mind under the influence of Calvary, would read himself if possible into the soul of Jesus:—this will do more than all the commentaries of the learned. Justice, however, must be done to these commentaries and their objections; and as I may not refer all my readers to my own commentary (of which I retract nothing essential) I will endeavour as briefly as possible to set the main question before them. It may be assumed as “scientifically” demonstrated now that the psalm as a prophecy does not belong to the so-called directly Messianic psalms, in which (as in Ps. cx. according to the decision of Jesus and His Apostles) the prophet consciously speaks of, or introduces as speaking, the future Messiah as a subject distinguished from himself—but to the *typical* psalms.¹ For such delineations of external and internal situations could not be dictated by the Spirit as hanging in the air, without psychological or historical mediation or basis; we admit of no such idea of inspiration or prophecy as would tolerate or require this. But it is by no means to be asserted—as is charged upon typical exegesis by those who misunderstand it—that therefore the contents of the typical word do *not altogether* suit the fulfilment, and consequently that between the expressions which were literally fulfilled much remains applicable to David alone. The matter is in reality (as we once more assert) true in an inverse way. The typical history has indeed traits which do not belong to the *tertium comparationis*; but, in contradistinction to this, it is the very characteristic of a *prediction*, which proceeds from a type and makes the history of the time its substratum,² that it should *approximate* the symbolically-imperfect element to the

¹ Just as in opposition Psa. ii. and cx., and Isa. liii. are purely objective prophecies of the Person of the coming One.

² As in a certain degree of historical writing itself, in as far as it has

foreseen fulfilment, that it should anticipate, so to speak, and exhibit beforehand the particulars of that fulfilment, and thus *overpass* the historical reference. Thus, while it says nothing but what suits the fulfilment, it says also many things which only in that fulfilment unfold the fullest and most proper sense of its letter—*much that has previously only a very preliminary truth*. If we will not admit that the prophetic spirit *foresaw* these things and so ordered the expression that their fulfilment in Christ first actually *fulfilled* them—then assuredly we have not only no mechanical, unmediated inspiration and prophecy, but actually none at all left; then it is all resolved at once into a pre-forming history according to the system of Hofmann.¹ But we think that the Old Testament manifests everywhere a design on the part of the prophetic spirit to pass beyond the situation and consciousness of the prophet, which both approves and discloses itself in the final coincidence of the fulfilling history. And this, in relation to Psalm xxii., is something very different from the absurd notion that the entire crucifixion, and all its attendant circumstances, had been revealed to David;”—a notion which could spring only from thorough misunderstanding, and is of course to be protested against. It is, however, by no means absurd to say that David, proceeding from his own personal experiences and dispositions, is led by the Holy Spirit, whose language was upon his lips, further onward to a delineation which, on the whole, as also in many particulars, *now first becomes fully true, πληροῦται*. This view, which quite correctly “makes David speak at once and not speak,” is by Umbreit’s brief protest very far from being refuted. We should be glad to have one decisive instance pointed out of the obscurity and confusion with which the figure of the suffering Redeemer is alleged to be invested by our theory. On the other hand, we are prepared almost everywhere to show that the great, full words, taken in their true literality, have only a shadowy

a typical-prophetic reference in its selections and exhibition:—the case, for instance, of Melchizedec.

¹ The more correct formula would then be, *Τότε δεύτερον ἐπληρώθη τὸ ἤδη πάλαι πεπληρωμένον*—Then became true once more, that which was then already said or done. Thus the “fulfilment” would rather be the recurring shadow!

suitableness to David; whereas in Christ, as in their *light*, they shine as the purest truth, and prove themselves to have been but the shadow of *this* great body. This would be a "magical necessity to predict the most distant things and the most contingent events," only on the supposition that the prophet's "individual self-consciousness must be *altogether* extinguished while he thus prophesies," which, however, we by no means assert. Apart from the fact, that the individual circumstances here in question are never mere "contingent events," but rather typical-historical incorporations of general ideas, like everything in the history of the God-man, which the Scripture specifies either in narrative or prophecy. We confidently say, therefore, and without violating the laws of thought or of history, the same thing concerning Ps. xxii. which Umbreit himself asserts concerning prophecy as a whole. Does not the sorrowful form of the Sufferer rise before us out of the simplest explanation of the text? And if Umbreit allows Micah's Bethlehem and the ass in Zechariah to have been prophecies literally fulfilled (though in themselves beyond the self-consciousness of both those prophets), why not also the mockery, the parting of the garments, the cleaving of the tongue to the jaws,—yea, finally, the *piercing* of the hands and the feet, like the piercing in Zechariah?

Christ took the *beginning* of the psalm as His cry of lamentation, the *end* of it (as we shall see) for His cry of victory. Ver. 8 was most literally fulfilled in the mouths of the mockers. St John refers, as simply as sublimely, not merely to the parting of the garments, but even to the casting lots, as found in the psalm, ver. 19. Yet we do not attribute to him any such "absurd" notion about the individual circumstances as was referred to above; while it cannot be denied that he finds this *as* an individual circumstance really *predicted*. The whole delineation in vers. 12–18 of the psalm is—even apart from the difficulty which modern theology finds in the כָּאֵר (by the Masora, however, correctly though in ignorance defended)—so wonderfully reproduced in the scene of Golgotha, that it seems as if we were reading a history of it written beforehand.¹ Verse 22 is not only realised in its striking expression "Brethren" in John xx.

¹ Less: "One could almost believe that a Christian had composed the psalm."

17; but it is quoted by apostolical authority in Heb. ii. 11, 12, as a direct prediction. These are the salient points which are illustrated and explained in the New Testament; but the whole as such, apart from individual quotations, leads us directly to the Messiah. A Holy One of God is described in conflict and victory; in the deepest anguish and ignominy first, then in the highest honour. In David's life¹ there are many things similar, on which the Holy Spirit in his soul might base the prophecy; but we seek in vain for any single situation in his life which would entirely correspond. (Even 1 Sam. xxiii. 25, 26, which Hofmann points to, will certainly not suffice.) For we see a righteous man who, in ver. 1 as in vers. 10, 11, can with perfect right of his own—without any trace of personal sin or guilt—appeal to God as *his* God from his *birth*; who, nevertheless, forsaken by this God as to his feeling and experience, is and remains miserable, finding less acceptance for his prayer than any other mortal praying in faith. Vers. 3-5.² A reproach of men, and despised of the people; not only threatened by raging enemies, but internally broken and poured out like water; brought by the dark counsel of God *into the dust of death*; that is, abandoned to certain death, beholding Himself already as dying, and His enemies already dividing His garments.³ Where and when did *all this* befall David? As to *him* it was hyperbole, to which the Spirit impelled him, but on Calvary it became the simplest truth. And so also in the second part; where, not merely (as Hofmann lowers its meaning) “the concealed sun of the resurrection shines through its clouds,” but the victory is as

¹ To make the psalm, in opposition to the superscription, a psalm of the Captivity—with Umbreit—is very bold; and even were it permissible, it would not fundamentally help the matter.

² For this is by no means, as Hengstenberg thinks, “a demonstration, how utterly abnormal such an abandonment *would be*,” a reason for the prayer for help—but in vers. 6-15 the contrast of actual abandonment follows, which by vers. 1-3 preceding would be exhibited all the more strongly and affectingly. From פָּרַח in ver. 1, down to נָפַח ver. 10, there is nothing but pure description and complaint, elevated by the contrast included. In ver. 11 there is a gentle פָּרַח; but not till after ver. 18 is there full freedom of supplication.

³ Even Paulus admits that this parting of the raiment was not true of David, without hyperbole. But there is much more of such hyperbole in the psalm—all simple truth, however, in Christ!

glorious as the conflict was gloomy and dark. The anguish of death is followed (and it is the *answer* to the *why*) by a declaration and glorifying of the name of God, a salvation for all the miserable far and wide, to the ends of the world, and among all the kindreds of the nations, by means of which the hearts of the comforted live for ever; others lying in the dust of death are lifted up, and the people that shall be born are made partakers of His righteousness:—and all through the full accomplishment of salvation in this One Sufferer, who hath “done this.” What deliverance of David ever had, or ever could have, such results? Are we not involuntarily compelled to think of Isa. liii.? Could David have conceived and uttered all this without an elevation beyond himself; even while lesser analogies in his own history might make him susceptible, and prepare him for such contemplations?

Thus, all as it is here predicted, has indeed its root in the experiences of Old-Testament saints, especially David, who was also an anointed of God passing through shame and suffering; and the prophetic word which had its goal in Christ grows up and takes its form, here as everywhere, from the Old-Testament, human, life in God:—nevertheless it has its full and perfect truth only in Christ. So especially and most properly with regard to the *cry of anguish* in the beginning, which Christ makes His own, and thereby teaches us that He fully discerned Himself in this psalm. Umbreit says correctly that “beyond this there can be no expression of human *distress*,” for it certainly has nothing to do with despair, but, on the contrary, it breathes the supremest faith. To be forsaken of God—does indeed sound dark enough: such language we use either (in another sense) touching consummate wickedness, or (as it is here meant) touching the deepest misery. When mortal man appeals to God, *Forsake me not!* or at most, *Hast Thou, canst Thou then have, forsaken me?*—this speaks of deep distress and anguish. But here is the rigid and actual עָזַבְתָּ, *Thou hast forsaken*, as it respects the complainant’s feeling and experience; because hearing, consolation, help, and strengthening are, notwithstanding all the cries of His soul, far off:—*nevertheless*, and this is the marvellous counterpart, *nevertheless* He speaks of this to His God, speaks to Him with the most confidential and penetrating

Thou! Even there where we read, Thou bringest Me to the dust of death! Yea, He asks His God like a Son, in the boldness of His complaints, the why of His abandonment!

One after another has repeated the thought that Christ had the entire psalm in His view, and consequently also the consolations which occur afterwards; and that it was His purpose to utter and pray through the whole for the encouragement of His soul, as we use hymns and Scripture in our sorrows, but that He could not in His *exhaustion* go beyond the commencement of it. The excellent Braune. (who cannot always shake off Schleiermacher) speaks with unpardonable boldness: "After the loudly-uttered first words of the psalm He certainly prayed through the whole of it, or the whole was present to His soul." How then in that case could the beginning of it have been a truth in His lips? And how unseemly *such* a use of Scripture now upon the cross! How psychologically inconceivable is the present consciousness of an entire long psalm in *that* conflict which the soul of the world's Redeemer is now sustaining! We must protest against such views as altogether false, inasmuch as they lose sight of the real fulfilment of that mystery of profound anguish of spirit which the psalm itself predicts. The Lord thinks indeed of that psalm which He had often contemplated before as a prophecy of Himself; He will not, however, pray through the entire psalm for His invigoration; but the Spirit brings to His thought, at the crisis to which it belonged, the word with which it commences—*In that* He finds His consolation bound up with the expression of anguish, and *needs* no more to pray or lament. Braune—with Schleiermacher and many—lays *too much* emphasis, because a one-sided emphasis, upon our Lord's speaking in the words of the psalm; he would prematurely occupy the Lord's mind by the subsequent hope and joy of the psalm, before the word of lamentation was uttered; and thus essentially give up the profound meaning of that word in itself.¹

Thus much is true: The Divine counsel in Scripture so

¹ Equally incorrect is Arndt: "He asks in the introductory word of Ps. xxii., in order to exhibit the whole psalm as fulfilled, and redemption as accomplished." If this was the conscious design of Jesus, where would be room for the *abandonment* and the *why*?

ordered it that, as the mockery of the blasphemer, so also the *lamentation* of the Sufferer before Israel and the world, should be only the *fulfilment* of what was appointed; that His anguish should only precede His victory:—but *that* was a consequence which Jesus at the moment could not and did not think of. Thus much is also true: The word of the Scripture presents to Him at the proper moment the expression at once of dismay and trust, as both were struggling together in Him; and He seizes it as a rod and staff, for to such an end was it written for Him. But that implies that He did not at once contemplate in His mind the whole subsequent consolation of the psalm. For, He does not take the Scripture here into His mouth as an objective word, after our own manner; but enters into it wholly, is as it were one with it, and it becomes living in Him, He lives it out. Finally, it is also true that the Lord *could* not thus speak, *could* not mourn over the abandonment of God, out of a feeling absolutely and originally His own, and as using a word self-originated in His own consciousness. It is so far a *strange* word to Him, a word which grew out of the sufferings of humanity before Him; and, as a prophecy in these sufferings, prepared for Himself for a witness that He now, as the Son of man, “the afflicted, tested Righteous One in the midst of the unrighteous” suffers and laments. If we strive to imagine the Son of God in the flesh now first forming for Himself this cry of profoundest anguish as His own personal word, we shall feel how inappropriate, yea, how impossible it is! But He did nevertheless perfectly *appropriate* the word of the psalm; rather, it had such a truth in His heart and upon His lips, as it never had before and never will again have; it perfectly expressed His meaning and His condition. Had it not been so, there would have been no prophecy fulfilled; yea, then *He would not have said it*. He utters it openly, He withholds it not, when it was given to His thought by His God, for all is now the most hidden converse with His God. He thinks of no testimony to those without; the loud *cry*,¹ forgetting the crowd around as if it existed not, is the involuntary expression of his inmost feeling. But it was the providential ordinance that all the world should know what was

¹ What a trial for the malefactor's faith!

passing in the depths of His soul, and that not otherwise than as it was foretold.

The psalm itself shows us that He who felt Himself forsaken was by no means actually forsaken; and this is proved by the very first word of the prayer, for *he who can speak to God must have God with him.*¹ From this therefore we proceed in our whole exposition. First of all, we hold fast that Christ as the *Son of God* could never be forsaken by His Father; and this is expressly testified in John xvi. 32. Sooner may heaven and earth be torn asunder, the creature be dissolved and separated from its fundamental principle, than the Father be separated from the Son, that is, God from Himself! Only those who forsake God are forsaken of Him. (2 Chron. xii. 5, xv. 2, xxiv. 20.) He who laments in this "forsaken *Me*," who feels Himself thus forsaken, is the same Son of Man who said in Gethsemane, *Not as I will*; that is, as man, by means of the *κρίνους* of the Divine in Him He is now left to His human weakness. The conflict of Gethsemane is here heightened and fulfilled. There, it was the conflict of the human *will*; but still in the clear consciousness of the Spirit triumphing over the flesh. Here, there appears even a struggle of the human *consciousness*, an actual obscuration of the light of the spirit in the labouring soul—labouring indeed only through the concealed spirit. There, the Lord came to the bounds of *obedience*; a certain not-willing was present, which, however, retreated before obedience. Here, the hardest and profoundest temptation drives him to the bounds of *faith*; a certain not-trusting, and thus not-knowing, is present, but firm faith approves and glorifies itself even in this. Adam forsook God, though God had not forsaken him; Christ, feeling Himself forsaken of God, nevertheless leaves not God, and thus becomes—our *God-with-us*. Assuredly, for a moment (at this extreme end of the three hours, not during the whole of these hours, for in every temptation of our Lord the transition at its limit *must* suddenly come)—in the strictest sense *for a moment* Jesus knew not that for which His Why must ask, *felt* no longer the nearness of His

¹ "Thus these words express the contradiction between His person and His position, when He entered this hour:—internal fellowship with God and abandonment by God" (Schmieder).

God, whom He therefore calls for in the deepest lamentation. This was, on the one hand, a voluntary severance, caused by love, of the love manifesting itself in time from the eternal love, as Ebrard expresses it. But, on the other hand, it was, at the same time, the demonstration and perfect work of the same love, which must and which will sink entirely into oneness with humanity,—into the doom and judgment of humanity even to death, the wages of sin. In Gethsemane the cup of death was brought near to Him; and the scent, as it were, of its first drops excited in Him the recoil from the full *drinking*, which He tasted beforehand *in spirit*. Here, He has fully drunk it, He has actually as God-man in His humanity *tasted* and experienced *death*; He is *seized* by it, though He was not, and could not be holden of it. (Acts ii. 24.) He then spoke relatively with composure, in submission to His almighty *Father*; but here He cries as if utterly sinking to His *God*. If we should imagine to ourselves that within Him, in His inmost soul, there was light amid all this obscurity—the word of His lamentation would contradict us!

Only the material substratum of His passion, in the unity and mutual interpenetration of body and soul which was perfect in Him, was the corporeal suffering which Ps. xxii. 14, 15, describes;—the pouring out of all His strength, the drying up of the sap of life, the fever of wounds, thirst such as all the dying feel, possibly even (for why not even that?) recurring variations of fainting which would swallow up all consciousness. But under all was the suffering of the sacred soul, internally full of the energy of life, which was conscious of death for the sake of sin as the doom of human nature, and which He tasted as essential death invading the most essential life. (He felt again what was said of this upon Gethsemane.) This was now His real *dying*; the surrender of His Spirit to the Father was already the victory over death." He felt the death of humanity; humanity came in His heart to the perfect feeling of its own death"—as Lange says.¹ This was, however, not merely the

¹ Whose thorough exposition of the *Eli, Eli*, which we can almost entirely agree with, is among the most beautiful parts of his book. And it is an illustrious example that one may all the more profoundly seize the inmost depth of the atoning passion, if juridical satisfaction and representative damnation is given up.

pang of bodily dissolution, but the feeling of the dying soul. Still less was it anything like a declining to die—Must I thus actually die? (as if He at the close might have hoped that this would be removed, as He had prayed in Gethsemane!)—but the absolute and “boundless *alienation*” from it which was in the supremest degree natural to *His* life—Is *this* death? Is it so horrible? Is the light and life of God utterly no longer in it? That is to say, *death*, and *sin*, on account of which death comes, are to His consciousness and feeling thus wholly and inseparably bound up together, as we found it at Gethsemane. “*Sin* is nothing else but separation from God, and now God withdraws indeed His light and Himself; then follows darkness. With the sin, which Christ now bears as the sin-offering, God mingles not His light of grace. This is the fundamental reason of the darkening of the face of mercy.” (Berl. Bible.) Thus the *horror* of death assails Him, inasmuch as (without positive, personal consciousness of guilt) the death which He accepted for the sin of others is regarded by Him as, and becomes to Him, the—being *without God*. What a feeling must this have been to this Holy One, in whom the *consciousness of God* and the *consciousness of life* were, as in the case of no other, one! The saints in the Old Testament describe their relative failing of heart, and darkening of the (internal) eyes, as the hiding of God’s countenance; but Christ is in dying forsaken of God as none else ever was, for he had lived in and with God as none else had ever lived.

A threefold oppression, we may more precisely say, now breaks in upon Him. The wickedness of *human nature* from without, from others—and its weakness in Himself (the higher analogon of 2 Chr. xii. 5) He must endure. Moreover, *Satan* comes upon Him, the king of terrors, the prince of death; speaks to Him lyingly of *wrath* with images for His fantasy which show Him all the kingdoms of hell and their horrors—He *sees* nothing around and before Him but עֲרֵאן מִסְפָּר (Ps. xl. 12), sufferings and sins inseparably interwoven; for in His sympathy as the Head and centre of humanity He assuredly feels the sins of the world as if they were His own. עֲוֹנוֹתָי (in the same passage.) Finally, His own heart forsook Him (לִבִּי עֲזָבָנִי), that is, *God Himself*, who is the heart and life of His

heart, had *withdrawn Himself*. This is the truth and the reality of the abandonment, concerning which Bengel remarks: "He does not only say that He was delivered by God to the will of men, but also that *from God Himself He suffered something unutterable to us*." That is, nothing *positive*¹—but the negative keeping silence, distance, and obscuration of the Sonship in Him by means of which He could say Father; so that only the humanity remained, and that no longer feels the consolation of God. He who had just comforted the malefactor with the promise of Paradise now "hangs comfortless." Thus "it may be regarded as more possible before God that the personally-assumed *human nature* of Jesus should be cut off from the *in-flowing of the Divine love*, than that the wrath of God should be severed from sin without propitiation." (Winckler.) Half true, that is, true in the first clause; for in the second we must, according to the Scripture, substitute *death* for *wrath*. "Heaven hides itself—hell alone remains!" (Pape.) But that *hell* remains, applies (in his meaning), as a symbolical warning pointing to *eternal* darkness (Ecclus. xvii. 21), to the sinners without; in Christ remains the "My God," even though the heavens are hidden. This is *death*; but *the* death, in which life remaineth, saves us from death, and obtains for us life again. "As in the beginning of the creation the Lord called the light out of the darkness, so also now He calls the light out of the darkness once more: He calls life out of death."²

And now let it be carefully observed that Christ *at the end* of the three anxious hours first sends up to heaven in its full and uttered strength the cry of anguish which ended His

¹ Hence, *not*, Why dost Thou pour Thy wrath upon Me, Why dost Thou punish and condemn Me, Thy beloved Son? Or, rather without *why*, as that theory would require, and without the *My*—"God, Thou condemnest Me! I sink under Thy wrath!"

² Salzmann. He goes on to draw a suggestive parallel in the *παλιγγενεσία* of the external world. "Hence when the Restorer waged the conflict of death upon the cross, the sun was darkened and the earth quaked; as a symbol of that which will take place at the end of the world when the great Restoration will be consummated." So pregnant and far-reaching are God's signs! Here belongs Ps. viii. 4 (according to Bengel's remark on Matt. xxvii. 45); for the new world has no new and other sun, besides Christ Himself.

anguish,—as the final outbreak of an anguish which had been three hours restrained and secretly gnawing His soul. Although it is the most oppressive moment of supreme abandonment which urges the cry, it is at the same time removed by that cry; then does His heart find room, and light comes back to His eyes. We correctly translate, Why *hast* Thou forsaken Me? Bengel: “In the past. At that moment the abandonment ceased, and presently afterwards the whole Passion.” On the other hand he is quite wrong when he says, “In the middle and *deepest* abandonment He was silent;” for, it is the *deepest* abandonment which breaks forth and is lost in the cry of anguish. During three hours of deepening oppression He had *kept silence* before His God—had not murmured—had not complained, even by a *Διψῶ*—had not cried, Help Me!—but had restrained His sorrow and waited and been patient to the uttermost extreme. This patience, and *what* He suffered, this *extremity*, must for ever be to our understanding a concealed and impenetrable mystery, *because we have in us no Divine-human experience of sin and death in their connection*. That word עָזַבְתִּי, *forsoke Me*, spoken still in the darkness by Christ to God, is itself a dark abyss; “it conceals a depth in which our thoughts are lost.” For it is that “perfect contradiction,” proceeding from *sin* into consummate *death*, as it first reached actual reality on the cross of reconciliation. “In the height of triumph upon the throne it will be made plain what the Mediator’s sorrow was on the edge of the abyss.” That was the *price* of redemption! For however dark and gloomy the *lamentation of deepest anguish* may sound to us in this word, these two things are *clear* to us as the light which now again emerged from the darkness;—that this word is not an outbreak of unbelieving despair; and that Christ suffered, as holy, so also *propitiatory*, sufferings, in our room and stead, for our sin. We cannot understand this word in any other way; it gives direct assurance to every one who would not empty it or lay it aside altogether, that Christ, in order to perfect in His person the work, and Himself as the Redeemer, suffered death in a real connection with sinful humanity.

But the first abides also true: He never despaired of His God; consequently He suffered what He suffered “*not* as a

punishment (of Himself) in His consciousness, not as a judgment upon *His own heart*." The theology which goes so far as to assert this, has always most unwarrantably overlooked the *Eloi, Eloi*, which belongs to, and even precedes, the *forsaken Me*—the unmoved and immoveable *My God*!¹ He trusted in God—this ceases not now, but reaches its perfection. For God was His God from His mother's womb, Ps. xxii. 9, 10 (which Psalm-word as it respects Christ has its deepest meaning in His miraculous and sacred birth, to which He now refers back in His second birth of death). Verily, He did not take His farewell of God when He died; but He in death fulfilled His course and kept the faith! If not—who can think out the consequences of this, as relatively possible in His humanity?

In this *My God* He utters, and He alone in a sole and incomparable sense, the *nevertheless* of the "nevertheless-psalm," Ps. lxxiii. 1-26. The struggle and transition was not, indeed, so easy as Umbreit expresses it: "After the supplicatory invocation had passed, like a breath of the humanity from His Divine lips, He enters into the undisturbed consciousness of His unity with the Father, and perfect rest and peace." But the "*My God*" belongs, in the unity of the moment of anguish with the peace, itself *at the same time* to the amazement of the lamentation—*My God hath forsaken Me!* Its *repetition* is at first a repetition of the anguish—as in the psalm originally, according to its then psychological truth. But then it is also, since the fulfilment goes beyond the meaning of the type, a repetition of the *victory*, surpassing the only-*once*-bewailed abandonment. While He thus *calls upon* His God, He finds His God again! And it *now* becomes manifest that the "forsaken" had not been an objective, indeed not an altogether subjective, abandonment. And so far the whole is "not so much a cry of anguish, as rather a testimony that He had broken through into a freedom becoming to His mediatorial office." (Rieger.) Even in this quaking of the earth, the rock is unmoved. It is, as Lange says, "a marvellous sacred despair, which is one with the supremest trust."

¹ Strangely enough the Pesh. loses this, for we find a mere *ⲉⲓ*; and we could almost accept the supposition of Grotius that it was a corruption of the text through transposition of *ⲉⲓ*.

He says with the Psalmist, who from the depths of his own personal experience had a presentiment of the suffering Messiah and typified Him, only *God* and not *Father*; and this is of great importance. *Never elsewhere* had Christ spoken thus of "His God" alone: comp. Jno. viii. 54, xx. 17. Only *God*, for now the *man* in Him speaketh:—nevertheless *My God*, with a propriety and fulness of meaning which no other could arrogate before or after Him; for the *Holy One* of God speaketh, who experienced this abandonment for the sake of sinners. Assuredly there is a profound reason here why He does not this time dare to utter the *Father-name*:—but God is not before Him in such fearful wrath as to take from His lips the "*My God*." On the one hand, that is certainly true which Winckler delivers on Ps. xxii. 4-6: "Thus there was as great a difference between His suffering and the greatest suffering of other saints, as there is between a worm and a man;" but, on the other hand, it abides equally true that, trodden in the dust of death as a writhing worm, Christ is still and must ever be Christ. Only the sinless One can in His own person say still in such a depth *My God*; we only in Him. And that right of humanity before the time of Christ to cry unto God in prayer, which has been appealed to,¹—that which in Ps. xxii. 5, 6, is admitted—came from the same *grace* which was procured here in the fulness of time by Christ. His lamentation—it is in truth the *lament of humanity*—had been uttered a thousand times before He came, probably in the same language. But, the prophetic word was already so framed, that with full personal right and in his own power no man can ever utter the same *My God*; and this expression has its full truth only in Christ.

Consequently, Christ does not speak in the person and in the place of condemned sinners in any such sense as the rigid theology of satisfaction teaches,—but teaches without marking how its theory is here refuted. Those who are cast out with the devil into everlasting torment, who cry to the mountains and to the rocks instead of to God, *dare not* and *cannot* cry, *My God*! He who according to the *summum jus* is at last and finally

¹ Lange borders on this: "The great *why*, which is permitted to the miserable race of man under God's rule." Certainly it is, but only through grace; and it is not permitted to the damned.

abandoned of God knows well wherefore—and has no prayer remaining, because no God. Yea, if the “*why?*” were possible in hell, it would receive as the perfection of daring the most awful of all answers. Thus it was *not* “the punishment of the damned” which Christ suffered. It was *not*, as Theremin preaches, “the feeling of entire and decided misery” which this word from the cross expressed; for can he be entirely and definitively miserable who can yet call upon his God? ¹—If God so absolutely forsakes the sinner as to leave him to himself as nothing but a sinner, then there remains only despair and severance from God. But since God forsook Christ, and yet forsook Him not, He remains the Man in God, who retains God for Himself, and recovers Him for us.² Here is a greater than Moses, whose countenance *shone* when he came out of the darkness, in the midst of which was God. (Ex. xx. 21, xxxiv. 29.)

Thus the *Why*, in its only meaning as it regards Christ, is grounded upon the *My*, and such a *Why* Christ alone can ask. Hengstenberg says quite correctly: “*Every one* is justified in asking this *Why*, who has a *right* to call God his God, notwithstanding his manifold sins of infirmity”—but whence came, and whence to this day comes, this *right* of a sinner, but from the righteousness imparted by the grace of God, that righteousness which Christ has here in Himself? His *filial* questioning of the government, this awful moment inexplicable to Him, of the God who forsakes Him, and yet is ever with and in Him, forms a remarkable counterpart and contrast, in its infinitely sublimer and fuller truth, with His parents’ questioning of their

¹ It is, moreover, one of those unimaginable things which so often occur in dogmatic systems, that Christ could have endured in a short space, by means of His indwelling Divine power, the whole torment of hell; and as an infinite Person all the wrath of God, for the endurance of which the damned require eternity! This self-contradicting notion contradicts also the testimony of Christ, and must assume, to be intelligible at all, that despair is not of itself an essential element of damnation. And though Luther maintained that “Christ suffered the fear and horror of a tortured conscience, and tasted eternal wrath”—it is nevertheless a sentence contrary to fact, reason, and Scripture.

² “He held firmly to God and retained the Divinity of His life, at the time when in His unity with mankind, and in His human feeling, the feeling of abandonment by God amazed Him.” Lange.

holy child, who had never done anything *ἄρονον*—*Why hast Thou done this unto us?* This *Why* is something quite different from a questioning in doubt, *Art Thou, then* (or *no longer*), *My God?* That is an impossibility! His lamentation has nothing to do with any defiance or despair of hell, as if He had been oppressed or swallowed up of it. But, it is itself the *victory* of prayer, the finding in the seeking; and the question brings its answer at once with it.

Thus wrath—not actual, but represented to Him by Satan—is lost in love, and death in life. “There is no fellowship between God and sin, *but Christ comes between.*” Most beautifully, though not in theological style, Lange says: “In Christ the consciousness of Divinity itself¹ touches the consciousness of death. The heart of God feels the breath of death in that dying heart which is the centre of humanity; but thereby death dies in the heart of God.” Now we tremble not; but if we fall into despondency, this is our strength and our consolation, that He also was amazed but did not fall into despair.

The *Scripture* was His stay and consolation throughout those all-decisive last moments, when the salvation of the world was in the balance; He seized it *as* the prophesied word of Scripture, and by no such unconscious coincidence as the mockers spoke, Psalm xxii. 8. He *now* brings to His mind (not before) the whole psalm, and its exit in glory; hence immediately the “I thirst” in the consciousness of the fulfilment of all Scripture. *Why?* He had asked. This, according to the meaning of the psalm (where *מָה־לִּי* is equivalent to *מָה־לָּךְ*) certainly inquires first into the *reason*—*Cur? quare? quam ob rem?* and Matt. expresses this with the Sept.² in his *ἵνα*. But St Mark embraces the other side, connected indeed with the former, where he points forward to the *design*, and says *εἰς τί*, as if it had been *מָה־לָּךְ* (to what end); hence the readings *λημνά*,

¹ For it was this which, in the humanity of the God-man, could no more lose or give up the “My God” than its own unity with the Father and the Son in the Holy Spirit.

² See in the Sept. Ps. xlii. 5 (comp. ver. 9 *דַּעַרְלִי*)—Ps. xliii. 1, xlv. 24, 25, lxxiv. 1, lxxx. 12, etc.—also for *מָה־לָּךְ* Numb. xxii. 32. Comp. in the New Testament Luke xiii. 7. Thus it is to be resolved into *τί* *ἵνα*, *γὰρ ὅτι*, *ἵνα*—not, as Buttmann: *damit was? geschehe*.

λαμῆ, Vulg. *lena* both in Matt. and Mark. In both senses, but pressing on to the latter which discloses the reason in the end, the answer of the Father is revealed to Christ, as He Himself declares it in the two following words—In order to *finish* and fulfil that for which Thy soul *thirsteth*! When Christ in Gethsemane was clearly conscious of the other will of His I, He says concerning it—*Not as I will!* When He upon Calvary cries out the question, *Why?*—He also gives the answer. Thus did His cry in its victorious power rend the veil of the darkness of His anguish. At once *it is light* without and within; and the returning light is the victorious sign of life out of death. Without, there is mockery again—thus the sin of humanity reveals itself also in the new light of grace. But to this belongs the following word of our Lord; which will lead us to consider and understand the perversion of the *Eli* into *Elias*, and the potion given Him to drink.

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Ο υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδεται εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι.
Περίλυπος ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου.
Τετίλισται

THE
WORDS OF THE LORD JESUS.

BY
RUDOLF STIER,
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VOLUME EIGHTH.

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THE WORDS OF THE PASSION.

FIFTH WORD FROM THE CROSS.

(John xix. 28.)

WE have already seen that "after this" cannot be taken as expressing an immediate sequel to ver. 26. Ver. 30 allows no more room for the *Eloi, Eloi*; consequently it must, with the three hours' darkness, be interposed *before*. And it must belong to ver. 28; for it is impossible to place the word to Mary and John immediately after the cry of anguish, with which again the *I thirst* is strictly to be connected in its order. The sequence of the seven words, which is so often misapprehended, has a sound exegetical foundation; although a spirit of contradiction which wilfully finds fault may easily suggest doubts. The first has its uncontested place; the last three are equally obvious in their connection. The second and third may admit of plausible doubt; but the connection in Lu. vers. 35-43 almost decides the place of the second; and, moreover, that place is justified and commended by internal evidence. To the thoughtful apprehension the Lord must deal with sinners (the impenitent and the penitent) before He comes to His own; and further, the *dismissal of His mother* forms the fitting transition to the deeper anguish of His soul. It is His farewell to the earthly relationship of life *generally*, the final preparation and detaching of His spirit *for the last conflict*. If, as appears to be here implied, John immediately led away the mother of Jesus, his resuming *μετὰ τοῦτο* would manifestly

refer directly to ver. 27, and mean—After the disciple had done this, and then returned again.¹ Indeed, we must in our thoughts place the *I thirst* immediately after the *Eli*; partly because the victory won hurries the Lord speedily toward the end, and partly on account of the mockery recorded in Matt. and Mark, which is evidently connected with the cry heard by the people. The giving to drink which these two Evangelists relate, is assuredly the same which according to St John was preceded by the declaration of thirst; and that Jesus must in some way have given utterance to His being athirst glimmers (as Ebrard says) through the narratives even of St Matthew and St Mark.

But there has been much contention about the special reference, not so much of the *εἰδώς* as of the *ἵνα τελειωθῇ*. It is at first plain that the "Knowing that all things *were* accomplished—*τετέλεσται*" must refer pre-eminently and conclusively to the *τετέλεσται* uttered in ver. 30. This is the general sense of St John's words; but we cannot on that account admit that this consciousness as to "all things being fulfilled," has nothing at all to do with the "saying, I thirst" which comes between. So Ebrard: "The knowing, etc., is not put by St John between 'when He had received,' and He 'said, It is finished,' simply because he would show that both followed in immediate sequence." For we must ask with what consciousness and for what reason Jesus first declared His thirst, and not till afterwards uttered "It is finished;" that is, we must do justice to the construction of "that the Scripture might be accomplished." To our mind it is altogether inappropriate to refer the *ἵνα*, preceded by no comma (as in many editions) at once backward to the *τετέλεσται*—Jesus knew in Himself that all was now so accomplished, that by this one thing more the whole Scripture would be fulfilled. Bengel, indeed, is in favour of this;² and

¹ On the readings *ταῦτα* and *ἰδὼς* it may be remarked that *ταῦτα* might be a gloss aiming to make the expression a more general *postea*, and the specific meaning of *ταῦτο* (which, however, is quite plain enough to distinguish it from *ταῦτα*) was not clearly seen; but that *ἰδὼς* does not express what St John meant, the accompanying, indwelling consciousness, compare ch. xviii. 4, xiii. 3.

² With the remark, true in itself, but not proving his point, "The verb *τελέω* is applied to things, *τελειώω* to Holy Scripture."

so is Tholuck, comparing ch. xi. 4. But we assert that in connection with the *τετέλεισται* this *ἵνα* would be superfluous and mere tautology; indeed, it would disturb the meaning of the *τελείσθαι*, made here so prominent.¹ Thus "that the Scripture might be fulfilled" belongs here, as in ch. xiv. 31 (let this parallel be marked), to *what follows*, and first of all to the "I thirst." For, in St John's view, even such external individual circumstances as we find in ver. 24 belonged to the accomplishment of Scripture. But now comes the question, finally, whether *ἵνα τελειωθῇ* is a remark of the Evangelist only (as in ver. 24, where indeed the soldiers did not know that they were accomplishing Scripture), or whether the Evangelist gives it as the conscious design of Christ, and thus connects it with the *λέγει*, "He saith." There are many important voices raised in favour of the former, and against the latter, as being unworthy. Olshausen says, "St John calls to mind that even this exclamation fulfilled a prediction, that of Ps. lxxix. 21;" but that the *ἵνα* is not to be referred to Christ, "as if His only object in uttering this exclamation was that this prediction might *thereby* be fulfilled." (The "*only* object" is quite another question! Certainly it was not, but that does not remove the accompanying design of the utterance.) Lücke admits that the *ἵνα* is dependent upon the *λέγει*, "*but this ἵνα* (he says) is the expression of St John's own typological views, *not* of the Lord's design." And afterwards, "Had the Lord's design been merely to fulfil the passage in the psalm by this "I thirst," *one would not know what to say.*" We shall, by permission, find something to say presently; and meanwhile simply remark that a typological thought of St John, that is, of the Holy Ghost in his narrative, and therefore finally of the Lord's own (revived and no longer oppressed) consciousness, is not so altogether unworthy as to be an "offence." Lange, however, puts it most rigorously: "That the Evangelist does not say that *Jesus* spoke this word with a design *only* to fulfil the Scripture (again this captious and needless *only*!) is self-understood to every unperverted mind." Nevertheless, we feel that nothing is less perverted than to take

¹ Olshausen regards the reference backward to *εἰδώς* (though it might rather be regarded as to the *τετέλεισται*) as altogether untenable.

the words *ἴνα* and *λέγει* together,¹—as would be obvious to every reader who had not been persuaded to take offence at it—and to regard the simple meaning then given as perfectly worthy of our Lord. We protest against the consequence which must be deduced from assuming this *alone* to have been His design:—it must then be supposed that Jesus, according to the Evangelist's view, did not thirst at all, and that it was not in reality His desire to obtain refreshment for His lips! We protest also against bringing the soldiers, who ignorantly acted according to the Scriptures, into comparison with the Lord, who by the *εἰδώς* is distinguished from them in this matter, and perfectly knew what He said and what He did. But we must not regard this concentrated and summary consciousness of all the specialities of the fulfilled Scripture as a conscious summing up of all their particulars upon the cross,—after the mechanical manner of Richter's Bible (Preface): “Thus the crucified Redeemer in a brief space thought over the whole Scripture! *He tested Himself* whether He had accomplished all that He should suffer; but He tested Himself by the Scripture.” Even *we* can embrace much in our view without discursive consideration of particulars—how much more Christ!

The matter to our conviction stands simply thus. It is perfectly self-evident that Jesus actually thirsts, and that He confesses this in a real indirect request. But to this we must add, that He *declares* His thirst, not merely in *recollection* of Scripture, as *knowing* (which is plainly stated) that His thirsting and drinking were included among the *all things* which according to that Scripture were to be accomplished, but also with an express *design* (shown by the *ἴνα*) to accomplish that Scripture. Van Hengel is also right in saying that Jesus uttered the exclamation *also* with the design that by the moistening of His mouth His weak and almost expiring breath might be invigorated, in order that He might be able to utter aloud His consciousness that He had accomplished all:—or, more concisely, that this

¹ Hofmann also (Schriftb. xi. 1, 208), retracting his former assertion, admits that *ἴνα* belongs to *λέγει*, and even makes this an evidence of the perfect voluntariness and freedom of spirit with which Jesus surrendered His life. But Luthardt cannot accept this grammatical construction.

refreshment of His lips was necessary to the "It is finished." But this does not exclude the fact that it was necessary in another sense, because otherwise this accomplishment without the predicted "receiving of drink in His thirst" *would not have been* a full fulfilment of all things. Rieger correctly expresses the predominant interpretation of all orthodox expositors (of unperverted mind): "The invigorating light entered His inmost soul, and He saw that with His final thirst, and the vinegar given Him to drink, all things would be accomplished which belonged to the fulfilment of Scripture." And Arndt preaches similarly the truth: "This exclamation was the exclamation of assurance that even the greatest sufferings of the body and of the soul had been predicted in the Old Testament." He knew—"Now is all almost accomplished, *down to this one thing*," as Surenhusen says, "so that nothing more remains, besides the cup being given to Me in My thirst." And just on that account he further says, it is *ἵνα τελειωθῇ* and not *ἵνα πληρωθῇ ἡ γραφή*. For *τελειοῦν* means to bring to an end, perfectly to fulfil; quite parallel with *τελεσθῆναι* and *τέλος ἔχειν*, Lu. xxii. 37. All this is answer enough to the question raised by Hofmann—"In what connection stands the exclamation *I thirst* with His knowing that there remained nothing more for Him to do in this life?"¹ We answer once more: when He no longer felt Himself bound to suffer silently and unrefreshed, when He called to mind the permission, nay, the appointment of a final refreshment for His lips—He thought it befitting to utter aloud His thirst. But the assertion so frequently made, that the torment of thirst alone pressed from Him this cry, just as His anguish had extorted the *Eloi*, is incorrect and most unbecoming.² For it forgets that He has now light and repose in the midst of His extremity, as the remark of St John records and proves. Lampe: "Nor would He have sought this refreshment had

¹ Weissagung und Erfüllung ii. 146.

² Luthardt's explanation seems very far-fetched: "that it might be seen that He now died voluntarily, Jesus did that which might lead others to expect something different from dying, that which would tend to the preservation of life—therefore He said, *I thirst*!" Let the reader's feeling decide.

He not known that this also belonged to the *criteria* of the Messiah, according to the prophets; whence arose this new motive—that the Scriptures might be fulfilled.” Well would it be if some of our moderns would study and respect old *Lampe* more, instead of being scared away from him by his peculiarities!

The first motive was the thirst itself, and the need of invigoration in order to be able to say, “It is finished;” the second was full obedience according to the Scripture. It is from this obedience that the *humiliation* comes, in perfect harmony ever with His *triumphing love*, in which He, without expressly saying “Give Me to drink,” nevertheless indirectly asks His enemies for this refreshment. Concerning this humiliation, as the first and most obvious thing which the word itself offers to our observation, *Lange* has expressed himself very beautifully, and we cannot improve his words: “Into the midst of the circle of His rude enemies and hard-hearted watchers, He utters this simple word. Not pride and not resentment, not even mistrust seals His lips.¹ The first word which He utters, in His present perfect consciousness that He would henceforth be the King upon a throne of grace, was a supplicating request, like the word of a mendicant. No resentment restrains Him; although these men had already wished in scorn and mockery to give Him drink, and are representatives of a world which would have given Him the dismissing potion of vinegar and gall. The most severe tension of restraint, which His long silence toward these men had necessarily involved, is now over.² He not only can, but He must now show them once more the full Divine simplicity of His love—in the form of a so humble complaint.³ But, what must appear most eminently great in the word of Jesus is, that no *mistrust* withheld Him from confiding His need to those who surrounded Him.” To this last point we must dwell. True and beautiful as the observation is, in one point of view, that the Lord exhibits a confidence

¹ But the question whether He *might*, whether He ought not, according to God's counsel, to suffer all in silence, might have sealed His lips. That is forgotten here.

² That is, He *may* ask, because the Scripture permits it.

³ Which is significantly His first and only complaint of bodily pain.

that He would find some love and compassion even among these enemies and mockers—yet there are two things doubtful connected with it. First, we ought not to press the extent of this trust in our Lord's request so far as to say (with Braune) that "the appeal to the help of these enemies demanded a *victory over self* which was not so strongly expressed even in the *Father, forgive them*—which must have been the hardest of all to a *human heart*!" For this imparts to Christ's "humanity" an impure element, such a pride toward His enemies, and such a resentment of their help, as could not exist in Him, and therefore could not be overcome or renounced. But, secondly, His *trust*, in its real principle, was not reposed in these sinners, from whom He could expect no sympathy, but rather persistent cruelty and scorn; it was reposed alone in *His God*. It was not a "faith in humanity" which He yet retains, a faith in some remains of love to which redemption might attach—but (so strictly true is St John!) a consciousness and trust that the drink must be given to Him, because the Scripture must be fulfilled. As in Gethsemane an angel strengthened Him, because there an angel alone could; so can men here offer Him the last refreshment (though only in half compassion, mingled with scorn)—and *therefore* it was so appointed and predicted.

But *the Scripture* which is here referred to, without being cited, is not Ps. xxii. 15, where the thirst is described (for here the *drinking* is concerned), but most certainly Ps. lxix. 21. In this psalm too the suffering righteous man is set before us as the type of the Messiah, partly with the same main features as Ps. xxii., and partly with some peculiar aspects; presenting, namely, profound relations of this suffering to the present and the future, just as Ps. xxii. (in the first part) enters into the depth of the suffering in itself. It is a suffering *without cause* of personal offence against man or before God (vers. 4, 5)—a suffering rather for the sake of the honour and the house of God (vers. 7–9), for the decisive issue of which all look, who truly wait upon God, ver. 6. This decisive issue is (by a sudden transition at ver. 21) set forth in a twofold way, as the confident prophecy of the complainant now surpassing his lamentation: for the enemies a *judgment of requital* breaks in,

salvation and deliverance for the miserable who wait in hope. Hengstenberg says rightly that "among all the psalms there is none, besides Ps. xxii., which is so often quoted and referred to Christ;" though this is saying too little, for the express citations from it which may be reckoned are more numerous by far than from any other—Jno. ii. 17, xv. 25, xix. 28, 29; Acts i. 20; Rom. xi. 9, 10, xv. 3. And we must not forget the remarkable specific fulfilment of ver. 8, which is not quoted.

Ver. 21 in this psalm had been already fulfilled approximately or in part, when they offered Christ, as a malefactor, the stupifying potion:—but He did not receive that potion, and the fulfilment therefore yet remains, in which the *צָמָא* actually took place. St John, it is true, attaches this to the mention of the *thirst* in *צָמָא*—but so far with propriety, as the *expression* of the thirst, which was responded to by the *צָמָא* (and which the psalm presupposes), was the decisive point. It is easy to answer the words of Strauss, whose perverted mind thinks that "no one hanging upon the cross in the agony of death would go off with such typological play." For, first, the wonderful coincidence between the prophetic word and the most specific circumstances of the sacred Passion especially, is no play, but the holy earnest of God, for the conviction of such unbelievers as Strauss and his confederates, whenever they shall come to faith in prophecy and its fulfilment generally. And, further, Christ is no longer in the agony and conflict of death (as Strauss thinks, simply through wilful disbelief of St John), but in the commencing consciousness of fulfilment and the hard-won victory. And it is on that account He beholds so clearly this individual prediction, at the moment when it was to be fulfilled; there is no playing, but the most sacred earnestness, in His declaring aloud His thirst and asking drink, in order that He, down to the last, might act according to the light and guidance of the forewritten word. And in this (to contradict Braune) "He does *not* make Himself dependent upon fortuitous agreements," for the prophesied intimations *are* not fortuitous to Him—"He lives in the precepts and the *will of His God*," for this too was written in the Scripture concerning Him, as He had all His life

testified, and is consistent with it in death. More consistent than such believing expositors, who are continually ascribing to their Lord and Master the half-believing views of the Old Testament which they alas entertain themselves.

But it is now time, finally, after these necessary preliminary remarks upon the "*I thirst*" which Jesus cried, to enter more deeply into its meaning. It is the *shortest* of the seven words. The parched lips of the Sufferer can scarcely give it utterance, for the loud cry which went before had absorbed all His power of speech; and yet, as it was appointed, so it was necessary, in order that, being strengthened, He might utter His last two words of victory. It proceeds from the deepest truth and actuality even of His bodily necessity, through which He who called all who were athirst to Himself, the fountain of living waters (Jno. vii. 37)—is now as a languishing sufferer humbled. Since the last Supper He had eaten nothing, and yet had toiled and suffered immeasurably both in body and soul. Think of the exhaustion of the bloody sweat at the very beginning! His present thirst, which had gone on increasing from that time, is likewise in His humanity the derangement of fever, such as the dying experience generally, and (for which Sepp may be consulted) the *crucified* especially. Thus it is the *corporeal* analagon and substratum for the exhausting *abandonment* of His soul; and this belongs as its continuation to the preceding, from which it is nevertheless to be distinguished by the return which it exhibits of His repose and confidence. Thirst, it is well known, is keener anguish than hunger, having been sometimes used in the application of torture; and so far the last temptation on the cross is greater than the first in the wilderness. But this parallel leads us to something further. As then it was not till the end of the concentration of His *prayer* in fasting that His bodily need came back to His feeling and consciousness—He was *afterwards* an hungered—so here. In the wrestling of His soul with His withdrawing God He had not felt the body, or, more strictly speaking, had felt it only as soul; even in the *Eloi Eloi* the bodily consciousness had been absorbed in its co-operation with the soul's feeling. But now the case is, as it were, inverted; because the soul's distress is removed, and the body so strongly claims its rights, that all His combined pains are

compressed into and uttered in this *thirst*. And thus "this word expresses no new heightening of His agony, but is rather an evidence that His festal rest is already beginning in His soul. It is like the word of a hero, to whose consciousness it now first comes that his wounds bleed and that he needs some invigoration, after the heat of the conflict has been sustained; like the word of a hero who begins in the consciousness of his victory to think of his refreshment (we add now—his promised refreshment);—and so far it is a most favourable token of good." (Lange.) Compare the far-distant type of Samson, which may slightly admit of comparison, Judg. xv. 18. Verily a greater than Samson is here! This thirst is the Lord's *last* suffering—"the consummation drew rapidly near," as Rieger says; and so in Ps. lxxix. the word concerning it occurs at the end of the sufferings, and goes off at once into the prediction of vengeance upon the table of those who, in their first and last, their only act of compassion, were still unmerciful enemies. Christ feels now "the bitter remainder of His woes, the last drops condensed into one" (as Hiller says); and just so it makes the transition to the "Finished," being the only thing now wanting "that the Scripture might be fulfilled." "Pain relinquishes Him not, until He has finally struggled through," says Dräseke. The word by which He acknowledges and complains of this pang—the first complaint which He had uttered in His agonies¹—is the most apparently inconsiderable of the Seven Words; it is seemingly the most simply external, human, and instantaneous expression of bodily feeling:—how innumerable are the times that it has been and will be spoken after Him by dying mortals! Indeed, this of itself gives it a great significance:—as an humble avowal, in the obedience of Scripture, and as His placing Himself perfectly on a level with other sufferers, immediately before those most sublime utterances which were peculiar to Himself. It is literally true in that most obvious meaning which alone would occur to those who heard it first; *nevertheless*, there must be

¹ After a description of all His preceding sufferings, Bengel goes on: "Amid all these He had never said—I suffer. For the fact itself spoke of the sorrows predicted in Scripture: He does express the thirst, *which was the confluence and end of them all*, and asks for drink, for the Scripture had predicted both the thirst and the drink."

something much deeper contained in it. It is not recorded simply because all that He said upon the cross must be recorded; but, all that He spoke was in its humanity Divine-human, and the most external element in it could be no other than a *type* of an internal and spiritual truth.

Shall we in this word spoken upon the cross, in its place among the Seven Words,—the rest of which are simply *words of the Redeemer*,—between “*My God, My God*” and “*It is finished*,” discern nothing more than the testimony that He experienced physical thirst? Even Langer, who holds simply to the “avowal of physical need,” feels himself “standing before a text in regard to which we can hardly say how far the sensitive is the symbol of the super-sensitive.” Yes, verily, we cannot and will not presume to say whether and how far the Lord Himself connected in His own consciousness a spiritual meaning with this “I thirst;” what we said just now points rather to this, that even the thirst of His soul goes out in and is felt as physical need. But it *was* nevertheless His *soul* suffering the *pangs of redemption* which experienced this bodily thirst; and therefore to us it is not merely permitted but commanded that we should carry our meditation upon this word further, quite independently of the instant consciousness of our Lord when He spoke it. And so the *Holy Spirit* in the Church has from the beginning typically expounded to us this new Scripture, which records our Redeemer’s appealing and supplicating thirst upon the cross.

Let us then, finally, contemplate this word in the new commencing light, of which it is the first ray! The fulfilment of Scripture down to this last portion was here concerned; and even in this connection of the word with the fulfilment of Scripture we have the beginning of its spiritual meaning. Arndt: “Hence though Jesus primarily meant by His fifth word His physical thirst, yet *there lay in the background*—since He now first uttered it, and uttered it that the Scripture might be fulfilled—a *spiritual thirst of His soul likewise*; He longed for the final consummation, the consciousness of the feeling of His eternal union with God, the perfecting of His sacrificial offering.”¹ Thus, if we ask in *devout contemplation* (and this is the fulfil-

¹ In the Breslau sermons: “The nearer a traveller approaches his goal, the greater is his longing to reach it.”

ment of all true exposition!) for what He thirsted, in the ground of His soul, under and in the physical thirst,¹ we must first of all say in the language of Ps. xlii.—for God, for the Living God! But to tarry there is not enough, for He was emptied even to abandonment only *for us*, only as entering into humanity for its redemption, as the prophetic psalms testify. Thus He thirsted for the accomplishment of the redeeming work; as, in order to that, that He might be able to say “It is finished”—for saying and doing are here one.² *This* is the substance and soul, as of all His bodily suffering, so also of this *corporeally expressed word of His soul*. This connects itself again, as the general spirit of this most concrete crisis, with the thought that in this suppliant appeal He whose right it was to be refreshed by all creation, and especially to be gladdened by all humanity, but who had so awfully renounced all this, now turns again to this humanity. As Lange says, after giving prominence to that reflection: “As He thus thirsted for the refreshment of this drink, so He thirsted to drink of the refreshment of love (we add—for the requital of His infinite loving!)—for a final human greeting, for human blessing. And if we pursue this to its deepest meaning, we may say that He with a special depth of *feeling* thirsted for the *souls of men*.”

This is the harmony of the traditional exposition of the Spirit in the Church with the simple historical apprehension of the first meaning of the word: as the genuine *new* theology and exposition is called everywhere to trace it. But we cannot content ourselves with crying—How *didst Thou thirst*, Thou great Prince of glory, for the poor sinner, and for God on my behalf, that He in Thee might be mine! For that transposition of thought into the past loses sight of the continuous influence and everlasting presentation of His suffering and death by the Spirit, as it is sealed in the Lord’s Supper. Still in His glory He thirsts for the consummation, His heart thirsts for the full possession of His

¹ Because, indeed, as Lange says, “in *His* life the corporeity and the life of the soul are not sundered, and go not separate ways.”

² He now *hastens* to the full accomplishment by fulfilling this last remaining prediction. As Nonnus says (here once more bringing out, in the midst of his pomposity, the true thought): θεώτερον ἤθελεν εἶναι τέρματος ἱσταμένοιο τὸ λείψανον.

redeemed. As He said, Jno. iv. 7, to the woman of Samaria—*Give Me to drink!* and meant thereby in reality—*Give Me thyself!* (comp. ver. 34 in that chapter, and our exposition of ver. 7) so does His whole passion cry the same to us in the beseeching of the word of reconciliation, 2 Cor. v. 19, 20. “*I thirst!*”—that is, too, a heart-seeking, all-comprehending *super-scription on the cross*. “He thirsted that we might thirst”—was the saying of Gregory of Nazianzum, and it goes to the full depth of the word; for, in fact, His thirsting for our sake and consequently for us tells us that *we*, whose souls are in need of the living God, should thirst for *Him* and *His salvation*, and aims to *excite* that thirst in us. Similarly John Arndt: “When the Lord said upon the cross, *I thirst!* He thirsted that He might awaken and find in us a sacred, spiritual, and heavenly thirst. For as He Himself satisfies and quenches our spiritual hunger and thirst, so must we also satisfy and quench His hunger and thirst—as He says in Jno. iv. 34.” Ask thyself, O hearer, as His word asks thy soul—For what am *I* thirsting? If I have forsaken the living fountain, and the hewn out cisterns, all the seeming living fountains of nature and the creature become dried up, and God in righteousness *forsakes me*—what and whither then? The answer is—Give thyself to Him, and He will give Himself to thee; then, as a believing Christian, thou shalt not in distress and the dying hour lament in the language of the psalm of lamentation, because He hath fulfilled its meaning for thee! This preaching interpretation is infinitely beyond the application which is so current, and which, though in itself quite right, so often stops short at mere moral application:—to wit, that we may, and that we must still refresh our Lord Jesus in the persons of His poor and suffering members upon earth.

A few remarks must be made, finally, upon the *giving to drink* which followed our Lord's word. St John records it simply; St Matthew and St Mark mention the accompanying *mockery*. Neither the drinking nor the mocking can be supposed to have taken place during the darkness; and this is an exegetical proof that immediately after the *Eloi* it became light; that the *I thirst* followed the *Eloi*, and was the occasion for the giving to drink,

which would otherwise have no reason to explain it. That which our Lord received and drank is called by them all *ὄξος*, for *רֹבֹחַ* in the psalm, that is, *vinegar*, which was a very poor, but thirst-quenching drink used by the common people: see Ruth ii. 14. But the older translators by their *ὄμφαξ*,¹ and the learned disquisitions of recent critics, have only introduced needless confusion. This vinegar (which is not necessarily to be considered as only poor or sour *wine*), mixed with water, was a drink in common use especially among soldiers, and as such is called *posca* by Plaut., Sueton., Ulpian, and *pusca* by Vegetius. In Spartian (Life of Pescennius Niger) we read: "He ordered that no wine should be drunk in the expedition, but that all should be content with vinegar (*aceto*)," with which we may compare Lipsius, *de militiâ Romanâ*, lib. v. dial. 16. Thus the Lord's word in Matt. xxvi. 29 remains true, and He drank no wine here. That which we read of in Lu. xxiii. 36 is either (which is possible) a particular mocking offer which St Luke alone relates, or the same with the first offer of that stupifying draught which St Mark calls *ἐσμυρνιασμένον οἶνον*, and St Matthew (for *ὄξος* might also be wine) *ὄξος μετὰ χολῆς μεμυγμένον*, with express allusion to Ps. lxix.² The passage in the psalm, which is in itself very pregnant, had consequently a two-fold external fulfilment, in which the rejected stupifying wine is to be carefully distinguished from the vinegar which was taken.

It was fore-provided that all things should be ready for this last refreshment—the vessel with vinegar according to Job, the sponge and the reed. The sponge was, it may be, used by the soldiers to wipe away the blood which was sprinkled upon them, or for any other purpose. The reed was, according to St John, a *hyssop*; ³ and this need occasion no difficulty; for the crosses were not so high as is generally supposed, and there were several kinds of hyssop (Maimonides names four, Kimchi seven), one

¹ Which Michaeli's Suppl. ad Lex. would justify.

² Winer thinks that "Lu. generally is *remiss* and *confused* (!) in his narrative of the Passion; but, as far as regards the offered and accepted drink, the remissness and confusion rest upon those who will not make the proper distinction."

³ About which he who will may read Bochart Hieroz. tom. i. lib. 2, cap. 50, *de agno paschali*: but he will find the passage in St John badly treated of.

of them with a long and stout stem, out of which they even constructed tents. (See in Sepp.) That St John has given this specific term not without allusion to the use of hyssop in the Levitical ritual, especially in connection with the passover, is thought not improbable even by B.-Crusius. But the opinion of some of the ancients (adopted by Bochart and Surenhusius)¹ is quite forced and incorrect, according to which the hyssop was an ingredient in the drink—"to make it more disagreeable." And so also is the opposite view of Salmasius, that the smell of the hyssop would be slightly invigorating!

Enough of these things; let us look more closely at the matter before us. *Who* gave the Lord to drink? The plural in St John may very well indicate the *one* spoken of by the other Evangelists, together with those who were around and assisted; or it may be an indefinite *rués*. Yet in *this* B.-Crus. is right: the *oi δὲ* (which is the better reading) must be the crucifying soldiers of ver. 23 (thus Gentiles)—it cannot be supposed that any others would be permitted to offer Him anything upon the cross. Thus it was not one of those who stood around; the mention of *Elias* does not make it necessary to assume that he was a Jew, for Roman soldiers in Judea might very well have heard and retained as much as this, and would be more ready to think of this Forerunner or Helper, than have any regard for the true *My God*. Thus the most fearful cry of amazement ever echoed upon earth, the most sacred word of lamentation, with its deep mystery of consolation for a sinful world—is at once mockingly perverted by malignant wit! And it was only a prophecy of ten thousand such instances, the same in principle, which Christendom has since witnessed. With as much open confidence has Jesus called upon His God—"as if He had been summoning a man near him to His help." Acknowledging this even in their mockery, they pervert it altogether, and mean: He says nothing more now about His God, Him He has given up (in heathen daring, He meets not His case now!)—He turns now to man again and cries for help. Or more definitely: He cries as the *Messiah* for his *Elias*; for even a heathen would know that the two pertained to each other, and in the lips of a

¹ The former changing the text into ὑσσώπος.

heathen this mockery has its full intelligibility and bitterness.¹ It is probable also that the name of Elias was already in vogue as the patron and guardian of the Jews, appearing in time of need: on this consult Eisenmenger (ii. S. 402 ff.).

Or, was the speaking about Elias no mockery at all? Matt. and Mark do not expressly say that it was, though the former plainly enough gives the impression, by his *οὐτος*, of a half pitiful scorn. Olshausen (whom Krummacher follows in this) denies the mockery, and thinks that a secret dread seized upon their rude minds, and that they may have thought there might be some truth in the Messiahship of this crucified one, and that—Elias might appear in a tempest! Thus, they would have really *misunderstood* the word, and said what they said in earnest,—this being “psychologically more probable.” We certainly think not: just at the crisis of our Lord’s abandonment, this amazement of awe appears to us altogether unpsychological, in spite too of the wonderfully returning light (which would tend rather to remove their anxiety and inspire them with fresh courage). Moreover, the mocking meaning in the *ἄφες* and *ἄφετε* (of which more anon) is not to be got rid of. Lange improves upon the matter by suggesting that the great horror of apparitions from the other world—for they would regard an appearance of Elias as possible—came upon them in all its force; yet they at once tried to turn the suggestion to mockery, in order to defend themselves against their fears. He says it was “as men in a dark wood striving to rid themselves of fear of spirits; they call out the names of the beings they dread as if in mockery. They appear to scorn them; but if narrowly watched and listened to, it will be found that they tremble.” It may be so in ordinary cases; but this scene at Golgotha, alone in its kind, is raised far beyond all such analogies. If there had been horror here, it would have been too profound to admit of mockery. It was no other than persevering malignity, kindled afresh of hell; and so mighty, that nothing like real compassion could stand against it. If we think of a holy shuddering as the result of the Lord’s cry

¹ A Jew would have thought: *His* Elias (John the Baptist) has been long dead—and now the false Messiah, who also must yield, calls upon him in vain! And the Jews might have thus added their mockery, even though that was not first meant.

of anguish, it is a deception by which we transfer our sense and feeling to those who were then present ; there was assuredly no other tone in it than that of the profoundest lamentation, no other influence could flow from it than the excitement of sudden compassion, in conflict, however, with the return of keener mockery, comparing His present distress with His former lofty pretensions. During the darkness they might have felt amazement, and expected some marvellous Divine intervention ; but when nothing resulted but this cry, and the return of the light, all their anxiety vanished and the mockery remained. And just so do the first two Evangelists, in historical and psychological truth, exhibit its immediate influence ; after the second cry, almost in immediate continuation, had strengthened the movement of pity. Some of the guard round the cross,¹ and probably others with them, began at first to steel themselves against *pity* (not fright) by mocking—*This* man, poor wretched Messiah, calls in vain for His Elias ! But there is one who thinks that the refreshment which His lips crave should not and must not be denied to Him ; and hastens (probably with the help of another or of more) to make preparation to give it. The *others* then speak, as it were mocking *him* for doing what might be now a needless thing—*Let be*, wait, let us see whether Elias will come and save Him ! So St Matthew ; and with this is quite consistent the characteristically more exact account in St Mark, according to which he who gave the drink also said—Yea, verily, wait and let us see whether Elias will come and take Him down ! The stronger *καθελεῖν* after the *σώσων*, the *ἄφετε* given back after the *ἄφες*, has very much the sound of a designed echo of their words on his part. *Ἄφες* and *ἄφετε* are not merely *age*, but maintain their proper meaning. The first words meant in mockery—Do it not ! “Thou needest not to give Him any refreshment, He has called upon Elias, who will do it instead.” (v. Gerlach.) He who gave the drink, without being interrupted, mocks with them. Be it so, we will wait ! Either with such a turn in the thought as Pfenninger gives : “Indeed if Elias should come, *that would be better to Him than a drink of vinegar* (which, meanwhile, we may give Him) ; or, which seems more

¹ For the following *οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν* plainly refers to those who were alone authorised to give help. These were the *ἐκπαιστωτές*, the watch.

in harmony with the spirit of his words—*Let me, however, do this*; while we wait for Elias, let me support Him that Elias may come!" This poor man, that is, "thinks he must conceal his pity for Christ's thirst under a disguise of mockery like theirs"—"mockery in the lips, yet under the impulse of a good human feeling." Thus he is a type of all those who have the beginnings of a good feeling toward Christ; but, weak and double-tongued, join nevertheless with the world in order to excuse and hide their feeling!¹ But this admixture of mockery with pity is that bitterness and gall of *sin* which, according to the ideal, proverbial sense of the phrase in Ps. lxix. 21 (for ver. 20 denies the existence of any pure compassion), made the last refreshment of the Lord an additional suffering. (Hamann: God desired wine from His vine; the vinedressers brought Him vinegar mingled with gall—this was what His Son drank upon the cross.) On this, and on no other view of the whole, does this prophecy appear to us to have been *fulfilled*, as well externally as internally, that is, in the fullest meaning of the word *fulfilled*. On any other granting of His request than that which should expose Him to new indignity, Jesus, whose cry probably was uttered *during* the Elias-mockery, had by no means reckoned.

SIXTH WORD FROM THE CROSS.

(John xix. 30.)

Τετέλεσται.—*It is finished.*—"This word was in the heart of Jesus in ver. 28, and now is uttered by His lips." Uttered with more vigour, and with louder voice, in the consciousness that the last of the predictions concerning His suffering was satisfied. For the "Spirit of Christ," who was of old in the prophets, and who had now become Jesus in person, must have brought out to light the prophetic word with a precision and assurance of which our exposition (only then not "spiritless") can but ask in prayer some slight degree. Especially in Him was the distinction clear, in their typical domain, between what was figure

¹ More will come out in the *prophetic* interpretation of the whole.

and what was reality; and what traits in the shadowy typical figure were appointed to be reproduced for incorporation in the new type, replenished with reality, of the great eternal history!

Not one of those who waited, in this passover at Jerusalem, upon the Lord of Hosts to see how He would show Himself in His servant and Son (Ps. lxxix. 6), had faith enough, even after the word to the malefactor, to say *confidently*, in the words of Naomi, concerning this אֵל גִּבּוֹר חַיִּל whose name was בִּלְעָם (in him is strength)—“Sit still, my soul, until thou know how the matter will fall: for the man will not be in rest, until He have finished the thing this day.” But in the midst of their mockery—“This man began to build and was not able to finish!” He did finish His work, and swiftly! Every work of God delays at first, and hastens at the end. The last three words of Jesus after His abandonment follow in quick succession of victory; the last two especially are almost uttered together.

It is remarkable and deeply significant, that this most comprehensive and immeasurable of the seven words, this *τετέλεσται*, is found in most concrete connection with the last *speciality* which remained to be fulfilled, the embittered drink offered to His final thirst! For no prophetic word in the lips of the prophets, certainly no fulfilment-word in the lips of the great Fulfiller, is ever dissevered from the most definite and most actual *life*, in which it has its root and grows:—altogether different, in this, from our mere *forms of speech*, so often abstract, vague, and unreal. With all its similarity to such a human phrase, this “Finished” of the consummating and consummated Christ includes in itself all the *glories* which should follow, with all the *sufferings* that should go before (1 Pet. i. 11)—and is infinitely more than any *Exegi* or *Consummatum est* which mortal might utter. Infinitely more than any *τέλος ἔχει τὰ πάντα μοι* of a dying man—which Grotius quotes from the comic poet to illustrate this “proverbial phrase!” Least of all is it *merely*—Now have I surmounted all! the end is come! But connected with this, and making it a new beginning for the ages of eternity—It is done and established! *It is perfected, It is finished!*

But *what?* This marvellous word both speaks much and conceals much. The mysterious “It”—the subject of the predicate

—is wanting : history from that time onward was to supply and utter it in its Divine language through humanity, even as history before Christ had pointed forward to it. Faith was to discover it—every seeker of God, whose heart should live for ever (Ps. xxii. 26, lxix. 6), will seek and find it in his own heart, as in the Scriptures, the old and the new, which now agree together as “prophecy and fulfilment” with an infinitely closer concert, more fully and literally—and yet in the spirit—than in the books which we write with these titles. *St John*, who, as also an *εἰδώς*, looked into the heart of Jesus, and *out of His heart into the Scripture*, has said already in ver. 28, *all things, all things*—all things, too, wherein and through which the *Scripture* must be fulfilled. It is without ground and in vain that Lücke opposes this first and most obvious reference of the *τελεῖν* to the *τελειοῦν* of Scripture : “His Messianic work upon earth He knew to be accomplished—not *prophecy*”—as if these were contrasted or as if there was a distinction between them!! Again he asks, “How could the work of Christ be represented by *St John* as *pre-eminently only* the fulfilment of Old-Testament prophecy?” and answers that it is “far more an *ἐντολή* of God, a work anew revealed to Him by God”—as if both were not, according to the uniform testimony of the New Testament, *one*; the new revelation in Christ being itself *pre-eminently only* an unveiling of the old Scripture, which already contained *all things* written in it! When will our orthodox theology truly apprehend this, and cease to break the Scripture?¹ Thus, in truth, it is All things which were written (Lu. xviii. 31), predicted, foreshadowed, decreed, with the sacred *Δεῖ* and *Ἔδει* on that account, in which Christ everywhere contemplated the *ἐντολή*, the commandment, of His God. All things to which the Old Testament pointed as its end, and hastened toward in word, in type, in work, in history. All things were done which the law required, all things established which prophecy predicted, all things abolished which were to be abrogated, all things obtained in order to be bestowed

¹ Lücke even asks : “If *St John* meant by the *τετέλεσται*, the fulfilment of the Old-Testament predictions, why does he not say in ver. 30, *τετέλεσται ἡ γραφή*? He could not say that, etc.” As if we had here a word of the Evangelist *John*!! Thus Lücke, if he were a preacher, would be obliged on Good Friday to preach sincerely of the *It is finished* which the fourth Evangelist has so profoundly placed in the lips of Jesus.

which had been the subject of promise. All things—down to the last drops of scornful compassion and compassionate scorn, after receiving which Christ's lips uttered this great word—were *suffered* which were to be suffered: *but therein*, at the same time, all things were *done* and accomplished, *nothing was left wanting*. The theology of ages has striven to embrace this "All" and to develop it; and strives to this day in vain to *express* it perfectly.

Hase says well—"Suffering, Life, Work, All"—only that he has forgotten *Scripture* again, and yet according to this those great words remain to be expounded. Perfected and accomplished is—the great *work* of His life, foreappointed and given Him of the Father to do, concerning the finishing of which He had many times spoken, the last time in Jno. xvii. 4;—His testimony to the truth beforehand;—all His miracles and works as one work together; and, in it, that which took place on Him and in Him as a Sufferer, the greatest and most essential act, which was the heart of all His acts. His *conflict* is fully gone through even to the final victory, in that last "baptism" for the accomplishment of which He had been so long straitened. (Luke xii. 50.) Fulfilled is that for which in all His human hunger and thirst He had Divine-humanly hungered and thirsted, that which brought Him into the world, and urged Him to His death—the atonement for the sins of the world.¹

It may be said, and it has been said (with most incorrect restriction of this *τετέλεσται*!), that there were many things in arrears of fulfilment at this moment—the crisis of death itself (whereof more afterwards), then the resurrection, ascension, and all things to the end of time, which were signified by another *πάντα* in Acts iii. 21. Assuredly, all this is to be added and accomplished,² but only upon the foundation thus

¹ "He had come into the form of a servant and the hour of suffering, not because He could not do otherwise, nor that He might simply pass through and be able to say—Now it is *past*! but in order to accomplish—not merely by bringing to its end, but by bringing into act and reality—the counsel of God, as it had been exhibited in the Holy Scriptures. This fulfilment of Scripture was, also, in His thoughts, when He cried—It is finished!" Beck, Christl. Leben i. 417, 418.

² So that it is a great error to deduce, with Kinkel, from this *τετέλεσται*,

already laid; there remains nothing more to be *procured* and so far to be *fulfilled*! Moreover, all is already accomplished and fulfilled in the one offering, and flows only from its strength and victory. A new and a long process does, indeed, now open up again; but to Christ it is only a course of fruit and reward, as before it had been seedtime and labour. The finished work *upon earth* is itself already the finishing of all that which is further to be done upon this earth as also in heaven, since He opened and received the heavens. Thus the word is by no means *merely*, although it is *primarily*, a "glance backward"—but it looks down from the central height, its view being as well forward as backward in its range. What a vast *survey* in the soul of Christ—if not viewed as being at that moment the Divine consciousness of omniscience, embracing the minutest particular, yet—as a human contemplation, closely bordering upon it, the vast extent of which baffles our thoughts! It is much too little to say that "the whole history of the Passion, the entire scope of the life of Jesus Christ, yea, even the whole Bible" is included in it; we must add all the whole history of the world and of the kingdom of God. *Till* the last day? Oh no, it stretches farther than that! There is nothing lying beyond the reach of this word, not even in eternity, for it speaks of a real *τέλος*. Here is the centre of the history of the world and the kingdom; this is the expressed idea and substance of time and eternity. All that mankind, forsaken and yet not forsaken of God, had striven after in its search for Him, is present here. All that the world had struggled for—especially the Gentile world; all that the world had waited for—especially the Jewish world,—is here secured and won. Again, in this *Finished* is already wrapped up all that Christianity was from that time to receive, and all that it was to become; all that is offered to entire humanity, which should and might become Christendom, in the new and Christ-pervaded history of mankind.

Thus, to return to the most obvious meaning, the *death of Christ*, which followed immediately or was almost simultaneous, is assuredly included. But this must first be rightly understood that there was no ascension—and no real resurrection, since the body of Christ must "be conceived of as already glorified in the sepulchre."

stood! For, on the other hand, it is right to say that there is an undeniable significance and truth in the fact that this "*Finished*," which comprises at once and seals all the *past*, comes here *before* the "*giving up of His spirit*" to the Father. Thus we must conclude that not the last breathing forth and yielding up of His spirit in its precise and critical moment was the essential redeeming death or suffering of death, but that which took place before the "*It is finished!*" Daub. (Jud. Isch. ii. 83) says correctly: "The Divine work of redemption was declared to be accomplished in the word *It is finished!* and not first in the death which immediately followed." But he commits a well-meaning error which, slight at the outset, might lead to a sad divergence in the end, when he continues (as did Alting formerly): "The Redeemer *suffered* and died (how then comes in the suffering as now first after the Finished?) not *in order that* He might be (or become) the Redeemer of men, but *because* He *was* their Redeemer." This is well intended, as we have said, and has some truth in it; but we are right only in saying that the *suffering* of death, that which was now fulfilled, as the essence of the atoning dying, is itself the consummation, as of the atoning work, so also of *the Redeemer*. For person and work are here one; Christ has truly *been made* our Saviour and High Priest in the great conflict of His life, which here celebrates its victory. He is Himself in Himself made perfect, consummated (Heb. ii. 10, v. 9).—His τετέλεσται has latent in it a τετέλεσμαι through His own act of suffering—I am perfected and have perfected Myself! But in Him also His people; for *this* Servant of God, who is at the same time the Son of God in the voluntarily assumed form of a servant, has more than done what it was His duty to do, and therefore His *merit* is of infinite avail before God for man. (Lu. xvii. 10.) Consequently all is now finished for the redemption of the world—"even as in Adam's fall all was lost," adds Olshausen. That which was profoundly intimated in Ps. lxx. 4, under the veil of an expression which seems (though not literally) to refer simply to the personal innocence of the sufferer, אֲשֶׁר לֹא-גָלַתִּי אֶן אֲשֶׁר—"then I restored that which I took not away"—is now fulfilled and sealed in its truth: He *restored and made good* that which not He, but Adam the man

—thought to make His own by robbery, and even thereby forfeited. (Phil. ii. 6.) Accomplished is all that which we could never have accomplished, but must have left for ever undone. All was restored which man had lacked; and all was already secured and laid up for us that might still be wanting, so far as *we* are not yet fulfilled in Christ. The “Let there be!” of the *new creation* (which is really the redemption after the fall, and *not merely* a fulfilling of the already begun creation) cost an infinitely greater *work* of the Divine power, indeed the only proper work it had to do; but now also the *rest* of God in Christ, of Christ in God, is greater and more glorious than that first rest, which therefore may be taken as its *type*! (Heb. iv.) Three times does this rest occur: In the beginning, Gen. i. 31—in the final *Γέγνε, It is done*, Rev. xxi. 6—and here in the middle, where the foundation is laid for that last.

The central point, finally, of this middle is the obtaining and restoration of the righteousness of God for sinners—of which Ps. xxii. speaks in its final verse. Most expositors of the psalm pass over this word; only few discern that the Lord is here using a word of *Scripture*, and (with supreme propriety, in order thus victoriously to include the glorious end of His anguish), referring to the *same psalm* the commencing words of which formed His lamentation. The words עָשָׂה לִי, at any rate most emphatic, refer to God, but to that which God in this Sufferer performed, prepared, and accomplished for us, and which may now be preached to all; and thus to *God in Christ*. Hengstenberg admits that “the last word of our Lord upon the cross, the *τετέλεσται*, refers to this עָשָׂה” —and finds in it a plain direction for the meaning of this much perverted word of Christ. But now let us think upon ver. 26, and in connection with this the עָשָׂה in ver. 31! The finished work is the “work of God,” through which His righteousness becomes *our righteousness*, is given to us. Compare the *first* official word of Christ, Matt. iii. 15, at the baptism in common with sinners, typical of the crucifixion. Look carefully at Dan. ix. 24, where there is a guiding exposition of the subject of the *τετέλεσται*.

By what means and how did He accomplish all this? On this subject there is silence; the cross, on which He still speaks,

itself tells us that. There is much concealed mystery in the All: one thing, however, is plain and certain, and it is enough for us—the announcement in and from this word that all is now ready! All is yours! Now there is room for all to come and receive! The subsequent fulfilment of all in us is not, indeed, independent of ourselves; it requires our faith as the condition, but all is through His power, and out of the fulness of the riches of His merit and grace. All that may be called *our* accomplishing is to be received by our faith out of *His*.¹ “*It is finished!*” One alone could say this in the fullest sense of truth!” He might with perfect right have uttered, instead of this mysteriously indefinite τετέλεσται (which leaves the question *Who* had fulfilled vibrating between God and Christ), as a τετέλεσμαι, so also a τετέλεκα, a majestic and absolute *Exegi* of the Divine power in Himself—I have accomplished, *I alone*, what I alone could accomplish. But, humble in His exaltation, He does not say this (although it would have corresponded more closely with the תָּמַל of the Psalm); He does not make a תָּמַל, but a תָּמַל, out of the תָּמַל of God in Him. He says not, I have *conquered* and *overcome* all; nor, I have fulfilled *all My sufferings*. And yet all this is in His meaning.

To whom, finally, does He speak this word? The first utterance upon the cross was spoken to God, but for men. The second to a man, to comfort him with the salvation of God; the third to mortals, who in the love of God and His love are commended to each other. The fourth is the first which He speaks for Himself alone with His God:—and yet most impressively for us all. In the fifth, though still almost alone with His own need, He yet indirectly turned to men. And the sixth—It is finished? It embraces all the references of the others in one: He speaks it for Himself, for the world, and for the Father.

He proclaims it *for Himself*, in contrast with the preceding complaint, as a *cry of victory and joy*,² the faint echo of which

¹ “Assuredly, the disciples became Apostles of Christ only in the faith that the Scripture was fulfilled through the shameful *death* of their Master, and that the work of atonement and redemption *was* thereby accomplished—not that it must first be accomplished in any sense through them.” Beck.

² Which Arndt in his Predigten S. 83 seems to have forgotten; but see S. 86.

we hear from His disciple, 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8. It is not "triumphantly" that He proclaims His victory (as we often read and hear), but in the sublimest *repose* which has scarcely emerged from the conflict; yet this is indeed the most internal commencement of His exaltation. Thus out of the final thirst springs at once the *beginning* of the foretaste of eternal joy, the satisfaction in the fulness of gladness of which Isa. liii. 11 and Ps. xvi. 11 (שָׂבַע שִׂמְחָה) speak. But this is in the secret of His heart as yet, because He is yet in the body upon the cross: His spirit is yet for a moment longer in the flesh. He speaks more generally, and in indefinite announcement, because He would speak it *at the same time to the world*, and be the herald of *His own* victory for *its* salvation, at that great crisis when the last of suffering and the first of glory met together. He here at the first, not deferring it one moment, preached the whole gospel in its entirety to His brethren, for the great congregation. (Ps. xxii. 22.) "The gospel which is now preached throughout the world, as based upon the sufferings and death of Jesus, is the unfolding of His word—It is finished!" (Rieger). This word was also in a certain sense "His *last* unto men" (as Lange says)—that is, as spoken among the words from the cross, in the body of death, during His humiliation. That which in the institution of the Supper and in the High-priestly Prayer He had anticipated in His disciples' hearing, is now sealed in its reality by this final and most proper *testament*—Now *have ye* My fulfilment, My perfect work, your salvation and glory! For this is not a departure from the world, in which He takes with Him and reserves for Himself the fruit of His fulfilment:—to show this *He now openly proclaims it*. Finally, He speaks this word out of the depth of His praying, thankful heart *to the Father*, as the ground and reason of what follows—Into Thine hands I commend *now*, because all is fulfilled, My spirit! The *thanksgiving* is there as the last tribute due from humanity to God; yet it is connected with the personal rejoicing of the perfected Son before the Father, glorying in His own triumph. Therefore it is *not*—Thou hast redeemed Me, Thou faithful Father, Thou hast fulfilled all! but He brings and presents Himself in His consummated sacrifice—Behold it, O Father! The Father alone fully *understands*

His Son; and, most profoundly considered, the unmentioned subject of the predicate is this—That is fulfilled *which Thou knowest*, O Father, that which Thou didst appoint, and which Thou seest now accomplished. This is the sealing and ratification of the work between the Father and the Son for all eternity. Hell from that moment hears the cry of victorious defiance, as if sounding already from heaven against all enemies; while upon earth it might *seem* as if the death of Christ would give His enemies room to cry out—"Our work is now accomplished, and His is ruined: we remain conquerors and masters!"¹ The heavens hear the cry of exultation in the first pure tones which begin "the songs of deliverance."² And yet this great triumphant word of consummation, which is now but an anticipation of faith, is followed finally by another word which is the last utterance of victorious faith—The perfecting self-surrender of the Son to the Father, as the world's Redeemer made perfect in the spirit.

SEVENTH WORD FROM THE CROSS.

(Luke xxiii. 46.)

Although spoken before His Father and as a cry toward heaven, yet the *It is finished!* was especially directed to men upon earth—as the farewell with which He goes and yet remains, as the testament, the bestowment and participation of which then immediately began. And now first comes His own *last word*, which stretching on to eternity announces His entrance into the presence of God—that is, as the Forerunner, taking us with Him and fetching us after Him! For all that is His is ours; *ours* are all His words and His whole and perfect self, all His accomplishment and work down to the end. And thus we may accept Dräseke's remark, which springs from a right feeling of the whole: "*Finished*—that is His farewell

¹ So Beck, Reden, i. 420. He follows this further and says that if Christ's kingdom had been of this world He must now have confessed—"Nothing is accomplished, but all is lost, My life and kingdom at once."

² Ps. xxxii. 7, already for the saints: רִנָּה לְפָנֵי יְהוָה.

greeting to earth; *Father, into Thine hands*—that is His entrance-greeting to heaven.”

Low and languishing was the “I thirst” sighed forth; heard only by those who stood near, and the ready ear of John. After this invigoration the sublime word of victory was uttered with more strength. But more loudly still, with a marvellously mighty sound (*φωνῇ μεγάλῃ*), and with unexpected quickness, He proclaimed His voluntary death as the delivering up of His spirit to the Father. To our mind, it was uttered with as loud a cry as the Eloi (*κράξας*, Mark xv. 39)—partly to make the word of victory the counterpoise of the word of lamentation; and partly to indicate, in the midst of the repose of victory, the critical *violence* of His death, the *rending* of His flesh by His own voluntary will, in order to the setting free of His spirit. St Matthew by “when He had cried with a loud voice,” St Mark by “cried with a loud voice”—since He did actually cry *something*—mean most probably this last word of all, of which St Luke decisively records, “and when He had said this, He gave up the ghost.” But St John, who had heard and reports the previous “It is finished,” indicates the dying word as well known by a brief paraphrase—*παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα*, *He gave up the ghost*, in which *παρέδωκε* Cyril found the *παραθήσομαι* reproduced.¹ And Nonnus renders it as an expression of *voluntary* dying (of which more hereafter)—*θελήμονι δ' εἰκαθε πόντῳ*, and *He departed by a voluntary death*.

His last like His first word on the cross calls upon and acknowledges His *Father*. Indeed this last word concerning the Father corresponds as well with the first public word, John ii. 16, as with the first word which we have generally, the child-word of Luke ii. 49. He does not yield Himself up in death to the blind power of nature, He does not commit Himself to unknown darkness, or to “the womb of the general life of the universe,” or to the pantheist universal Divinity; but He yields up His *personal* spirit independently to the living, *personal* God as His *Father*.²

¹ The transposition of Sepp, who makes the “It is finished” the seventh word, needs no refutation.

² “He who can imagine that Jesus in these words breathed out for ever His spirit into the air, knows nothing of the truly living spirit, and cer-

Because this separation of the spirit from the body is the destiny of man, into which He has, even after the "Finished," to enter, in order that the fruit and power of His Fulfilment might be exhibited in the domain of hitherto unconquered death—therefore He utters this naturally and appropriately *in the language of Scripture*. "He dies with the word of God in His mouth. His whole earthly existence had been lived out in this word of God—a saying of that word is the last companion of His departing soul through the dark valley (to Him no longer dark) of the shadow of death." (Arndt.) But there is something more to be observed here than this final use of scriptural language. Ps. xxxi. is properly not a prophecy of Christ, nor do we find in it even distinctive typical references; we read in vers. 4, 8, 15 of a hope of deliverance from the danger of death, and of the preservation of earthly life, and other things purely pertaining to humanity, such as in ver. 10 the mention of iniquity.¹ Nevertheless, on the other hand, the psalm does not proceed (as the alphabetical order of itself shows) from any defined situation of personal suffering; but it is a generally prophetic psalm of instruction, the fundamental tone of which is not so much distress as the *firm and clear confidence* in salvation: see the very beginning of it, ver. 1, and especially vers. 7, 14, 15, 17, 19–24. He whom the harassed righteous man calls *his God*, is the faithful God who will be, as He has promised, a sure *deliverer*—יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי מִצְּרָיִם. Hence Hengstenberg, with Cocceius, rightly acknowledges this *universal* significance of the psalm. But this is again, at the same time, no other than a most general form of typical reference to *Christ*; and Christ finally spoke in the language of *this* psalm, in order that taken in connection with Ps. xxii. and lxix. it might show that He walked generally the *human* way of faith, that He appropriated to Himself throughout and to the end all that was said of human confidence in distress and human appeal to God, as most profoundly applicable to Himself:—He spoke this lan-

tainly nothing of the living God and the living power of the Crucified." So Ullmann, S. u. K. 1847, S. 167.

¹ Unless מַצְרִי is to be interpreted (with Symmach. διὰ τὴν κάκιστον μου) of sufferings, as many so understand (though doubtfully) מַצְרִי in 2 Sam. xvi. 12; 1 Sam. xxviii. 10, etc.:—or to be read as מַצְרִי.

guage to the very end, where the Son of God, consummate in the flesh, *dies* in His own Divine independent power, and yet as truly dies the death of man. That which David magnifies as the confidence of the righteous man in *life*¹—to commend or dedicate his soul or his spirit to God—He now, in the simplest and yet sublimest manner, binding together firmly the Divine and the human, makes into an expression of His *ceasing to live* or dying, an expression used by Him in an unapproachable sense, and yet at the same time symbolical for us. And the use in the psalm of *לִי* instead of *לְךָ*, as well as the significant word *פָּדָה* (comp. Ps. xlix. 16, lxxi. 23) points profoundly to an eternal redemption out of and beyond this life; but this came first distinctly out in the lips of Christ.

For—let it be carefully marked!—He changes this Scripture, which did not refer personally to Himself; and in two ways, adding something and omitting something. He adds to it His new word *Father*, hitherto appropriate to Him alone, but now given to mankind for the encouragement of their confidence: *Πάτερ* here takes the place of *אֱלֹהֵינוּ*. Again, He gives up the words—For Thou hast redeemed me²—for that was scarcely now befitting on the lips of *Him*, who had already cried in “It is finished,” I have redeemed mankind! Yea, His God, in whom He trusted even in the midst of His most distressed lamentations, redeems Him now, and takes pleasure in the consummation of His sufferings for men; and thus He goes as a redeemed Redeemer, a delivered Deliverer, after His consummation, into His rest and joy with God. Yet even here, in the restrained emotion which pervades His passion, there is no *expression* of exultation in the prospect of bliss and glory: it is not from Ps. xvi. 9–11 or the like that His last words in the flesh are taken. Nor, *after* the “Finished,” is this “Father into Thy hands!” anything like “the battle-cry of a conqueror who is fighting his way through to victory; the death-cry of one who is sore oppressed and whose spirit is struggling its way

¹ And so St Peter counsels sufferers (1 Pet. iv. 19) who have time left for good works.

² Or, more exactly, Thou *redeemest* me! Expression of confidence for ever, consequently for everything pertaining to time (v. 16)—by no means a mere Preterite, Thou hast so often and in such manifold ways saved me!

into a place of eternal security,—the arms of the Almighty Father.”¹ Oh no, all struggling and fearful oppression was sealed and closed in the previous word. The profoundest and most blessed repose after toil is expressed in this surrender of the spirit to God, to the Father! It is, moreover, a human declaration of faith, in which the spirit avows its assurance of continuance apart from the body, because God will receive and preserve it;² but it is withal (so perfectly consummate is the God-man!) a majestic word of Divine authority, which should never be termed “His death-sigh.”

That which in Jno. x. 18 He had spoken concerning His own independent power to lay down and take up His life, is approved and confirmed here in the majestic and sublime *παράθωμαι*. Luke the Greek has given the whole saying strictly according to the Septuagint; therefore *eis χεῖράς σου* for *לְיָדָי* (which, however, Christ probably spoke in the sing.), and so the future *παράθωμαι*. But in the psalm *לְפָנָי* is certainly used with a present meaning, as the interchangeable continuations in vers. 7–9 show; and here the word at this great crisis has the force of a *παράτιθεμαι*, *παράτιθηναι*; Beza and Casaubon noted these as various readings of a correct gloss; and Lachmann actually adopts the former into the text. But it does not mean in the superficial sense “I commend,” as the Vulg. *commendo* might mislead one to think; but an actual *tradere*, *yielding up*, Joh. *παρέδωκεν*. Thus all those views are incorrect and opposed to the text, which liken *this* dying to the passive dying of any other man.³ Albertini missed his way very much when he preached: “Death mercifully drew nearer, to allay the bitterness of His anguish: as the energies of life sank, His pains relaxed.” And Ebrard is equally unhappy when he describes the crisis “when the sudden horror of death came near.” To Him who now voluntarily died, after the great “It is finished,” *death* had no longer power to draw near at all; but He who

¹ As Krummacher inadvertently expresses himself. Similarly Lange, who further speaks of a flying before the terrific form of death into the Father's arms. Assuredly there is no longer any terrific form now.

² “Above the poor question of mortals, To be or not to be? He is infinitely elevated!” This is the beautiful remark of Krummacher.

³ As Weiss introduces the “Finished”—“Yet there is a limit set to mortal power; Jesus felt the near approach of death.”

had now suffered and accomplished all in the dying of His soul, does not die His bodily death as a *sufferer*, but as in spirit already the Lord and Ruler of death. A sinful man, though an Elijah, can at best but utter the *supplicatory* *שְׁמַרְךָ אֱלֹהִים*, take my life (1 Kings xix. 4):—even Stephen, when by the counsel of God death actually came, can only utter the *appealing* “receive my spirit:”—the Son of God alone, the Lord of death, said to the Father in the highest truth of the word, I render up to Thee now My spirit! This was already intimated by St John in the “*knowing that all things were accomplished*,” and Hofmann’s remark is very correct: “He received (we add, desired) the refreshing drink; not, however, to protract His life, but because it was His Father’s will that He should not assume the appearance of languishing, and thus of *involuntarily giving up His life*.” That which Elijah, in the infirmity of his sinfulness, arrogated to himself the liberty of saying, though without result—*Now it is enough* (*כִּי עָתָה*) the Lord here speaks with supreme propriety—Because all things are accomplished, and there remains nothing more to fulfil, I now die, not sooner nor later than now! His death is thus His last *act*; and therefore not death as in our case, but simply the giving up of the spirit to the Father. No Evangelist uses the apostolical word, which comprehends all in one—*And He died*. His death is at the same time miraculously alone in its kind, like His birth; it was not possible to be otherwise. The utmost that may be said is this, that in Christ the physical process (of dying here) *coincided* entirely with the energy of His Spirit and will. But not through any “*harmonia præstabilita* :” the spirit is ever in Him the *ground* and *strength* of the bodily life. Thus the energies of life do not relax, as takes place in us; but in the power of the spirit there would have been present sufficient energy of bodily life to begin a new life. He dies as the act of His will in full vigour of life; and it was this which caused the Centurion’s wonder at the *crying*. There can be no *agony* supposed, at this crisis after the “*Finished* ;” far from us be every notion of obscurity, gradual weakening, convulsion, and everything of the kind.¹ Rambach, confused by his theology,

¹ Sepp’s perversion of the truth deserves to be put into his “Catalogue of the sins of learned Protestantism :” “In proportion as His anxiety (?)

speaks without any understanding when he represents this last "cry" of our Lord as a cry of anguish in the bitterness of death.

Jesus bowed *His head*, when He uttered His ~~word~~ to the Father; bending—not under the pressure of nature, and not in the sense in which it is the appointment of God for all, but under the decree of God concerning His *Son*, yet with His own will and as His own act, consummating His perfect *obedience* in this transition to His *power*. He enters into *rest*, that His work may begin again without suffering. He closes the eyes of weary flesh, that they may be soon opened again in a very different way. He *loses His consciousness* for one single vanishing instant; for that, as the abiding reality of His death in the likeness of men, is intimated by the expression that He, no longer master of Himself, gave up His spirit to the Father. But immediately after this critical moment begins His being quickened according to the Spirit (1 Pet. iii. 18), and His mighty work in the underworld. He bowed His head, that He might lift it up again! (Ps. cx. 7).

He came forth from the Father, and He goeth to the Father. Jno. xvi. 28. It is His last avowal—I am the Son of God! Uttering this, He dies. An "obscure but great presentiment of consolation" was poured by *this "Father!"* into the hearts of all the troubled believers who heard it. Into *Thine* hand or hands—as His body had been delivered to the hands of men and sinners, and His soul into the hand and power of the tempting enemy. But He does not mention the *body* or the *flesh*—it is self-understood that the hands of sinners have no more power over it, in fulfilment of Ps. xvi. 8, 9—He does not think specifically of that now; even as dying sinners, strong in the blessed confidence of faith, are often released in their consciousness from the body. Nor does He name the *soul*, but the *spirit* in which it lives, and which carries it with it; for *now* this *spirit* reigns most absolutely in His human nature. Not that His humanity is, in the sense of Rothe, converted into mere spirit; His human personal spirit, in the mention of which He commits His *I* into the Father's hands, is the perfect Son still increases, His eyes are darkened and His last death-rattle begins, the sun became more and more dark, and Jesus cried (words which were neither dark nor anxious)—Father, into Thine hands," etc.

and ever, and by no means becomes identical with the Holy Spirit. The receiving of the Holy Spirit from the Father is still in the future of His resurrection and glorification, in order that in this distinction the unity of the Spirit and the Son might finally be accomplished and realised in humanity, even as the unity of the Son with the Father.

Into the Father's *hands*, that is, into His protection, power, keeping (Wisd. iii. 1), He gives up His spirit; that is, first, *for the mean time*, for the intermediate space till He should return to the body, and then with the body ascend above all heavens. Geier has very well interpreted the פָּקִיד in the psalm—*tanquam פָּקִיד depositum*—and the *commendo* of the Vulg., rightly understood, means nothing else. But this *traditio ad depositum* must not be regarded as meaning, contrary to all anthropology and christology, that in death the spirit was separated from the soul.¹ Assuredly not, for *without* the human spirit the soul would be only animal, and, therefore, not continue to live.² We may conceive of a certain obscurity, a certain slumbering of the spirit in the dreaming soul, as existing among the *dead* in Sheol in various degrees, even among the happy dead in the slightest degree; but that One, who dies this great death, can enter into the kingdom of the dead only as the *Living One*, ζῶντων πνεύματι, as the Apostle says. Thus the πνεῦμά μου, My spirit, means the entire I, passing over and leaving the body, spirit and soul undivided, just as the soul now has uttered the μοῦ; the delivery into the Father's preserving hands expresses only *His confidence against all the power of Sheol*; it is a testimony that now for Christ, and from that time forward through Him for all His people, the might of the Father's life

¹ Rambach: "He deposits His spirit as a jewel of inestimable value in the hands of God, with the hope to receive it again on the third day, and to unite it again with His glorified body." Olshausen: "While the soul of Christ went to the dead in Sheol (but 1 Pet. iii. 18 testifies against that!) and His body rested in the sepulchre, His spirit returned to the Father. In the resurrection all was reunited into a harmonious unity."

² The dead who appear without a body are called in Scripture πνεύματα (Lu. xxiv. 37, 39; Acts xxiii. 8, 9)—yea, even the tormented in the prison, 1 Pet. iii. 19, as also the saints made perfect before the resurrection, Heb. xii. 23. With this, in another reference of the expression, Jude ver. 19 well agrees; compare my exposition of his Epistle, S. 101.

and love pervades and rules all regions of this kingdom of the dead. "We know but little of our state after death; but what Jesus said when dying is enough for us." There is also in His words a glance forward, beyond the intermediate state, to the final coming to the Father, with a deeper fulness of meaning than when the Preacher, Eccles. xii. 7, mentions the return of the spirit of man generally to God who gave it. Nevertheless, Christ's spirit did not at once go up to heaven (the word to the malefactor would contradict this), thither where the eternal Son was before; that did not take place until the glorified flesh could go there too. But all this as our Forerunner. The Forerunner brings us thither afterwards; but He now carries His whole Church with Him in His spirit, proleptically in this "It is finished" embracing all in whom He will live. On the one hand He first defined *His own* personality by *πνεῦμά μου*, as that which would "not simply continue to live in the general spirit of humanity;" but, on the other hand, in a prophetic mediatorial sense He already commits, after the "Finished," all the spirits of the sanctified, the entire Church as one with Him, to the Father.

Here is a *sta viator* for the pondering of all the living, who shall die. The dying word of the Conqueror and Forerunner becomes a word of test for every man. *Whither* in thy case, when it comes to this? No *man* hath power over the spirit, to retain or release it on the day of death. (Eccles. viii. 8; 1 Chron. xxx. 15; 2 Sam. xiv. 14.) What kind of *finished* wilt thou bring before God? Seek, while there is yet time, that which will be alone acceptable, through the finished work of thy Redeemer! *Then* wilt thou also, with conscious, voluntary submission in death, cry with Stephen—*Lord Jesus*, receive my spirit, *Thou hast redeemed me*; ¹ and, thus coming to the Son, come through Him to the Father.

¹ As Huss on his way to the pile repeatedly said: first, when they gave his soul over to devils with the paper crown, "But I commit my spirit into Thine hands, O Lord Jesus Christ; I commend my soul to Thee, who hast redeemed it"—and, again, "Thou hast redeemed me, my Lord Jesus, God of truth." The "I commend" has been by multitudes after him innocently used; although Stephen, full of the Holy Ghost, more properly remains within the limits of what becomes us.

And, behold, *the veil of the temple was rent*. This is the first thing which St Matthew mentions at the moment of the death of Jesus, before the earthquake which accompanied and caused it; St Mark mentions this alone; St Luke only seems to place it *before* the death. Schleiermacher cannot understand how this could be known, since the priests would certainly not betray it, and asks further, "Why is there not the faintest trace of a reference to it in the Epistle to the Hebrews?" But he did not rightly read Heb. x. 19, 20, where the most perfect interpretation of the sign is given. He who sleeps in Jesus will *experience* the truth of this, even though he did not believe or understand it before; but it is better and more blessed *previously* to be taught by the *Scripture*. The Old Testament is done away, but in its very abolition it is once more confirmed. This world-embracing death of Jesus has a more internal connection with this external, theocratical sanctuary of Israel, than the theology or philosophy of history which places the Old Testament on the same level as heathenism will understand. The entrance hitherto closed is now laid open; humanity, like Israel, has free access to the sanctuary of communion with God. Where hangs this veil, which Christ alone rends? Even in the symbol and shadow it was below and not above—not so much before God, as before man. It is, according to Isa. xxv. 7, the veil which is spread over all nations; and the covering cast over all the peoples (פְּנֵי-הָעַם, the face or the form of the covering)—the great pall of death, and the power of death through sin separating from God; that is (as the Epistle to the Hebrews teaches) the *flesh* of sin and death which the Saviour Himself received from us, in order that dying He might rend the veil first in *His own* flesh, and the Spirit and life of God might burst through upon man in a stream never more to be restrained.

The earth did quake—while He in the profoundest repose bowed His head! Jerusalem's temple and towers totter—"and the Cross of Christ alone is unshaken!"¹ *The rocks rent*—and should not thine heart quake, and the veil of thy flesh be rent, thou redeemed sinner? No man takes harm from these signs, for they are signs of salvation. And a *third sign*

¹ As Pape in his *Christus*, S. 220, sings.

completes the testimony of this day, of these hours, of this moment. Above in the heaven, from the light of the sun, began the first sign for the mystery of the counsel of redemption ;— upon the earth, the old, preliminary, mutable dispensation which predicted a new, immovable kingdom, recedes and gives place ; —and in the depths of the world beneath there is movement and convulsion, which also must become manifest. *The graves open!* For the life-creating power of this death begins even there its energy of salvation. All humanity dead before Christ had waited for Him—even the saints can now first rise again. Before they, after His resurrection, appear as the first-fruits of the “first resurrection,”¹ there is a *quicken*ing toward the resurrection even now at the crucifixion ; for in the kingdom of death begins the power of life, the grave is first opened by the Death in order to the subsequent resurrection.

The Centurion presiding over the crucifixion lifts his voice—the voice which afterwards burst forth more loudly from the heathen world against Israel’s denial²—and confesses : This man was what He said, that which Pilate declared Him—a righteous man—that which He had answered to their “Art Thou ?”—*the Son of God!* The twofold view of his testimony is true and significant in the spirit of the history. Whether thou renderest Him at first the *Ebionite* acknowledgment of His being a righteous man, or the indefinite and *Gentile* honour of being a Son of God, is of no moment at the first : *thy faith* avails, thou already *glorifiest* God, and God will assuredly glorify His Son in thee. But in order to that, it must be the faith of repentance ! For the two immediate influences of the signs which took place around the Cross, as Lu. vers. 47, 48 combines them, are in most internal unity, and reciprocal in their operation :—first, the giving God honour in sincere acknowledgment of the impression produced by what *has taken place* ; and then the *smiting upon the breast* unto repentance, the preparation for Pentecost, and change from a mere idle beholding. Thus the voice of *reason* and the voice of *conscience* give their testimony in answer to the question—*Who was this Jesus who died upon Calvary ?*

¹ Not merely, as Lange makes them, “spirit-appearances !”

² The honourable spirit among the rude soldiers, in opposition to the hypocritical priests

THE SEVEN WORDS TOGETHER.

We cannot leave these words, though we have entered at large upon each, before regarding them once more as a whole. The sacred *seven-number* would of itself demand this. Bengel writes: "The words are seven, according to the four Evangelists: no one of them has written down all. From which it appears that their four books are as it were four voices which together make full symphony." And certainly he is right. Not that Christ Himself thought of this, or designed that His words should be just seven more; nor did the Evangelist intend it or order it so, for no one of the Synoptics knew all that had been spoken. St John might have comprised them all; but he has not done so, only supplying what was wanting and leaving us to connect the whole. But the seven words approve themselves in their connected harmony, after a wonderful manner; thus giving us one more testimony and example that, as in the history of Jesus first, so also in the Scriptures concerning Him, there is a most mysterious rule and order to be discerned. Such results of the combination of the whole, though they were not aimed at by the writers themselves, throw back a confirming and glorifying light upon the truth and significance of the *history* of the Son of God in the flesh, and especially of the history of His Passion. "The *suffering* Christ *speaks*, as the *symbol* of a fulness of most profound truths and references the most significant, a *language* to the world which could scarcely have been uttered in the tones of His living word"—says Olshausen truly;¹ yet, however true this is of the impressive voice of the history in all its circumstances and details, which to our thoughtful contemplation become more and more invested with the character of symbols and speaking acts—it could not fail to be still more profoundly true of these final and most essential *words* of the Word. The suffering Lord, hanging upon the cross, broke the silence and opened His lips seven times:—*these* words are to us as the bright lights of heaven shining at intervals through

¹ And adds that "the most unbounded imagination could not produce a poem which should equal this *reality*."

the darkness, or as the loud thundertones from above and within, which *interpret* the cross, and in which it receives, so to speak, another collective superscription. Braune says beautifully: "The poet is right; the *cross* is a plant which bears fruit without blossoms. But yet the last words of Jesus may be regarded as the most glorious *blossoms*"—of the cross, of the dry tree planted to bring forth fruit. For thus we would prefer to close his sentence, instead of saying (in the spirit of Schleiermacher), "the most glorious blossoms of pious elevation and communion with the Father."

And what significance is there in the individual words; how sharply definite is each single tone in the seventoned symphony! The first word is most gracious in its invitation for the commencement of all faith, universally embracing the entire guilty world of His enemies. The second to the malefactor then follows as the most specifically encouraging to all individual souls, in all ages, who believingly turn in their distress to their sympathising King. The third to Mary and John may be termed the most pregnant in its meaning,¹ inasmuch as this most personal discharge of His obligation and most specific care of these disciples is at the same time the pledge of His equal care of all whom He leaves behind Him upon earth. The fourth is without doubt in its central darkness the most mysteriously deep, although it contains in itself the kernel of all the consolation of redemption:—"When my heart is sunk in deepest anguish, pluck me out of my distress by the virtue of Thy anguish and pain!" The fifth, *I thirst!* we have already termed the least seemingly significant; but its inmost meaning, as the expression of the thirst of Jesus after our souls, makes it the most touching and affecting of all in its appeal. We may regard *It is finished!* as the most sublime, the widest, and most boundless of the series; while the seventh and last is the most blessed word of faith; the sealing, moreover, of the end of faith for all Christ's disciples.

Another thing observable is this, that *almost* all the seven words here, where all things tend to final fulfilment, point back to *prophecy*, and are spoken more or less in the words of *Scripture*.

¹ Or, which is the same thing, the *most symbolical*, the meaning of which as referring to us all is most hidden in the form of type.

ture.¹ Properly speaking, the *fourth* in its central fulfilment is spoken in the most literal words of Scripture; and with it the *seventh*, as a glorifying application of a general human word (which here alone finds its true *πλήρωσις*). The *first* rests upon the Messianic prophecy of Isa. liii. 12; the *fifth* and *sixth* point to Messianic psalms (that one which passes from lamentation into victory). Only the second and third were originated by specific circumstances, and have, so far as we can yet see, no typical-prophetical basis in the Old Testament; though light may yet be shed upon this.² And even these will be found all the more plainly to approve their place as belonging to the wonderfully arranged completeness and unity of the whole.

We must make some further observations, in connection with this, upon the *completeness* of the whole, and then upon the significant *order* of the individual words of the series. These seven words perfectly embrace the fulness of those truths and relations which the cross was to reveal. Bengel: "This summing up of all doctrine regards His enemies, the converted sinner, His mother and the disciple (that is, we may add, the communion of His own), and His heavenly Father." Which teaches us not to forget that the Lord in all these words, and not pre-eminently from the fourth to the sixth, bears witness *concerning Himself*. Thus He lets us contemplate (to use Dräseke's words, which, however, we correct) the *object* of the redeeming work in the first; its *fruit* and *power* in the second and third;³ its *price* (how much it cost) in the fourth; its *extent* (how far His suffering went, and the longing of His soul still reaches) in the fifth; its *consummation* in the sixth; finally its perfect *end* in the self-surrender to the Father. Thus, at least, has the

¹ Rambach applied Wisd. ii. 20 to this: Then shall a man be known by his words! But this is not faithful to the original of that passage.

² That what Karrer (Luth. Zeits. 1849. 2, S. 323) adduces, is not satisfactory; for what reference can be found in Ps. xxii. 9, 10, to the word spoken to Mary, or in Ps. xxii. 29, 30, to that spoken to the malefactor? So also the reference of the "Finished" to Isa. liii. 11 is incorrect.

³ This is better than Dräseke's view. He changes the order of these two, and sees in the fellowship of love symbolised in Mary and John, the fruit, and in the obtaining of Paradise the power, of redemption. (Comp. his Predigten, Magdeburg 1839.) Is not the winning and the saving of this sinner, as a first-fruit, its *fruit*; and the cementing love, its *power*?

preaching of the Holy Spirit in the Church from the beginning summed up all doctrine in these words, thus giving their most living and most profound exposition :—an “*anakephaleosis doctrinæ*,” as Bengel says, “*nobis profuturæ in nostris horis extremis*”—all profitable truth *for our last hour*.

The quotation we introduced from Richter's Family Bible is not strictly exact ; to wit, “that the first three words before the darkness were spoken to others, the last four referring to Christ Himself alone.” Assuredly, the first word begins in the most absolute *self-forgetfulness*, sinks with all-embracing love into the need of others. Forgive *them*—what *they* do ; without adding—to *Me*. The last, on the contrary, appears to be the most perfect retreat into His own personality, which He gives up to the Father. But the process and gradation between these two extremes must be more carefully looked at. To the second word of especial grace, which actually effects the forgiveness of sins in one pattern and first-fruit of sinners, He is excited and *called* by the malefactor himself ; but that word Paradise, which was the encouragement of that sinner, reminds the Lord, as of the anguish to be passed through before, so also of those whom He would leave behind in the world ; hence, therefore, the testament of love for them and for us all. Then, indeed, in the middle of the conflict, where He has to do with His God alone, the *Eloi, Eloi*, is uttered in the most perfect *forgetfulness of all others*, from the depths of the utter loneliness of His soul. But the consciousness immediately returns to Him that He must accomplish for the world's redemption what had been decreed and written ; consequently *He turns*, as we saw, in His thirst, once more *to men* ; He cries out to the *world*, as well as to His Father, and Himself, the great “*Fulfilled* ;” and finally (yet not without secret conjunction with Himself of those made perfect in Him) He yields up *Himself* as perfected to the Father.

All this has already indicated the significance of the specific *order* in which we find them. This may be meditated upon still further—for the subject is inexhaustible to meditation—and the more we meditate upon it, the more will our exegetical arrangement approve itself. With what could the Lord *begin* but the great *intercession* at the commencement of His crucifixion, which embraces first His crucifiers, and in them all other sinners ?

"Love first of all stoops to the most wretched." (Dräseke.) Therefore we hear first this testimony to the love which brought Him to death and the cross, in unison with His conscious experience of the love of the Father whom He invokes, which not only suffered this awful act to take place, but suffered it to take place *in order* to forgiveness. With what could He close but the—Father into Thine hands?¹ Further, where could the Lord have spoken those two words, the promise of salvation in another world and the provision for this world's happiness, but, in the all-embracing conscious activity of His love, *before* His own personal anguish of soul. And, again, He who was dying for sinners, and interceding for impenitent sinners, has a sinner made penitent to encourage and save, *before* He turns to those who were already His own. And where, if all these things were placed fragmentarily in our hands, should we place the two other words—the avowal of distress and need, in order to receive from His enemies the last, albeit bitter portion, and the blessed retrospect upon all the suffering by which all was now fulfilled and the world delivered—but *after* the soul-anguish, and *before* the immediate dying words?² Thus the *middle word* of the seven in its order, is in reality the central and middle word in its meaning; before which we behold, as it were, a descent of comprehensive and conscious love to the first departure from this earthly life, and after which an ascent again to consummating elevation and serenity. What Rieger says is true, that Christ is in the first triad of words "so little moved by all the mockery around from His heavenly composure and kingly spirit, that we may well glory in this cross ourselves, against all the world's scorn now." As High Priest He supplicates for all; as King He dispenses grace and salvation to the suppliant;³ as the Master

¹ So that the transposition of this word into a place before "It is finished" (which we have met with) appears altogether contrary to the spirit of both words, when viewed as spoken in such circumstances by Christ. It is intelligible enough in the low view which Weiss takes of it: *Not only at first the "resignation and confidence of the devout God-loving man"—but still more joyful, "The vocation was accomplished, the end of life was attained."*

² We cannot conceive how the "I thirst" could be placed before the great anguish, as many maintain.

³ For to refer this word concerning *kingdom* and *paradise* (with Lange

of the household, or, so to speak, the Father of the house, He makes provision for His family. This is the triumph of His love, which blesses enemies; of His grace, which receives such as come to Him; of His fidelity, which forgets no needful care. All this is quite true; and yet is there not manifest, in the mention of *Paradise* (longed for by the sufferer Himself) instead of *kingdom*, and still more in the appointment of a deputy to represent His earthly life and care, a certain humiliation and dejection of tone which anticipates and waits for the great anguish? But afterwards, again, what an ascending process of feeling from the satisfied thirst through the Finished to the majestic *Παραθήσομαι*, I commend My spirit!

But all this has not yet pointed out even the several directions which meditation may take. How much lies in the depths of each word in its concrete connection with the history out of which it sprang, and how much for general application and deep reflection, which our exposition has as yet but slightly indicated! Let us look once more at this pregnant fulness, that we may be on our guard against all superficial treatment of them. Thus the *first* word contains in it the whole doctrine concerning forgiveness, and the difference between sin pardonable and unpardonable; giving the profoundest disclosure of the condition and procedure of sin, as ignorantly crucifying or knowingly scorning the Lord, and also of that repentance by which a salutary knowledge of sin is attained, and which is the necessary condition of forgiveness. The *second* throws its enlightening beams into the darkness of the Underworld, and speaks of the restoration of that which was lost in Adam. The *third* obviates a misunderstanding concerning His relations to His mother, which has filled ages with its sad results; and in the abolition of His sonship according to the flesh points to new and spiritual relationships by a figure which is to be understood as applicable to all. The *fourth* penetrates the depths of humanity struggling toward Him when future, and backward to Him in the past;—and so forth. Dräseke's rhetorical words are to be taken with much modification: "These Seven Words are not to be expounded—they expound themselves. They are deeper than the sea, and in the Christoterpe) merely to the "penitent" and the "Priest," by no means comes up to its meaning.

higher than heaven; but they are at the same time bright as the sun, and need not the lamplight of our explanations." Most certainly, the lamplight of *our* so-called exposition is of no avail here; but if that Holy Spirit, through whom Jesus spoke words which even His human consciousness did not embrace at the moment in all that was involved in them, sheds His light upon those words, we may surely investigate them with humble prayer for His enlightenment.

A new method of observation presents itself when we regard all, as we certainly have a right to do, as *symbolical* for the followers of the Forerunner, the members of the Head. In them we learn, as before, to *live* in the fellowship of the death of Christ, so also and especially to die bodily in that fellowship; we can appropriate every word in our degree to ourselves. We can pray for our enemies, comfort with our own consolation every tempted soul, receive all true penitence as valid to the last, forget no offices of loving care through life and in death, cry even in our most distressed abandonment in faith to our God, shrink from and be ashamed of no infirmity, work in suffering and in suffering labour, until there is for us also a final Fulfilment, and the commendation of our spirits to our Father.

Finally, the character of the Seven Words as the budding blossoms of the cross is justified in this, that they, like blossoms, prophesy, and bear in themselves the future of their consummation. Bengel says, with reference primarily to the individual Christian: "Even in the very order of the words there lie mysteries; and they may be made to declare the gradations of the persecution, affliction, and conflict of the Christian." We would not only apply this to the process of every Christian's life, but regard the order of the words as a *prophetic type* for the *entire course of the church* as a whole.¹ That the life of our

¹ This may at least be better carried through than Bengel's parallel with the *seven petitions* of the Lord's Prayer. For even if the first and the last petitions may suggest such an accordance, the series between cannot be paralleled without violence; and indeed the fourth and the sixth words defy it altogether.—For the rest, when my critic Münchmeyer declares my exposition also to be arbitrary trifling, and offers to trace in the same manner the process of the Church's history in the Ten Commandments—I can only challenge him with all submission to the test.

Lord generally contains in itself a typical prophecy for the church called to follow in His steps, has been ever involuntarily acknowledged by believers; the conviction, however, that in the way of the Head there is also a specific *preformation* of the history of His body, is not so generally received: but it is so nevertheless. But this symbolical character of His history, which is at the same time prophecy (for all the symbols of Scripture and Christ's kingdom are prophetic, because they all point forward to the end, while anything remains to be accomplished) is found in its more absolute concentration in the *history of the Passion*. And again the cycle of the seven words represents a specific cycle in that. We cannot suppress our own *presentiment* of this; for by so doing we should be denying the full truth to many of our readers.

The preaching of *forgiveness* to a world not knowing what it did, the first form of the word on the cross, specifically *opens* the church's history. The Jews did what they did; that is, crucified and rejected Jesus, without knowing *whom* they crucified, and *what* they did thereby: therefore this was disclosed to them for their repentance, and mercy was ready to follow. The Gentiles did not know *that* they had done it, that their sinful deeds were the cause of His sufferings—but after the times of ignorance which were winked at, grace, obtained now by the death of Christ, is offered likewise to them. Out of the first "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," as its key-note, flows the first apostolical preaching to the world as a whole, all preaching of the Gospel now where it enters for the first time. The two following words from the cross then represent in prophetic type the two results: the first-fruits (that is, of the Gentile world also, as added to the little confessing company of Jews) are collected together; and they are then, as belonging to Christ, preserved, cared for, and united in one. The one malefactor is the prophetic example of the many (comp. Matt. viii. 10, 11) who, in the deepest and most internal fear of God, break through the mockery and offence of the cross, recognise in the Crucified their King and their Saviour, and commend their souls to Him; especially of all those who, themselves enduring the sufferings and judgments of an evil time, recognise in those the just award of their

deeds, and receive from Christ the glorious hope of a Paradise beyond. And is not this the *predominant* character of the church's extension and its missionary history during the first centuries of calamity and persecution of Christians? But these thus won ever increase the little company of Christ's people, so small in the beginning of the Gospel, and which is exhibited in the persons of *Mary* and *John*. Such are all who endure in love beneath the cross, whose fidelity will never forsake their suffering Lord: He therefore shows His fidelity to them in caring for their earthly life before they are received to Paradise. Here behold the testamentary provision for the church upon earth—and that in and by its union in love! Still more: as *Mary* is here the type of believing humanity in the old covenant, in and out of which Christ was born by the Holy Ghost, so further she is the type of the *church*, which beareth Him continually in successive spiritual births. This is His mother, who travailed and brought forth the mystical Christ (Rev. xii. 5)—and yet at the same time *not* His mother, as He is her exalted Lord. *This* *Mary* is left in the care of *John*, the disciple of love, who through love penetrated most deeply the heart of Jesus and the mysteries of His word,—rather than to the preacher and confessor, *Peter*. Preaching may gather, instruction may regulate, and confession may in a certain sense hold it together; but it is only love, at once inward and contemplative (not so much dialectic and dogmatical) which nourishes and takes care of the true church. The beginning of the church's life bore pre-eminently this Johannæan character—See how these Christians love one another! and so at the end of its history *St John*, the fourth Evangelist, the writer of the Epistles of love, and at the same time the apocalyptic Apostle, will again take to himself the church bearing the anguish of the cross in her heart, and be her refuge and consolation from the final woes. This *Johannæan* love, and in it the blessed communion of secret traditions and experiences of Jesus, founds the new spiritual fellowship. While peoples and nations come and go in history, empires rise and fall, and the bonds of society are more and more relaxed—within the hidden church there is the continual realisation of that first truth, Behold thy son; behold thy mother; behold

your brethren and your sisters! Was not this the predominant character of church history during those wanderings of the nations which prepared for the crisis of the middle ages in the world's history?

But in these middle ages, rightly so called as in the midst of time, the central word from the cross is most especially realised:—the power and light of Christ are hidden, darkness breaks in, the mystically repeated crucifixion of Christ begins for the struggle and victory of the Faith hardly beset. Then comes a time (although a more exact fulfilment is before us still, in the last hour, Rev. iii. 10) when the people of Jesus must raise to heaven the lamentation of *abandonment*. Then begins the crisis of the second part of history. Christ in His people once more holds firmly to *His God*; the *Scripture*, which must have its fulfilment likewise in these sufferings of the church, is unsealed in victorious clearness. (The first Reformation—followed by a continually enlarging view of the prophecies which predicted anti-Christendom and its transitory power.) The Lord's *thirst* in His abandonment after the consummation is renewed in all its force as a thirst for human souls which *must* be satisfied—in the midst of the never-ceasing mockery and scorn which is now once more heard. This is the revived preaching of the Gospel, proceeding from the Spirit's strong impulse to save the souls of men; the preaching of reformation first,—then, when this alas became cold and frigid, bringing over into our own age the Brethren's and the Pietists' words from the heart to the heart. In all this the voice of the Lord, forsaken and yet no longer forsaken, is heard—I thirst! Those whom He thus wins are, however, not such thoroughly sound, and earnest, and strong confessors as the first-fruits of apostolic preaching were before the church was forsaken, and who were represented by the malefactor with his bold glance onward to the *kingdom* of Christ. Ah no, they more resemble as a whole the soldier who gives the potion, who, half-heartedly, still clings to the world which mocks the kingly sway of Jesus, and wonders at the long delay of the restorer Elias. This is the historical and *predominant* character of the conversions within the church during the continued Reformation (hence Luther, with more truth than the Reformed,

laments that he could not find St John's constitution of the church; and even among the "Brethren," Mary and John do not truly meet)—and it is also the same now, in the second Reformation, with our *Missions* which proceed so feebly in the midst of scorn. This little flock of heathens, which comes to allay the thirst for consummation in humanity, only excites it the more; and itself utters the great cry, wavering between unbelief and faith,—Why does Elias yet tarry?¹ And here that miserable perversion of Christ's sacred word marvellously approves itself in prophetic truth, such as *all* mockery around the cross will fundamentally prove to have been. He who called upon His God, did thereby at the same time call upon His Forerunner and the Preparer of the way for the true accomplishment of all that has been promised.

And it will not cease till the great day, according to Mal. vi. 5, 6 at the end of prophecy. The Elias-preaching in the power of John—not only the Baptist's to repentance, but the Evangelist's also to faith and love—will be different from that which has gone before. For the Lord will bring in a *speedy* end with His church and humanity, even as in the last three words from the cross. It was just then, when the potion was scornfully given to His thirst, that the "It is finished!" was near. Then will Israel hear it, and the "Crucify!" will be changed to a true Hosanna, when He is seen *coming* in His poor congregations and feeble hearts throughout all nations, in the loud witness which the history of His church will give to the *fulfilment of Scripture*.² Then will Israel recognise the suffering Messiah as glorious *in the Spirit*; a second time will *the veil be rent*, the veil which now covers their hearts; the cloud upon the law and the Prophets will disappear before the light of the Epistle to the Hebrews and of the Apocalypse, of St Paul and St John. Then will all nations come, the

¹ In which the impatience of waiting is affectingly blended with the doubt of half-belief and the scorn of unbelief.

² The true, perfect, and clear "prophetic theology" we shall not have till the end draws nigh. (Dan. xii. 4.) But its centre, viewed from which all becomes clear, is the knowledge of the *sufferings* (1 Peter i. 11) before the glory, and that also for *Christ in His people*. This last will be made plain only in the historical fulfilment, just as it was in relation to Christ's own personal sufferings.

consummation break forth in humanity, and the counterpart of the *τετέλεσται* will be seen in the kingdom set up.

But that will be a kingdom of *His Spirit*, of His own personality now consummated in His people. All trust of humanity, which can commend itself to God (as it is expressed by Ps. xxxi., *therefore* chosen), is concentrated, elevated, fulfilled in *Him*. His enemies are beneath His feet; the last enemy *death* is abolished; and for eternity the Son *delivers up* Himself with His redeemed ones *to the Father* (1 Cor. xv. 24-26). There is no more Sheol, no intermediate place or condition; only the depth of hell remains for those who are now decisively separated from Him and the Father, because the hand of God must condemn all whom it cannot receive and bless. It is a fearful thing to fall *into the hands* of the living God without atonement and *forgiveness* (Heb. x. 31)—a *blessed* thing it is, to be given into the hands of the Father at last with Christ Himself.

THE

WORDS OF THE RISEN AND ASCENDING LORD.

FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE RISEN LORD TO MARY MAGDALENE.

(Jno. xx. 15-17.)

THE first earthquake upon and around Golgotha, extending indeed over all Jerusalem to the temple and the graves, had been public and general; the second only moves the stone in Joseph's garden and scares the guards away. The proper resurrection itself had been secret, altogether secret, to man; the eye of no earthly watcher had seen the actual resumption of the body, the rising, and the going forth. Before the sun of this lower world had risen upon the third day, the Sun of Righteousness has already risen, the Bridegroom has gone forth from His chamber. And how did it take place? By the Divine power of the Father in the Son. That might indeed have passed *through* the stone, as afterwards through the doors, yea through all the heavens;¹ but the stone rolled away was to be the first sign—explaining all—for the children of men, whether enemies or friends; and here was something for the ministry of the ever-ready angels too. They speak first to the troubled ones, and at once announce, by shining manifestation and by their words yet brighter, what had taken place. But the Lord Himself rejoices in silence before His Father and His God; solemnising His great victory in the human foretaste of His full joy. His

¹ Hence many of the Fathers actually say that the opening of the sepulchre took place after the Lord's departure from it, as a witness. Lössel writes against this, though too boldly: "Was not the Son of God able to come forth from His grave without the ministration of an angel to take away the stone:—and yet will the children of men think to do all by their own ingenuity?" Alas, who will roll away the stone *for us*?

spirit comes back from the lower world to His body, leaving His commencing conquests there : there is no *awaking* in His case, as those imagine who wholly misunderstand the *descensus ad inferos* ; and yet is His resurrection the consummation of His great victory, and He celebrates it as such. And although the impulse of His love urged Him at once to the company of His own upon earth, who are still in the sorrow of death, yet He does not overwhelm them with sudden surprise at His glorious reappearance, but restrains Himself, yields Himself to their view by degrees regulated in the highest wisdom of love. Their minds are gradually prepared, each one according to its temperament and need. Lampe expresses it : *placuit ei, non uno ictu, sed gradatim tanti gaudii amicos suos participes reddere.*

There is confusion at the sepulchre, and afterwards in the little room, in the thoughts and acts of the disciples, like the clouds around the rising sun : until it shone forth in all its glory—The Lord is risen indeed ! It has taken place—and yet they know it, they believe it, not ! There is joy—and yet they are enveloped in deep distress ; these Apostles are doubting, thinking, and waiting longest of all. Yet there is a latent impulse in their minds which drives them *to the sepulchre* ; a heavenly guidance leads some among them at least, as representing the rest, whose thoughts and feelings are still at the *grave of their Lord*. They come not singly : neither Magdalene (although it might seem so at first from St John) nor the disciples whom she called :—a bond of love has been already established which should ripen into a fellowship of blessedness. The true and deep love of the women has here also its pre-eminence. *Novam hæ mulieres viris palmam præripiunt*, says Lampe ; but adds, not quite so pertinently, *et sic quoque fas erat in regno Christi ultimos evadere primos*—for in the sense of this saying the women were not, properly speaking, the last.

They know of the stone which Joseph had rolled to the sepulchre ; but they do not think of it until they have approached it : of guards and a seal they know nothing ; of the resurrection they have no distant presentiment : they only desire to finish the anointing *of the body* which had been abruptly interrupted by the Sabbath. And yet a most secret hope, concealed even from themselves in their sorrowful love, seemed to

lead them out, as it were, to meet the resurrection.¹ "Their running was in the meanwhile an actual going forth towards the resurrection of the dead, and the faith and experience of the life of Jesus." (Rieger.) Christ already lives in them; their sorrowing, seeking, dependence upon Him, and going after Him, is actually of itself the pledge of the resurrection: as the angels' word, Matt. xxviii. 5, 6, will intimate that, always and everywhere, those who seek the Crucified, shall find the Risen Lord.² Thus these women and disciples, especially Mary Magdalene (who not only, as Fikenscher says, takes the place here of James, in company with Peter and John, but is still more highly favoured by the first Appearance), are a type of all penitent souls, who go out in sorrow to meet their Easter consolation.

The narratives of the several visits, which have been deemed inextricably contradictory by the ignorant and wilful, have been easily reconciled by believing exposition, one way or another, from the beginning. St John mentions at first only Mary Magdalene, because he purposes only to speak concerning her; but we think, in harmony with St Matthew and St Mark, that she went out with the other women.³ And consistently with this it is quite possible, rather quite probable from the passionate temperament of the Magdalene, that she *hastening forward reached the place earlier*; and to this the difference between St Mark's ἀνατελειαντος τοῦ ἡλίου and St John's σκοτίας ἐτι οὔσης seems to lead. Just so she runs back again (τρέχει, Jno. xx. 2) from the others after the first glimpse of the open grave; without having approached or entered it, without seeing the angel upon the stone (her profound grief rendering her unsusceptible to this), and without having heard his words, and those of the two angels within. Then come the others to the sepulchre; the angel, he who sat upon the stone which bore the

¹ As Krummacher has very beautifully depicted it in his sermon on Easter morning and Mary Magdalene. We shall make many allusions to this sermon.

² Or: "No man can sink into the death of Christ without rising in His resurrection."

³ Not, with Ebrard, that "St Matthew couples the going out of Magdalene with that of the other women, quite after his manner."

seal of the council, speaks to them (Matt. ver. 6 Δεῦτε, ἴδετε τὸν τόπον), and they depart *in haste*, as he commanded them. Yet not all. They are probably some who came after, or who now remain, who according to St Luke see the *two* angels in the sepulchre, who receive the *τί ζητεῖτε* (for the rest, however, with the same message as before, a similar allusion to Christ's words), and according to Lu. ver. 22-24, merely report the vision of the angels.¹ We must assume that St Luke's information was not exact when in ver. 10 he speaks too generally of the collective women; but St Matthew designs, by self-restriction, or was appointed by the Holy Ghost, not to record the appearance to Mary Magdalene, but only the circumstance that a part of the women saw the Lord in the way. Generally speaking, the Sun of the true resurrection dispersed by His brightness the clouds which accompanied His rising, and threw them in some sense into oblivion. The details of the individual Appearances before the great revelation in the apostolical circle, fell so naturally into the background, that subsequent reflection alone attempted to arrange them; and that not with such elaborate exactness as was left to our later criticism.² Unless we prefer to take the narratives and the words in their simplicity (apart from the polemical necessity of refuting the investigations of infidelity), just as the Holy Spirit has recorded them:—as announcements which *on such a subject* transcend all the petty details of lower history, in which every utterance breathes the spirit and life of the great event.

Thus Magdalene runs back, according to John, ver. 2, and seeks or finds those two of the Apostles first, whose province it was to go and inspect the sepulchre. Peter, who had gained courage enough to join himself to the others,³ had united him-

¹ Thus do we solve, in the way most harmonious with the text (although other methods are possible), the seeming contradiction—brought forward by Celsus—between one or two angels. Not, as Lücke thinks, that one of the Evangelists is mistaken.

² Comp. what Martensen (Dogmatik S. 361) says upon this: As we should expect only such records of the great and absorbing fact of the resurrection, as would leave the cotemporaneous details uncared for in its first great impression.

³ For we may not say, with Sepp, that "the remaining Apostles were all dispersed, and no one knew rightly concerning any other."

self, since his fall, yet more strictly to John. They both come to the sepulchre, without meeting the returning women. (St Luke mentions only Peter in ver. 12, but in ver. 24 knows of certain other.) *They* have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and *we* know not where they have laid Him! Thus ran the communication to them. This *οἶδαμεν* of Magdalene (for which Pol. Leyser read *οἶδα μὲν*, and the Syr. and other old vers. translate it in the sing.) cannot be interpreted impersonally, when connected with *ἦραν*:—He has been taken away, it is not known where! This would be frigid indeed. Rather, as her sorrow forecasts the worst, and as her unbelief thinks more of the hands of men than of the power of God, she shudderingly refers to the *enemies* of Jesus:—They have persecuted Him to the grave, and have now denied Him the resting-place which had been granted to our supplications.¹ With this would harmonise the general “We,” as contradistinguishing His friends and disciples,² were it not that this “We” must belong to the announcement to these disciples, and therefore distinguish the speakers from them. Consequently we must regard the company of attendant women as glimmering through this “we;” and therefore that St John thereby intimates the presence of others with Mary Magdalene.³ For although the others afterwards encountered the angels and heard otherwise from them, Mary Magdalene speaks by anticipation in their name, as if they also would find, like herself, nothing else.

St John, reporting concerning himself in a purely objective manner, records the difference between the two disciples in their running and inspection; and that not merely as personally cha-

¹ It was far from her mind to think of *robbers* (as Grotius). Still less are we satisfied with Klee: Friends might have removed Him to another place, to secure Him against further ill treatment. Ver. 15 is adduced in corroboration of this, but we understand that passage differently.

² Bengel: *discipulorum nomine, quos scribat eadem de re laborare*. So Ebrard.

³ Bengel in the Harmony: “Yet was it in fact one united company, as is presupposed by John, ver. 2.” So Michaelis and others; Doedes, also, *de Jesu in vitam reditu*, whom Ebrard opposes without reason. Luthardt rightly refers to this circumstance, as an example of the manner in which the Evangelist throughout this chapter presupposes the historical contents of the other gospels.

racteristic of either, but as a profound symbol of spiritual distinction in the circle of disciples, even in connection with their closest union.¹ Luther, finally, has 'in our judgment rightly translated the *ἐπίστευεν* of ver. 8—"He believed it;" adding in the margin, "*that He had been taken away*, as Mary Magdalene had said." So Bengel: *vidit et credidit: vidit*, non adesse corpus Jesu, et *credidit*, id fuisse translatum, ut dixerat Maria. Stolz and Seiler: "and convinced himself." Erasmus, Grotius, Gerhard, not to mention others, hold the same view. The predominant opinion of older and later times, however confidently maintained, that this *πίστευεν* must necessarily indicate a faith, though only dawning or germinant, in the *resurrection*,² appears to us altogether untenable. The next verse does not agree with this; the emphasis falls there upon the *ἀναστῆναι*, as the opposite to that which they did believe. For certainly it is altogether wrong to regard this verse as giving the reason why Peter only did not believe—though this has been done, in spite of "they knew" and the entire connection! Hezel even rendered it, "but the *others* did not understand the Scripture, and therefore did not believe!!" Fikenscher says, "They should have had more than faith, they should have *known* it"—so that the emphasis would fall upon the *must*, as taught by the Scripture.³ But *such* a distinction between believing and knowing is foreign to

¹ Peter's slowness proceeded not from age, or depression of conscience; but deeper internal love here as ever goes faster than swiftness. Then again John is satisfied with *looking* into the grave, and a deeper feeling of holy awe restrains him from going in like Peter. (Wetstein, with as much folly as possible: ne pollueretur! Grotius, much too tamely: *juvenili quadam ἀπροσέξ(η).*)

² So Cyril and Chrysostom: then Calvin, Beza, Lampe. (Nonnus sought to save the connection with ver. 9 by the strange modification: *πίστιν ἐν τοῖς χθονίαις ἀπὸ κήλων οὐρανίου ἐπὶ πίζαν ὑπνέμιος νίκης ἔπτε.*) So very decisively Lange, in the 3 Edit., though by arguments easily refuted. Neander rests upon this necessary meaning of *πιστεύειν* in St John's phraseology, which also decides Alford. So also Lange, Klee, B.-Crusius, Richter, von Gerlach, and Luthardt. Hees, feeling the historical difficulty of this believing, strangely interpreted—He began to conceive some hope: though he admits that one *might* find in the words confirmation, as well as refutation, of Mary's suspicions.

³ This is at least better than with Tholuck to take the *ᾗδιον* in a forced pluperfect sense—They had not *until now* understood the Scripture.

St John ; and it cannot be evaded that the specific and definite passages, Lu. xxiv. 11, 12, 41, and Mark xvi. 14, are inconsistent with the idea that any one of the disciples, even John himself, had any faith in the resurrection at this time.¹ Euthym. says on ver. 9 : "He explains the reason why they did not *before* believe the women ;" but the announcement of the women which was not believed did not come till afterwards. That none of the Apostles believed at first, notwithstanding the earlier appearances to the women which might have stimulated their faith, is as historically certain as it is profoundly significant ; and we cannot regard John as the exceptional first believer—before Mary Magdalene. Indeed, there was a Divine *design* in suffering them to see the empty sepulchre, with all its ordered arrangements, "to bring them by these specialities to faith"—(as the Berl. Bible says)—but that design was not attained. The clothing laid by said symbolically, "that the form of sinful flesh hitherto borne was now laid aside ; and that the Lord Jesus had entered a life of glory, in which no garments or other covering would ever more be needful"—but even that they understood not ! "They *might* indeed have perceived from this fact that neither friends nor enemies had taken Him away ; for friends would not have taken off His garments, and enemies would not so carefully have arranged them." (Schmieder.) But they merely marvelled ; they thought no further ; this was all they *believed*—no more than they *saw*, that the body was actually not in the sepulchre ! This is the simple meaning of "and he *saw* and *believed*," a phrase which St John designedly uses : employing the word πιστεύειν, elsewhere and afterwards used with so lofty a meaning, as an inexpressibly beautiful *irony*—which has confused the expositors. Augustine has given this view in his own clear manner : "Some, not carefully reading, think that St John here believed in the resurrection of Jesus ; but that which follows intimates otherwise. What did he mean when he added that they did not yet understand the Scripture that He must rise from the dead ? That he therefore did not believe Him to have risen, because he did not know that He *must* rise. What was it he *saw*, and believed ? He saw the empty

¹ For it is mere arbitrary presumption to insert, as Klee does, "John and Peter excepted."

sepulchre, and believed *what the woman had said*, that He was *taken away* from the sepulchre." "*The grave is empty!*" The Lord's body is no longer therein!" This, and only this, was the first Easter tidings, disguised in sorrow. The women had seen nothing more at the beginning, at least Magdalene had seen nothing more; for the traces of the earthquake, the careful arrangement of the inside of the sepulchre, and so forth, they had neither eyes nor thought. The two disciples, therefore, wanted to be convinced only of that which had been testified to them. John had gone in doubt whether this was possible; but now that he sees it with his own eyes, he must believe. He does believe it fully, but believes nothing more than he *sees*.

But let us come back to Mary Magdalene, whose proper relation to the occurrences of the Resurrection-morning it was necessary for us thus to determine. It speaks much in favour of the view which we have taken, that the disciples return home again—not waiting for His promised return at the sepulchre, in the garden of manifestation. But Mary, who had returned again with the Two, goes *not* back again; for she clings more closely than John himself, and is of all the troubled ones the most troubled. Her Lord, who had saved her from the power of the seven devils, is alone in her mind; nothing that occurs has any influence, either to make her wonder or make her think. She cannot leave the sepulchre; she remains standing there a while—and then finally looks again within.¹ And now there must be a great revulsion! At first, it was as Pfenninger paints: "All things were as beautiful as they could be around the sleeping-room of the king's son, which he had left."² The odoriferous air, the bright morning sun, the pure blue heaven, the jubilant songs of birds, the blooming garden—but all was of no account to

¹ "When they found Him not, they went back again together. How loftily does Mary's *love* rise above theirs! She thought not of going back; rather would she have breathed her life away, than leave the place where she had seen *Him* the last time." This hyperbole of the preacher Albertini is better, however, than Bengel's cold remark in the Harmony—"She was weary." It is better in the Gnomon—"with greater perseverance."

² And His attendants have gracefully arranged all things after Him.

Mary. She is not thinking of the king's son as gone out of His chambers, but as murdered, and His sepulchre desecrated, His body stolen; she thinks only of Him, and her last consolation gone, her purpose is to take no comfort, but to weep her soul away." When she opens her eyes, not involuntarily, but to behold once more and more closely the sad reality; when she looks directly into the sepulchre,¹—she beholds two angels! Peter and John saw none, for they could not, and it was not appointed that they should, see any; Mary Magdalene, on the contrary, was to be aroused to attention, and thus elevated step by step from her deep prostration. The appearance and vanishing of an angel is not a "most alarming circumstance to begin with," and certainly no "marvellous capricious hiding and seeking;" but all is simply voluntary and appointed. In this we may confidently adopt Ebrard's words, as well as those of Olshausen, who deduces from this history that "angels have the power to make themselves visible and invisible"—if that is not self-understood in relation to angels! Yet with this objective truth we may in some sense connect the subjective susceptibility for a higher seeing. Not as Lange makes the angels altogether internal; but that the visibility of the angels is dependent upon the existing wakefulness, or susceptibility of that eye which can alone behold angels.² The application of this to the narrative of the resurrection-morning we must discover in our own thoughtful reflection. The same Magdalene, who at first saw not, sees afterwards in her heightened longing; but the investigating Apostles have no eyes for angels, and these, therefore, await the eyes of the women alone.—Further, we may say with Bengel: "There may have been two *other* angels which Mary Magdalene afterwards saw. The angels in St John had another ministry than those of the other three Evangelists." They sit, one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain; as it were to show "that Jesus was from His head to His feet in the protection of His Father and His angels; so that no human might could disturb, or could have invaded Him in the rest of the sepulchre"—as Fikenscher most suggestively says.

¹ For *καταίεσθαι* is certainly not—*cursim velut atque obiter inspicere!*—to behold in passing.

² This is *our* canon. Compare something similar in Lücke, 3d Auf. S. 781.

Woman, why weepest thou? The affectionate commencement of sympathising words, which, in order to console, would open the hearer's heart by expression of sympathy: comp. Lu. xxiv. 17. This is the first obvious, external aspect of the angel-word, which, however, in the thoughts of these heavenly spirits, concealed much more:—Why weepest thou so altogether without cause? Behold the place where He lay—He is no longer dead! *If* thou hadst *found* His body, thou mightest weep indeed.¹ The angels would proceed to give her consolation, and tell her what the other women had heard. But Mary will hear nothing more; she interrupts them at the first word about her weeping—*Should I not weep?* and pours out the same lamentation in touching simplicity to the angels now which the Apostles had heard before. Does she not know the angels whom she *sees* sitting in *white*—and is she not terrified at them? Ah, she is so altogether swallowed up of the sorrow which forgot everything else, that all who live and speak, whether angels or men, are alike, and alike indifferent to her! She has only her Lord, and His body taken away, in her thoughts; her absorbed soul has no room for astonishment even at an appearance of angels.² There is only one touch which intensifies this repetition of her sorrowful cry. To the Apostles, ver. 2, she had spoken of “*the* Lord”—our Lord, in common—but now, before these strangers, although they are angels, she appropriates to herself the beloved Dead, and speaks with a sensibility which the interval had rendered more keen—*My* Lord! Should not I, a poor *woman*, weep for that? Fikenscher incorrectly assumes that she betrayed thereby her feeling that the men in white were neither angels nor

¹ Dräseke prosecutes further, and in a very beautiful way, the allegorical words: She wept *without*, before the sepulchre. And naturally so! What can we do other than weep, as long as we stand before a grave? But look into it fixedly, look death steadily in the face, and its terror is gone. The grave is empty to the hand (the investigating hand, of course, like that of Peter)—but to the longing of love, angels are within, messengers of peace.”

² Bengel: Non attendit, quis quid in sepulchro loqueretur. Jesum querit. Krummacher: “In the persons of these two angels two bright beams of the Resurrection-sun shine full into her face; and yet she does not know that it is Easter. She leaves the angels sitting, and goes forth to weep; and might not these heavenly beings have smiled at the neglect, and thought that they had never before been so little regarded as by this sobbing Mary?”

friends of Jesus. No, she has no thought as to who had spoken and interrupted her weeping; she speaks simply from the profound depth of her emotion. And is it not a deep grief that one who, like Magdalene, had been forgiven and saved by the Lord, had learned to know Him, and enjoy His communion, should now be left with the feeling of Magdalene in the world without Him, standing before His grave, desecrated by His enemies—not knowing concerning His body what had become of it? So may many in after times have wept for a while, when the unbelief of the opposer has taken away his Easter consolation and therefore his Lord, leaving him nothing more of his kingdom of heaven than the empty sepulchre and an “I know not where!” Yet such sorrow and distress endures not long; and one day of *such* waiting before the sepulchre, as the outer court of the glory of God, is better than a thousand spent in the secure tents of the ungodly. (Ps. lxxxiv. 10.) *My Lord*—that is spoken by the hidden faith of love. “Deep within her soul sits another blessed angel, who, without her knowledge, gives her more comfort than the angels without; and to that angel’s ministry must we ascribe it that she despaired not. It was the angel of a slender, but real and inward, hope.” (Krummacher.) Yes, verily, love believes even in the midst of unbelief, hopes even the greatest things even in the midst of profoundest sorrow: all this we see in the Magdalene. The place where *the Lord* lay—so said the angels. They have taken away the Lord—My Lord—so says Magdalene. The word “Lord” comes out gradually into all its Easter clearness.

And *the Lord* Himself appears! St Mark’s assurance must be vindicated, that He *first* appeared to Mary Magdalene; for his statement shows us that this first manifestation was held without doubt by the body of the disciples.¹ But St John alone was capable of recording, and he alone was honoured to record, in their incomparably beautiful conciseness and depth, the particulars of this scene. We have already remarked that Mary most naturally interrupts the angels; with this alone seems to accord the expression: ταῦτα εἰποῦσα, ἐστράφη εἰς τὰ ὄπισθω. We are

¹ Neander’s “first to the woman who had gone away before, then to Mary who remained behind” is one of his arbitrary suppositions. The time may very well be adjusted with St Mark.

not licensed, with Chrys. and Theoph., to assume that the angels, suddenly beholding the Lord Himself, broke off and pointed out to her what made Mary herself turn round. (Theoph. artificially appends: τοῖς μὲν ἀγγέλοις τυχὸν ἐν ἐκπλήττοντι σχήματι ἐφάνη, τῇ δὲ Μαρίας οὐκέτι, ἀλλ' ἐν εὐτελεῖ καὶ κοινῷ.) Nor may we say with Fikenscher, "that the Lord spiritually attracts her to turn round"—or, in contrast, with B.-Crus., that she turned round "upon hearing a movement."¹ But the ταῦτα εἰπούσα tells us that Mary herself had turned away from the coming word of comfort—in order that she might turn toward and seek the Beloved One whom she would find. Ebrard well states it: "And therewith she turns round, that she might uninterruptedly weep. But *there stands another man before her*, and asks, Why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou?" And now she should no longer weep, but find Him to her joy. Yet she knows not this Man, and does not discern the Lord for whom she weeps! How then was that? May we say with Tholuck, that "His death of agony had made His features unrecognisable?" or, still more harshly with Hasse, "that He was *disfigured* by the deeply engraven marks of pain?" We think that such thoughts are altogether unworthy of a correct view of the *resurrection*:—not to mention the intimations given elsewhere in the Evangelists of the glory of His manifestations. Or did Jesus stand before her (as Herder thinks) "in a disguise?" Or did He at first show Himself to Mary ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ, as St Mark says concerning the manifestation at Emmaus, but *not* concerning this one? Scarcely so; the simple and right solution seems to us to be that Mary only partially looks up and does not in her grief steadily look; she sees Jesus standing before her as a man, but does not see that it is Jesus. That which is so infinitely far from our thoughts, as the resurrection of her Lord was from hers, we should not see or discern, even if standing before our eyes. "Her tears weave a veil which conceals Him who stands before her from her view. The seeking for the dead hinders our finding the living." Dräseke is right here, though not in referring the same to the disciples on the way to Emmaus.

Woman, *Why weepest thou?* This *first* word of the *Risen*

¹ Hezel made this *turning* no less than a return to the city, so reconciling the scene with the other appearance in St Matthew, of which more anon.

Lord to a mortal is an inexhaustible text for the resurrection—to unfold which is the province of the preacher. He has risen again to *comfort* those who mourn! Even the “*woman*” has its deep significance in many ways. He first in His sacred dignity addresses this Mary, as He had addressed His mother from the cross, by the general and common appellation, before the individualising and affectionately appealing “*Mary*” follows:—thus intimating how highly He is exalted above every particular personal relationship. But the dignity of the female sex restored in the regeneration of humanity is reflected, and not fortuitously, in this *first* word of the Conqueror of pain and death; and there is in it, further, a condescending reference to the appointed deeper grief to woman’s nature. He seems to speak just as the angel had spoken, in simple and insignificant words; but the simple word, when uttered by Him, involves a more lofty meaning at this significant moment. Thus this second time the “*Why weepest thou?*” penetrates the weeping heart with intenser keenness; and the new word which follows—*Whom seekest thou?*—touches the inmost secret of this sorrowful heart. This is different from the more concealed “*What seek ye?*” in the beginning of the gospel (chap. i. 38). For His person is now plainly referred to, that which had been already manifested to Mary, and was to be yet more gloriously manifested. Thus, weeping and seeking bring Jesus to us. He is risen to dry up the tears of all who weep, if they will receive this blessing at His hand;—how much more all those tears which are shed in the disconsolate seeking for Himself! Thus in this first word of the resurrection we have the reason given why the Magdalene received the honour of the Lord’s first manifestation:—she was the most troubled, the most inconsolable of all. His love draws Him to all who weep for Him in love: that is the sole law which reigns here, and breaks through every other gradation in rank. For *this* reason and not on account of His rank (since his name *comes last*) was the angel commissioned to say—Tell His disciples *and Peter*! ¹

¹ Much that has been written about the arrangement of the Appearances may be regarded as mere trifling, which might better be omitted. For instance (to quote only one instance) Geiler of Kaisersberg thus allegorises: “There are three sorts of men to whom our Lord Christ appears

The angels probably designed to continue, when Mary interrupted them. But the Lord restrains Himself, and seeks her answer. Yet Mary is not roused from her sorrow; she does not look closely at Him, but replies to Him as believing that she was speaking to the gardener. "The *body*, the beloved body, fills and pervades all her feeling; there is no place for her Friend, even the Living" (Albertini). That is, she was still sunk in thoughts of death, having died with the Beloved One! Yet there is, at the same time, in her awakening supposition as to *who* it was that spoke to her again, a returning consciousness of external things which was excited by the secret influence of the so gracious voice; and this transition was necessary in order that she might be able to bear the sudden revelation which awaited her. Therefore she at first thinks of the overseer of the garden, who might be thus early at the place: nothing further is to be sought in this circumstance.¹ Her words to the supposed gardener are in the highest degree artless, and produce in our minds, knowing as we do that she was speaking to the Lord, a strange impression. First, it is observable, as a further transition from her state of deep and dark sorrow, that, softened as it

in this day with His gifts of grace. To some He appears in early morning gardener-wise:—these are the men who have long continued in sin, but are beginning to repent. To others He appears in pilgrim-fashion at mid-day:—these are those who are progressing well. To the rest He appears in His own person late:—these are the perfect."

¹ Natural as this is, it does not content many who have all kinds of notions about our Saviour's garments. Paulus discovered that the amazed family of the gardener hastened to the sepulchre (the children in white clothing, being taken for angels!) and provided garments. And this we find reproduced in a celebrated commentary: "Probably He had put on gardener's clothing, the family of the owner of the garden (to whom He first showed Himself!) having given them to Him." Hug's thought (assented to by Lücke and Tholuck), though it seems more reverent, is not much better: "The Lord was crucified with an apron about His loins, *subligaculum*, *lumbare*, and probably buried with it; this being similar to that worn by gardeners and labourers in the field, occasioned His being taken for the gardener." We prefer to say concerning the clothing of the Risen Lord (on which Carpzov wrote a treatise) with Olshausen: "The question must be answered as we would answer that concerning the clothing of the angels." And with Fikenscher: "His glorified form needed earthly garments no longer, and assumed a different vesture, like the angels, whenever He appeared to the disciples."

were by the reiterated expression of sympathy, she gives up her former *gloomy* supposition, and expresses the new idea—that “probably not enemies but people with no evil design had removed the body.” (As B.-Crus. rightly urges, against the argument, which Klee deduces, that she had not from the beginning thought of enemies.) Then let it be observed that she thrice says only *αὐτόν*—*Him*—without mentioning whom she means; for it is to her as if every one must know that! As the Shulamite, Cant. iii. 3, cries to the watchman: “Saw ye him whom my soul loveth?” Hence the Franciscan brother Bertholdt: “See how warm and earnest was her true love to our Lord for whom she was weeping; she thought that all must know what her feelings toward Him were.” Further, how innocent in its fidelity, how confident in her address to the man—*Tell me* where thou hast borne Him! Lange thinks she “hoped that the gardener, a faithful disciple, might have carried the body to a place of security from the crafty and unscrupulous plots of His enemies;” but this is not very probable, for it argues too much reflection in the midst of the storm of her passion.¹ Still less can we agree with Ebrard that she “speaks as it were *impatiently*, because thus again interrupted;” for that would have been a very inappropriate tone of mind to prepare for the blessedness which immediately follows, and, moreover, is contradicted by the *Κύριε* with which she addresses the unknown person in the extreme of respect, as well as by the confidential air of her whole saying. A certain *confusion* which seizes her, in connection with the secret consolation, and the constrained turn given to her feelings, best explains the question which holds fast the one object of her sorrow and longing—Hast thou taken Him away? Thus she characteristically confounds the living *person* of Him whom she loved and the *body* taken away; and would have Him again—that she might bury Him again, bear Him again to His place. (She, the weak woman, says—And I will *take Him away*, very different from the anxious—Who will roll us away the stone? This is her last and most artless confusion.) And all this she says to Himself, the Risen One, who had raised Himself from

¹ Else, indeed, his word of comfort might have sounded to her as if, knowing or supposing that she sought the body, he would conceal from her the removal of which he had taken care.

the sepulchre by Divine power! O Mary, *they* could not have *taken Him away*; no other had removed Him from His rest! So may we cry, and peradventure forget how like her we should be in our despondency, sin, and unbelief; and how easily we ourselves fail to discern His form and voice when He stands before us, thinking it the gardener, the preacher, the man, belonging to the place.

It was necessary that we should thus think upon and feel the force of her interjection, in order to understand in all its depth the emphatic word, *Mary!* by which the Lord breaks in upon this marvellous confusion of her softened sorrow and dawning hope. His voice had been restrained (though not disguised) in the former questioning, but now when He calls her by name, and effectually awakens her, it resumes its former tone of perfect gentleness—"as if He was continuing one of His former conversations with her" (as Pfenninger expresses it:—not in the majesty of His new life, for this would have oppressed instead of comforting, her weak soul). *This* voice she knows—by this she was to recognise Him, thus and not otherwise was she to receive Him back again at this moment.¹ We perceive that the adorable Prince of victory, returning from the sepulchre, has human *sensibility*, and speaks to human sensibility, as far as it is expedient to do so. How profoundly affecting is it that such a word of sensibility, so humanly spoken to humanity, should first fall from His lips, before the sublime words follow which speak of His return to His Father! One word, the calling her by name, as an expression of intimate confidence, in all His manifestation of Himself to Mary. And in one corresponding word she utters naturally her bewildered astonishment. Στραφείσα—*she turned herself*—says St John, once more. Not that she had turned again to the sepulchre when she said, "I will take Him away"²—but now first does she entirely turn to Him

¹ The affectionate tone, accompanied by a glance of His eye (comp. Lu. xxii. 61), in both which His perfect *love* manifested itself to the eye and ear." So Hasse (Das Leben des verkürten Erlösers, Leipz. 1854)—but the glance came afterwards, when she hearing the voice turned towards Him. It is surprising that Hasse seems to identify Magdalene with the sinner of Lu. vii.

² As some one preached, and adds: "She *seeks* Jesus with hot tears, and yet turns away from Him, because she *knows* Him not." How should

who spoke and called her; she *sees* as she had *heard*—It is He! and falls before Him clinging to His feet. (B.-Crus. says correctly: “*Ἐστράφη* ver. 14 denoted a half turning; then in ver. 16 follows *στραφεῖσα*.”) In this *Rabboni*!¹ is breathed her whole soul; the conscious and inexpressibly comforting return to her earlier fellowship with the Teacher and Master, on whose lips her ear and her heart had hung. Here for the last time is Jesus addressed by that expression which had been earlier used—as if in perfect contrast with the words of Thomas, My Lord and my God! But this full and decisive *Rabboni* has no “half-questioning” tone in it, as if followed by a note of interrogation. After such a call as this, there could follow nothing but a full recognition; there was no room for the doubtful—Art Thou then truly He? It is no matter of wonder that St John could depict the scene as he does, without adding one sentimental word, even while he adds his quiet “which is to say, Master;” but we might wonder that Mary could find strength for only this *Rabboni*, if we did not remember that the call of the Lord had inspired her with this strength. The cry of her rapture is a most beautiful symbol of all similar finding of Him whom the soul spiritually seeks; and it is a prophecy, too, of the recognition of Him in the last great day. Thus will every one hear himself called by name, by a voice so well known and yet so new; then will sorrow and death be for ever done away;—and happy he who will be able to cry *Rabboni*, learned in the school in which alone it is taught.²

she then wish to speak again to the angels, from whom she had already turned away? How should she wish to turn away from Him to whom she had said—Tell me where thou hast laid Him? We cannot regard Mary (with Luthardt) as being so *restless* that, even after questioning the man in the garden, her glance must again turn to the sepulchre. Better is Meyer's note, that *στραφεῖσα* means *at the same time*, She came to a different mind—though this only as the secret meaning of the external act.

¹ The *ἰσχυροῖς* preceding is needless; nor would it show that she was in the habit of speaking Greek, but now in her deep feeling used the nearer tongue. It is well known that רַבִּי was higher than רַב, and רַבִּי a customary appellation. Probably also רַבִּי (as Mark x. 51), as the Jewish pronunciation of רַבִּי, and the yet more obscure (Galilean) רַבִּי. The Cod. Cant. has here also *ραββωνί*.

² Dräseke has taken John xx. 1-18 as the basis of an exhibition of the

What now would be expected by the reader—not yet instructed in this school—who should pause at this soul-absorbing call and response? Would it be, on the part of Mary, further outpourings of delight, ecstatic exultation at having found Him again, thanksgivings, leaping for joy—or all this mingled with the reaction of fear, the return of doubt, unbelief through gladness—or, between the two, her progress to the *worshipping* “My Lord and my God.” And, on the part of our Lord, was there after this affectionate beginning a further condescension of love, words expressing the sweetness even to Himself of this restored fellowship, the enjoyment of this gracious hour, the first fruits of His victory in making another happy, revelation of the mysteries of this victory, and new instruction of the Teacher returned from the dead? But there is nothing of all this. The dignity of the Risen Lord desires now, even more than before His death, brief words and acts, and less even than then tolerates *tarrying* in sentiment and feeling. His lips do not overflow with mysteries of the other world; and only at the right time, afterwards, that is, when He opens the Scripture given for the preaching of salvation, does He pour out His words concerning the *kingdom* to be established upon *earth*;—otherwise, all His manifestations and revelations bear a character of reserve and hasty transitoriness. The scene with Peter, of which we know nothing more, had been brief, no more than an *ᾠφθη*—*He appeared*; this scene with Mary, which St John describes doubtless in full, exhibits even after the most confidential approximation a marvellous *Noli me tangere*. It is strange, indeed; but, if we have compared Scripture with Scripture, and noted all the other accounts of His Appearances, not unexpected or incomprehensible. We have already hinted at the right view to be taken of it. Interpreters of this Life make themselves here much needless trouble: the

influence of the resurrection of our Lord upon the *male* and the *female* mind. In man, or the male element as it were of the inner man, *thought* rules; in this region of the *testing* spirit the resurrection changed *unbelief* into *faith*. In woman *sensibility* is predominant, and in this region the resurrection changed *sorrow* into *joy*.—Beautiful, if the text admitted it, and if this interpretation of *ἰστορῶν* ver. 8 could be justified. If we might enter into such matters, we should prefer to say that this is the *feminine* portion of man's nature which is susceptible of the first conviction and the strongest consolation.

cruz extends into the forty days, and the bright ascension itself becomes a dark and mysterious riddle. We will do our best, mindful of our own infirmity, to exhibit the history of the exegesis of this much-confused conclusion of the saying, in such a manner as to arrive at the truth which we have recognised already in the beginning of it.

Many have resorted to doubts and conjectures as to the text. Gersdorff struck out the *μή*; Schulthess made it *σύ μου ἄππου*; Vogel, even, *μή οὐ πποού*. But the text is absolutely firm (save that *μου* is sometimes wanting, sometimes transposed); and we leave the easy refutation of these artifices to those who have abundantly refuted them. The worst instance was that of the Utrecht Professor Bauldri, who altered the punctuation into *Μή μου ἄππου*—that is, *No, I am not the gardener; only touch Me to convince thyself, for I do not yet ascend, am no heavenly, impalpable essence!* Did she then cry *Rabboni* as to the gardener? And how could *μή* be used in so strange a sense as this? Others, rejecting all these refinements, have despaired of the word and pronounced it simply “unintelligible.” But we shall see.

The difficulty lies in the rigorously literal idea of the *ἄπρεσθαι*, which we must certainly hold fast; and in the obscure connection of the reason given in the *γάρ*. All expositions which sacrifice the one or the other are to be rejected. Thus the prohibition to *touch* must first be literally taken. Wetstein's grievous perversion is:—Make thyself not unclean by touching one who has been buried!! Schleiermacher reproduced a rationalist notion, which here and there finds unaccountable acceptance, that the new life of the newly-risen Lord was as yet too tenderly susceptible to be touched! It was Paulus who first conceived that the Lord went into the garden with His wounds as yet unsoothed, etc. According to Brennecke He said: “My body unprotected, everything yet pains Me; I have not yet died, but shall die.” According to Venturini: “Touch Me not yet! This afflicted body remains yet susceptible to pain; the wounds which the reckless inflicted upon Me torment me still.” One can hardly believe that Schleiermacher could have fallen into or adopted such errors; yet in a festival sermon, which Olshausen thinks “incomparably beautiful,” we find this reproduced,

though with more delicate expression : "The Lord said this, as it were, with a fearful and susceptible feeling in His new life : eight days afterwards He suffered Himself freely to be touched by Thomas." (As if at the beginning He had shrunk from the opening again of His newly-healed wounds !) This view, somewhat spiritualised, is accepted even by Olshausen, and the words are supposed to infer a prevention of any interruption or hindrance to the gradual process of the resurrection and glorification. Whatever slight element of truth there may be in this "gradual process," the whole view has been rightly rejected by most ;¹ and even Kinkel² concisely asks, "Is not the miracle of the resurrection degraded by it?" Most assuredly it is. Either it was a *seeming death*, as the first inventors of this interpretation supposed ; or there was an actual *resurrection*, which defies all such natural explanations as are inconsistent with the literal journey to Emmaus on the same day. Admitting that the Risen Lord was not yet fully glorified, and that there was until the ascension a continual process towards glorification, yet certainly the resurrection itself put Him beyond all *susceptibility of pain*,³ which as a concomitant of *death* had been overcome and abolished for ever. It is a contradictory and utterly incomprehensible thought that one raised from the dead should be capable of suffering in the body, or of being kept back from a perfect resurrection by the operation of any human hand !

Thus we must reject this, and all that similarly outrages our true "consciousness of faith."⁴ What then ? Michaelis laid down this dilemma : Mary Magdalene wished to touch the Lord either out of curiosity or out of deep reverence. Instead of the former, which however womanly is inappropriate here,

¹ All the more marvellous is the idea of an interruption or restraint through the hands of Mary !

² In his treatise, Stud. u. Krit. 1841. 3, the general result of which we shall refer to again.

³ "It is not the painless body of glorification which I now bear !" Dräseke.

⁴ According to Weisse, Jesus (that is, again, in the opinion of the narrator) meant that He was *spiritual* as yet, incorporeal and impalpable. and that He would receive His corporeity again from the Father !

we should substitute *doubt* whether He whose voice she heard really stood before her in His bodily person. Was she then desirous of convincing herself by touching Him?¹ But the intrusion of such a doubt—Art Thou really He? into the blessed emotion of happiness which cries *Rabboni!* is altogether inconsistent, as we have intimated before. Olshausen remarks very rightly: "It does not by any means appear how the subsequent 'I am not yet ascended' is applicable to the supposed unbelief of Mary." And in that case, finally, the Lord would not have been able to say, Touch Me not, for I am He, and thy touching is not necessary; but rather must, as in Lu. xxiv. 39, have challenged her to the *ψηλαφᾶν*, in order to invigorate her confidence.² For it could do Him no offence; and wherefore then might she not touch Him? According to St Matthew He does not deter the women presently afterwards from "holding Him by the feet," but uttered an encouraging "Be not afraid;" and He Himself requires the apostles in the evening, and Thomas afterwards, actually to touch Him. How then is this contradiction to be solved? Kinkel's solution will be referred to afterwards; but there is no method of reconciliation which does not ascribe to the touching of Mary a peculiar significance and design. The dilemma above-mentioned brings forward "deep reverence" as the other side of the alternative; but this also has two aspects. Either it is an actual amazement and *fear*, as is seen in Matt. xxviii. 9; but there the Lord rebukes not the taking hold of Himself, He says on the contrary—Be not afraid! And how can we understand in *μή μου ἅπτου*—touch Me not—such a meaning as this, "Be not terrified, or pray for mercy, because ye have seen Me?" Or Mary's design is to pay Him the *Divine honour*

¹ As Teschendorff makes her say: "But presently doubt returns and seizes my breast. The eyes would see, the hands would feel. I cannot resist the impulse to approach and touch His hands and feet, etc." And He then answers: "Embrace Me not so anxiously and violently, *I am still as thou art!*" Thus this view is connected with the previous one, of His susceptibility to feeling.

² Thus Lampe goes not far enough against B. Lamy: "This hypothesis would be ingenious enough if there were any signs of doubt in Mary." But even allowing this, it would not agree with the words of Jesus.

of worship. But this is not to be reconciled with the *Rabboni*; she certainly would not give her Lord and God the title of Rabbi, as the Talmudists did afterwards. And, moreover, we cannot suppose that the perception of her faith would make in one sudden moment so great an advance. But, even if we admitted this, how strange and unintelligible would be the expression "*Touch Me not*"—without any mention of "feet" or "knees"—in such a meaning! And would He, could He, have forbidden the worship, *because* He had not yet ascended? Could He mean—I am not yet clothed with heavenly honour, My glorification is yet before Me? But He had received that worship from Thomas before His ascension (as we shall make clearly evident); and in that case, as Olshausen remarks, He must have gone on to speak, not of His abiding brotherhood and nearness to His own (My Father their Father, My God their God), but rather of the Divine and adorable dignity which should be revealed after His ascension.¹ We say, with von Gerlach, "If we regard her as having reverentially embraced His knees, yet Christ lays no stress upon *this* meaning of her act, but *makes prominent another*."

What then is this? We look more closely, and remark that all depends upon *what Mary meant by her touching*. But St John has given us no record of that; we are left to draw our conclusion from the word of Jesus.² It may be regarded now as certain that she sank to His feet in reverence (which might be without paying *Divine* honour), because at this moment of deep emotion to stand longer was impossible; but her accompanying thought and feeling may admit of interpretations quite independent of the dilemma just referred to. Is it her purpose to *hold Him fast*—not in doubt, but in her natural

¹ And yet this view is taken by Kypke, Herder, Less, Kühnöl (earlier also Lücke), Tholuck, Meyer, etc. Hasse adheres to it, because all other explanations seem "forced;" but we regard this one as simply impossible. Sepp completes it: *Touch Me not*, scil. προσκυνεῖσθαι—Worship Me not! But he forgets his own exposition in the sixth volume of his work, where he rejects the same interpretation, as a specimen of Protestant unbelief, when given by Pfaff: Honour Me not in a Divine manner, for I do not yet come down from heaven, I have yet to ascend thither.

² Only one MS. has the addition—And they ran to embrace Him.

anxiety lest the wonderful appearance should vanish again, and in the immediate outpouring of her full love? In the parallel usually cited, 2 Kings iv. 27, there is something like this more than has been noticed in the *וַתִּחַן בְּרַגְלָיו*—the petitioner will not let the man of God go until he has granted her will. But the word of the Canticles (ch. iii. 4) best suits Mary Magdalene—"I held him and would not let him go!" Entering into this sense, *ἀντερθαι* has been regarded as signifying "to hold fast;" and Meyer's note (on this point indistinct and indefinite) mingles this feeling with that of doubt, and interprets—"Thou needest not touch Me thus, or anxiously to detain Me; I am He, I am still here, I am not yet gone up." There is some truth in this, at least in the detaining. But in order to reach the true meaning, we must bring clearly before our minds the inmost meaning of this holding Him fast, the disposition and feeling of Mary's mind in so doing.¹

The truth has been more or less acknowledged from the beginning. The earliest explanation is found in a writing attributed to Justin, and found among his works—*Quæstiones et responsa ad orthodoxos* (qu. 48): *Moderate thy desire toward Me, and retain Me not with thy demonstrations of love; the time is not yet come for confidential and permanent intercourse—this earth is not the place of perfect union and fellowship. Somewhat similar, though developed with more or less indistinctness, are the views of Chrysost., Theod. Mopsu., Theophyl., Euthym.;* who, however, refer it rather to the past, that after the resurrection such intercourse was *no longer* befitting.² Cyril seems to add the remarkable thought, that Mary, being not yet capable of receiving the Holy Ghost, was not worthy thus already to touch and hold the Holy One; but this must be rightly understood. Indistinct and wavering as

¹ Meyer in the last letter which I received from him acknowledges the justice of my remark, and substitutes in his new edition, "Probably, etc., Interrupt Me not with womanly passion."

² Euthymius: "He said this for no other purpose, as Chrys. remarks, than to teach her that He was now raised to a higher position, and must be more profoundly revered. In that He was hastening with His body to ascend to His Father and God, it was manifest that He had laid aside the mortality of the body."

all this may be, we are persuaded that it is upon the right track. Even Grotius is not altogether in error when he interprets: "Thou wouldst touch Me, Mary, that is, thou wishest altogether to *enjoy My friendship*; that is not lawful now, for I present Myself to your view only *οικονομικῶς*, for the strengthening of your faith. But when I shall have ascended to the Father, thou wilt be able *most perfectly* to enjoy My friendship and fellowship, not by a terrestrial contact, but by *spiritual*—such as is appropriate to that place, that is, to heaven." This last is Cyril's meaning more plainly expressed, and is in a certain sense right; but he makes the thought repulsive by the mechanical observation that the *fruitio* might be very fittingly expressed by the *ἄπτεσθαι*. This is not so very obvious; *ἄπτεσθαι* cannot, as many have supposed¹ (Aug., Calv., Beza, not Grotius), even metaphorically stand for *mente contrectare vel adhærere*; it must retain its literal significance. But this view of the meaning generally appears to us the only right one, when it is fundamentally developed; we shall find the reason afterwards why it is expressed by *μὴ μου ἄπτου*.

That our conclusion may not appear to be novel, we are glad to let others speak. The Berleberg Bible—which we have done something, we trust, to redeem from its undeserved neglect—says: "We cannot now continue our former method of intercourse; all must be now quite different. This must thou now learn. Ye cannot now act toward Me as ye did before My death." Richter's Family Bible: "There was in her prostration before His appearance something human and savouring of passion, which was not yet removed by any contemplation of the Divine fulness in Christ, and which therefore was not to be encouraged. Thus it was—Hang not upon Me in thy *former* humanly weak confidence. Another relation now begins, a higher relation, and one both for *Me* and *thee* more glorious." V. Gerlach is especially good: "She should not touch Him now *because* He stood again before her visible and tangible; but was to wait with her touch, until she could no longer touch Him in

¹ Lampe after Cocceius: "Cleave not in thy mind and thoughts to Me, as in that state in which thou now beholdest Me."

the body. The true seeing again, and the true touching, would *then* first begin when He was withdrawn from her sight and from her hands. The touching signifies generally that altogether intimate and confidential intercourse which Mary, full of joy at seeing Him again, would have at once recommenced." Neander: "Not in the form in which He now appeared should men adhere to Him; for He had *not yet* been exalted to His Father in heaven. Then when He should as the Glorified manifest Himself again, should they cleave to Him, touch Him, and embrace Him, not in a sensible manner but in a spiritual. For the present His tarrying among the disciples was only *transitory*." De Wette almost comes to the same point, when he speaks of embracing Him with the feeling of *contentment*, which as yet was unseasonable. According to Krummacher the Lord intimates to Mary "that she must no longer reckon upon any such intercourse with Him as had hitherto been accorded; that she must now exchange the life and touch of sight for the higher and more spiritual relation of faith, that which no longer knows Christ after the flesh."

All these are the expressions of simple truths, which supplement each other and make a perfect whole; especially as they bring out the necessary union of the "*no longer*" and the "*not yet*" in this intermediate season. More might be quoted, but these are enough. Thus the Lord's repelling word is a sublime and profound declaration—"No, *thus it was not designed!*" enforced from Him by the opposition between the heavenly feeling of His own mind and the earthly feeling of Mary's spirit. Sensible experience and apprehension will avail no more from this time. Thou wilt not possess and hold and enjoy My presence as thou didst before My death. Did not Mary betray that thought and feeling by the *Rabboni*, a word entirely derived from their former relation, but which, as spoken to Him, and addressing Him by His title as a Teacher, is in strange contrast with the *Κύριε* addressed to the gardener, and the *τὸν κυρίον μου* to men and angels? We would not turn this to Mary's blame or disparagement, but rather regard it as having a beautiful internal propriety; yet it brings out strongly the propriety of the Lord's word—Thou shalt possess Me again, but not as before, it shall be from this time and for ever *in the Spirit!* Photius

in Lampe: "She would converse with the Lord, and enjoy His communion, in a human manner, and as she had been wont during the course of His incarnate dispensation. But Christ leads her away from this tone of mind, and says—The time of exalted and Divine relationships is come." And thus we have at the *first* Appearance of our Lord (and this is no slight confirmation of our view) a word of profound *general* application, the force of which must apply to the whole period of the forty days, down to the ascension which is here proleptically mentioned. So Pfenninger makes Nathanael observe, in relation to the Lord's brief manifestations and sudden vanishings: "I understand it, my brethren; He deals with us just as He said to Mary at the beginning. We are not to enjoy His society as if His presence were to be with us always." And Kniewel has equally well expressed it: "The forbidding word of Jesus to Mary has this deep meaning: Refrain from this corporeal and sensible touching, else wilt thou never apprehend and embrace Me. When I shall have ascended to heaven, thou wilt be able, *in common with all My disciples (to whom thou must announce this)*, through the Spirit to apprehend and possess and enjoy Me as the Saviour who will unite you all into one brotherly fellowship in God, your true Father."

And now, having reached this point, let us remark the significant *contrast*, that it may help us to understand the concrete and strong *expression*. It is just after that most internal and most living approximation to her in the "Mary!" that the Lord thinks fit to retreat from her again. For, she interprets it humanly, but He Divinely; she in an earthly sense, but He already in a heavenly. Hess had some apprehension of this: "With all His confidential condescension there was always (especially now! we would add) united *dignity*. Leave Me untouched. Though I am not at once translated into the super-terrestrial, yet is this immediately at hand." The Berl. Bible brings out more definitely the passionate and sensuous character of the act which the Lord would repel: "Her externality of mind was altogether too vivacious, and the Lord would moderate it." And Krummacher: "We may suppose that it was, the Lord's purpose to suppress a storm of emotion in Mary's soul, the undue admixture of human sensibility being unworthy of that higher

relation in which His²⁰ people would thenceforward stand to Himself. Many traits in our Lord's former life have prepared us for a certain repulsion on His part of that which we are accustomed to term *sentimentality*."¹ Consequently, it is quite right to say that the Lord is *aggrieved* by Mary's laying hold on Him. The injury, however, is not corporeal, but in the pure spirit of heavenly-mindedness with which He has risen; in the feeling of His dignity, which resents all too human and sensible approximation and touch, as bearing in it too much of the remains of earthly *passion*. This feeling has at the first moment its full vigour: and *therefore* He uses this strong expression, opposing as it were to this too human passion the sacred passion of His own supreme repose, repelling her first eagerness and preventing the continuance of such a method of exhibiting it. Hence it is a rigorous and concrete *noli me tangere*; and therefore the ἀπρεσθαι is used, the propriety of which has caused much needless trouble to the expositors. For in itself ἀπρεσθαι cannot be made to mean (as Neander asserts) the seizing or grasping of an object which one intends to retain hold of; but it literally signifies a "momentary touching," though with a specific distinction from θύγδευν. We very much doubt whether it can mean (as Hofmann thinks), at least in this place, "the having to do with, or adhering to, any one."

"The relation between us is somewhat changed; My former life with you will return no more; but after a brief time of transition My elevation to the Father will come:—all this thou must from the beginning know and ponder well." This is the Lord's meaning, which Mary's ignorance causes Him thus plainly to express; and therefore the thought which is occasionally given both as exposition and translation is really contained in it—*Detain Me not!* But this lies in the matter itself, not in the word ἀπρον, where some have thought to find it. On the other hand, Silberschlag, *e.g.*, gives it a quite different turn:—*Detain not thyself* with expressions of reverence, for I shall tarry yet longer upon earth. (Hezel goes so far as to say: "Spare now all ceremony!!") We consider both to be involved: *Detain not Me and thyself*—as a subordinate thought which a com-

¹ Yes, verily, and in so wide a sense of the word, that Krummacher himself may well ponder it!

plete view of the whole position of the case will discern in the following clause. But this is not to be taken as if His ascension was matter of instantaneous *haste*—such an unintelligent exaggeration of our Lord's affectionate and profound expression would fairly lay itself open to objection and mockery. But this much is true, that not only are the Lord's own thoughts and desires (as we shall afterwards more clearly perceive) turned with all their force towards His own ascension; but He also on account of it urges Mary to a certain haste in communicating to His disciples the intelligence at once of His resurrection and of His ascension. Whether it may be intimated, in the mysterious background of our Lord's words, that He Himself had something more to do (in the superterrestrial world of spirits) than only to show and yield Himself up to the women and the disciples, our perfect ignorance must leave undecided.¹ But there is no doubt as to the other point, since Mary immediately receives a commission to go to the others.² Thus, that is denied to her which she might have deceived herself into regarding as intended personally and expressly for herself: "This is not My design! To thee I give only a rapid *greeting*, because thou mournest overmuch; but My manifestation is not so much for thee, as for thee in common with My *brethren*. Thus the apparent pre-eminence given to the female sex is neutralised; and the word *brethren* points rather *a parte potiori* again to the men. Thus Mary's honour consists not so much in her first *enjoying* the Lord's manifestation, as in this, that she was first to announce the Risen Lord, to herald the resurrection to its future heralds. The touching which He permitted, nay commanded, to the unbelieving Thomas, He denies to this believer. "But that was not to the honour of Thomas," says the Berlen. Bible; and we add: so much higher is Mary honoured in being required to delay her touch, since the Lord knew that, notwithstanding the first outburst of her feeling, she was capable of intelligently obeying His repelling command. To this require-

¹ Yet this may be in that "depth of meaning which has never yet been explored by man," which Krummacher attributes to this saying.

² Instead of stopping to touch Me, carry to My brethren the assurance of My being alive, and of My speedy departure to the Father. (Hauff.) But not this alone!

ment Lange (on this difficult saying for once too brief) refers: "she must comprehend the time and place of this manifestation, and not externally limit its intention, and make the crisis eternal." The same thing does the Lord require of us all, when we have become ripe for it; that we should not find our rest in the sensuous sentiment of moments of sweet communion with Him, not seek, as it were, to touch Him in love too much mingled with selfish ingredients, but *go forth* with our commission into life, to do the work for which He sends us.¹

And now we proceed to the next clause, connected by the *for* which has caused so much trouble and perplexity to expositors. (Kinkel thinks all the difficulty lies in this *γάρ*, and *in this* he is right.) After what has been said the matter will become presently plain. It would appear, indeed, at first that only the *I have not yet ascended* belongs to the *for*; the common method of interpreting being then as Ebrard expresses it:² Thou needest not to hold me so firmly, because My appearance is not a momentary one; I shall yet remain a while upon the earth. But if this is made the sole sense of the *for*, then all that deeper meaning which we have found in the *Touch Me not* is confused and weakened away. Better than this is the already quoted view of v. Gerlach, who acknowledges and gives prominence to the *seeming contradiction* according to which Mary was *not* to touch and hold Him *because* He was present, and would continue present. He explains this yet further: "We find here the same pregnant expression of a higher meaning by words which, understood in their lower sense, would involve a contradiction, as we have found in the being made blind through seeing, the finding life through dying, and so forth. He who enters thoroughly into this profound character of our Lord's manner of speaking, will find no difficulty here." But we think, notwithstanding, that this does not satisfy the *whole* saying. We think

¹ Lampe: "He denies the touching to Mary alone, to show, on the one hand, that she surpassed all the rest, even the men, in faith, and was so fully assured of the resurrection that she needed no further confirmation; and, on the other hand, to teach how those who surpass others in faith shall find it necessary to demonstrate and approve its strength in the absence of nearer communion with their Lord."

² Das Ev. Joh. und die neueste Hypothese u. s. w.

that the *I ascend*, as its counterpart, strictly belongs to the *I am not yet ascended*; and, consequently, that the connecting *for* must be referred to *it*, or rather to the *but go*. "But go" does not begin anything altogether new, as if it were preceded by a full stop; consequently the *for* refers to the *whole sentence together*: I am (indeed) not yet ascended, but thou must go and announce My coming ascension! The accent lies indeed rather on this latter *but*. It is only *subordinately* that the consolation¹ comes in—I still *remain*, although not for such *touching* as this—interposed on account of the repulsion, that it might not grieve her too much, or be misunderstood to mean that the Lord's presence was a mere vanishing manifestation. But the special, decisive, and conclusive meaning was: Go thou, rather, to My brethren, and tell them!—The chief thing is for thee *the going*, and for Me the *ascending*. Understand then My manifestation aright, and repair thy first sad tidings of an empty sepulchre.

Thus viewed, how wonderful is this first word of the Risen Lord, in its suggestive and emphatic contrast with the word which afterwards offered the touch to Thomas! How deep is its significance for all His Appearances before the ascension! What a marvellous blending of *human* condescension and sympathy with the mourning woman, and *Divine* dignity which withdraws sublimely from a too human touch! *Divine-human*, rather; for even in this earnest and rigorous *noli me tangere* there appears, with all its supreme repose, a certain glorified human passion in *His* risen consciousness, a yearning toward the heavenly which cannot readily endure the touch of the earthly; and which therefore, after the *Mary*! so full of condescending feeling, denies itself again to the *Rabboni*! which would assume too much!

We now advance to the remainder of these wonderful words. It is His Father of whom He speaks first—how could it be otherwise? *His Father* He calls Him, first only Father, first only His own. His way goes *up to Him*; to Him His heart is drawn more than to any *Mary* or any brethren upon earth, that the honour of this Father may abide untarnished, equally with

¹ Photius: When the woman was forbidden to touch, lest the rejection of her earnest desire should overmuch sadden her (woman's nature being inclined to pusillanimity), the Saviour interposed His consolation.

the honour of the Son.¹ He has risen again as the perfected Son of God in humanity; that is the first thing, and from it *follows* that He becomes the forerunner of our salvation, of our glorification. But by what means? Even by His final ascension to the Father; and as long as this is unaccomplished, it must occupy His thoughts; "I have *not yet* ascended" must be the fundamental feeling of His heart during the intermediate period. He does not suffer *this* to be disturbed (to speak once more in a very insufficient human manner) by the return of that entire surrender of Himself to His disciples which they had enjoyed before His death.² If it were right to speak of this period as of the period past we might say that the touch, the embrace, of the Magdalene might have tempted His soul to incline to renew His former intercourse, and to remain, in His personal triumph, loving and blessing upon earth; and that He meets this temptation by saying to Himself—I am not yet ascended! But we are no longer permitted to use such language. There is no more overcoming of temptation; but all is absolute rest and assurance. All things are behind Him and beneath Him; His head already in heaven, His feet alone rest for a few days longer upon earth.

So sublime is the first, "I have not yet ascended." But He immediately condescends from this height of dignity and majesty to His weak and troubled disciples, for whose sake He yet tarries according to the counsel and commission of the Father. He knows His own way, and tells Mary hers—Go to My *brethren!* He has indeed brethren after the flesh, but relationship after the flesh has no more import with Him now; though the word may remind Him with joy that these brethren, hitherto unbelieving, had now been won to the true brotherhood.³ Mary

¹ This clause, "although not for such touching as this," and the "subordinately" before, sufficiently obviate the *contradiction* with which Münch-meyer charges my exposition. The chief matter of the saying was given before, that the true *touching* would be in the future; subordinately to this, however, there is included the consolation that He would remain, and be seen again by her.

² *The Risen Lord* takes no *specific* notice of His mother,—as we have remarked before.

³ Hess gives us a remarkable example how egregiously great men may err: "It appears to me past all doubt that Mary was commissioned to tell

well understood His meaning after ver. 18, and announces her message to the *disciples*. Those whom He had finally termed children and friends He now, on the way to His own highest exaltation, dignifies with the highest name, which has in it a loftier sound and a richer pledge even than "children of God"—His brethren! It is here used as at least an indirect *address* to them, and with all its unbounded fulness of meaning; consequently, it is something very different from His former distant announcement that all who should believe would be to Him brethren. To address them directly with the brother-name would not have become His dignity, or suited their weakness;¹ He therefore goes just as far as He may go, in order now at the beginning to testify—I am not ashamed to call you brethren. (Heb. ii. 11.) The Apostle, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, having this saying in his mind, refers as in ver. 12 to its fulfilment of *Scripture*. The word of lamentation, and the word of victory upon the cross, were taken from Ps. xxii.; and ver. 22 in the centre of the same psalm, the *first* word which commences the transition to victory in it, is here consciously and purposely employed by our Lord. And we learn from the psalm, combined with the Epistle to the Hebrews, that He meant primarily the Apostles, but in them the whole future Church, which would from henceforth preach, and in which He Himself would preach on to the end;—and thus, all who are sanctified in Him. And at the same time we may observe how significantly this message assumes that the flock, scattered by the death of the Shepherd, has remained nevertheless united in love; and that it is still to be found gathered together, at least in its representatives, in one place (which abiding "friendship and bond of union among the disciples" had been already shown in the several journeys to the sepulchre). His first and highest thought is—To My Father! But the *second*, belonging to the first, and involved in it—For the sake of My brethren, that

this not to His disciples, but to His literal brethren or half-brethren, the sons of Joseph. The expression *brethren* is to be understood in its literal meaning. He needed not to send messages to the disciples, whom He would see during the day; nor was it His wont to call the disciples brethren!!"

¹ It is only in the *apocryphal* narrative that He says to James—My brother.

they may now have one Father, and one God with Me. He is drawn by the last attraction which holds Him to earth, to make Himself known to His brethren, like Joseph. Had all Israel repented, like Joseph's brethren! How would it then have been said—Come ye all unto Me!

Bengel observes that Jesus never called God *His Lord*,¹ and only three times *His God*:—on the cross by the ~~the~~ quite alone; in Rev. ii. 7, with the mention of Paradise to be won by victory; and here in conjunction His Father and His God. Compare 1 Cor. xi. 3, and mark that the Risen Lord, who is about to go up to heaven, bears witness now to His abiding *humanity*, which He will take with Him to heaven, and according to which His Father is also at the same time His God.² And this is an anticipatory protest against a false interpretation of the subsequent word to Thomas. This whole manifestation to Mary, generally, is to be regarded as the counterpart of the manifestation to Thomas, confirming, qualifying, and explaining it.

He says *Brethren* immediately after speaking of the *Father*; but He does not say—for that would have been not merely unbecoming, but untrue and impossible—To *our* Father and *our* God. At this point such an expression was most obvious, if admissible; and its admission is most decisive. A Rationalistic Christ must have said *our*—*ἡμῶν*—in order to give honour to truth, and to avoid exalting himself unduly in the presence of the common God and Father; but the God-man cannot possibly use such an expression. Cyril of Jerus. observes: "Mine in one sense, by nature; yours in another, by privilege." Chrys.: "In different senses My Father and yours. If He is the *God* of just men in a sense in which He is not God of others, how much more does this hold good of the Son and you." Augustine: "He does not say *our Father*: He is My Father by nature, and in another sense your Father, by grace.

¹ Compare Vol. i. p. 374 the note.

² "Since the *ascending* belongs to the *flesh*." Chrys. Thus God is actually and truly the God of Christ; *not*, as we read in a sermon: "The Almighty is to Him a Father, to them He is God; but in order to place Himself on a level with them, He calls His Father *their* Father, their God *His* God likewise." Would He not then have ordered His words accordingly?

And He says, *My God* and your God ; not our God—in one sense, therefore, Mine, and in another sense, yours. *My God*, under whom I also am man : your God, between whom and you I am *mediator*." Ambrose : "Because, although He and the Father are one, and the Father His Father by propriety of nature, *to us* God became a Father through the Son, not by right of nature, but of grace." *Your God*—means here infinitely more than your Creator, Lawgiver, Judge ; it includes and pledges the fulfilment of Old-Testament promise down to Rev. xxi. 3. Your *reconciled* God, as the ordinary language of theology runs ; according to the right sense of Scripture, *your* God because *ye* are now reconciled *to Him*. God was from the beginning even according to His humanity the God of the *Righteous One*, of Christ. But *our* God and Father (these belong ever together !) He becomes only through this, that He was the Father and God of Christ. (Hence the apostolical word, thus to be construed—*The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*.) This *My* is the ground and source of the *your* ; and therefore the Lord thus speaks. *Father* stands first, for His Divinity is and must ever be the ground of His sacred humanity :—not conversely, as it would have been if His becoming God, and having God for His Father, had proceeded upward from His humanity. (On the other hand, the Apostle might well, with his meaning, ascend from the *θεός* to the *πατήρ*.) The whole, finally, is a most decisive declaration of the spiritual meaning of the brother-name, and the disclosure, finally, of our present right to its possession. So high is the honour put now upon us men ! All His redeemed, and all who were to be sanctified, are here embraced by the Lord in one, as looking down upon them from above :—anticipating their union in one, as in the High-priestly prayer.

The Lord on the morning of His resurrection speaks at once of the ascension, which took place forty days afterwards. What are now forty days to Him ? and how natural, how necessary to His thought, His death being now survived, was this presentiating *I ascend* with its quick prolepsis ! For His disciples it was as true as it was important ; intimating to them that He had not risen in order to remain upon earth, and bringing all to their remembrance that He had comprehensively

spoken concerning His departure to the Father!¹ To the angels it was given in commission to announce the resurrection in itself; but the Lord assumes a loftier tone, in harmony with His risen dignity, and does not say only—Tell them that I am *risen*; for that would be too little for the elevated state in which, for a few days, He tarries between the sepulchre and heaven. He Himself is impelled *upward*; the clearest consciousness and the most urgent impulse of His being is toward heaven: how could He otherwise than utter in His first word His deepest thought? Wesley: “He anticipates it in His thoughts, and so speaks of it as a thing already present.” Therefore we have not the indirect sentence, but most emphatically His own word is to be repeated: not—Tell them that I ascend! but say what I say—*I ascend!* (as according to ver. 18 she does). Bengel’s note condenses into few words what we mean: “More still! He does not say, I have risen; nor, I will ascend; but, *I ascend.*” He refers to Lu. ix. 51, where even St Luke, in the spirit of St John, speaks in anticipation of the *death* as of the ἀνάληψις, the being received up. Neander here rightly perceives why “the Lord did not commission Mary to announce His sensible coming, but that He would fulfil His promise, ascend to His Father, and then first (fully) reveal Himself to them; making no mention of the intermediate and transitional manifestation, which should only prepare the way for the higher and more permanent.” (Neander says, “*here also*,” and there is some slight incorrectness in this, for we have found in Jno. xiv. 18, 19, xvi. 16, 22, and generally, that the Lord had *there* intimated to the disciples His bodily and visible return.)

On the one hand, the present words make it plain that our Lord did not in death leave the world and go to the Father, but remained intermediately in the under world; but, on the other hand, it does not follow that He literally and properly went up to heaven on the morning of the resurrection. We trust that our readers, after what has been said, will not be accessible to any doubt upon this point, or so narrowly interpret the words, in

¹ Tholuck compares Jno. xiv. 28. They should less rejoice that His bodily presence was again with them, than that He would be soon altogether exalted.

opposition to all the rest of the account, and the universal tradition of the church. But we must spend a few words upon Kinkel, who¹ argues from this word to Mary, with which he makes all the rest harmonise, that our Lord went immediately to heaven; and reduces to an equality all further manifestations before and after the hitherto assumed day of ascension, or rather establishes a successive series of ascensions. He thinks that he has demonstrated this; but it would have been better if he had learned the lesson of caution which has been so often given, and had hesitated to give forth an imaginary discovery of his own, contrary to the universal belief of Christendom. Many things have hitherto been but dimly understood; but the general sense of Christian men has apprehended the truth far more correctly than those speculatists have done, whose perverted learning has so confidently assumed to know. Just so is it with this *áva-Salw*. Kinkel (S. 612) proceeds from the incorrect presupposition, that in the last discourses of St John the Lord looks forward proleptically altogether beyond His death and resurrection. As if He had not literally, both before and intermediately, spoken of His entombment, dying, leaving His life, the lamentation over His death—as ch. xii. 7, 24, xv. 13, xvi. 20! But when he asserts that such prolepsis of the ascension which was to take place after forty days cannot possibly be imagined in our Lord's consciousness *now*, he refutes himself in the most striking manner by his own subsequent artless words: "Occurrences which are separated by an interval of a month and a half from my present existence would scarcely lift *my* soul to such a flight." This we readily believe, and merely add—But what were forty days now to the soul of *Christ*!—His first axiom, "that the reports of Christ's ascension which the New

¹ In the treatise already mentioned, S. u. K. 1841. 3. So also Baur; and before him Whiston in his *Sermons and Essays*, to whom Joh. Schmid replied by a specific dissertation against the *multiplex Christi in cælos ascensio*. It is a necessity of Rothe's whole system that he should find in Jno. xx. 17 the immediately identical resurrection and exaltation of the second Adam. (Ethik. ii. 294.) But how the merely visionary kind of intercourse, the transitory assumption of an already abandoned and formerly material body, which he asserts, can be reconciled with, we say not the rest of Scripture, but his *own system*, it would be well if he would consider.

Testament gives are altogether irreconcilable in respect to time, place, and circumstances!" is nothing more than the thousand-times refuted assertion of pseudo-criticism—as we shall hereafter more fully see. When he decrees that "the ascension of the Acts of the Apostles cannot possibly be identical with that of St Luke's gospel," St Luke, who wrote both, will amply vindicate himself. It is further assumed in the most arbitrary manner that the Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 1-8, makes no distinction between the appearances before, and the appearance after the fortieth day; and that he therefore knew nothing of, or allowed no validity to, the synoptical narrative. But there is a great difference between the truth (denied by Kinkel in his false assumption), which was always acknowledged by the early church, that the manifestations of Christ *after* the ascension were not on that account "visionary," but real corporeal manifestations¹—and the unscriptural error which stumbles at and rejects the interval and intervening state of the forty days. The assurance given afterwards (S. 617) is fearfully bold: "the words of Jno. xx. 17 have been and still are *crux interpretum* only because expositors, resolutely bent upon holding fast the term of the forty days, have refused to yield the plain and simple force of expression its rights." After our interpretation of the "touch Me not" and the "I ascend," and the "for" which links them especially, we are quite justified in declaring that the force of the words, not superficially but thoroughly studied, contains no reference whatever to an ascension on the morning of the resurrection. It is most foolish, therefore, and proves the blinding consequences of headlong devotion to a hypothesis, when he says, S. 619: "One sends a messenger only when one cannot go in person. It would seem very strange that Jesus did not at once in person assure His disciples of His life, unless we assume that He had previously another object to attain. What that object was, is so plainly expressed in the message to the disciples, that no doubt can

¹ Thus Schenkel in 1839 (*Die Wissenschaft und die Kirche*, S. 122), in direct opposition to Scripture, termed the appearances to Paul "only a sudden outbeaming of Christ to the spiritual eye of the Apostle!" How can he reconcile with this the emphatic declaration in Rev. i. 17, 18, of the personal identity of Him who had been dead and was alive again.

remain upon the question." Thus the Lord is supposed to have meant by that message; I cannot come to you immediately, for I must previously and at once go to the Father. If that is so entirely past doubt now, *why has all Christendom until this time understood it otherwise?* Our exposition of the "touch Me not" has, further, perfectly refuted the conclusion which has been drawn from a most wilful and superficial perversion of the letter, and which runs thus, S. 620: "In the morning Christ forbids to touch, *because* He has not yet ascended; in the afternoon He permits and commands it (Lu. xxiv. 39, *ψηλαφῆσατέ με*). The reference is very simple: between morning and afternoon every reason for not touching Him has been removed—the ascension to heaven has taken place." Apart from the fact that during the morning, and very soon after, the Lord permitted Himself to be touched by other women, and blamed them not because they touched Him with a different spirit and meaning (showing that *consequently* the reason of the prohibition was something specific in the *ἀπρεσθαι* of Mary)—we simply ask, What had the Lord to do *in the garden* during the interval while they went from the sepulchre to the city and back again, if His exaltation to the Father belonged essentially and immediately to His resurrection? Was it necessary that He should collect His thoughts, and prepare Himself in any sense for the *ἀναβῆαι*? Or, did the Lord's conscious course and way from the opened sepulchre to heaven proceed so slowly upon earth, in the garden, that after a considerable space of time He had *not yet* ascended—and still stands not far from the sepulchre? Wherefore then and to what end was Mary Magdalene the *only* favoured one who witnessed and enjoyed this brief intermediate glance of the Lord before His ascension? He who adheres so very tenaciously to the letter, must necessarily thus give account of the *not yet*; the critic who finds it "perfectly *aimless*" that Jesus "at this crisis should have nothing more speedy to speak of to His disciples than that He should ascend after forty days" (because, in fact, he has no feeling of the spiritual significance of this crisis itself, and of the Lord's reference to the intervening, transitory character of the forty days)—may very reasonably be asked to account for the "aim" of our Lord's delay for the sake of Magdalene alone. Could He

not in the meantime have sent His messengers to her? Would it not have been more consistent that He should *at once* go up to the Father, that He might then be able to show Himself all the sooner to all of them with an ἤδη ἀναβέβηκα—I have already ascended? Hauff says well, "But why does he not at once ascend, if He is in such haste to do so?" It is certain that ver. 17 *must* have another meaning; not so much because, as Lücke says, there is no "now" connected with the "I ascend," as because it is plain, to all who read ver. 17 with simplicity, that Jesus on the evening of that day *was still upon earth*. That other meaning is found in the words of ver. 17 itself: "I am not yet ascended" cannot signify, I hasten to ascend; but, "I tarry yet a while longer among you." For it is at least as true here, as it was asserted of 1 Cor. xv.: *St John* makes "no distinction" between the appearances which took place *after* the "I ascend" announced to Magdalene, and this first appearance before it.

The argument for this immediate ascension which has been drawn from a supposed impartation of the Spirit in Jno. xx. 22, will be refuted on that passage by the maintenance of a meaning other than simply literal in the Ἀάβερε. As to the endeavour which has been made to establish Kinkel's view by patristic authorities as the tradition of the first three centuries, we shall leave that question to others, ourselves adhering simply to exegesis.

While we would recommend the Theosophists to reserve their speculations as to the mystery of the forty-number, instead of obtruding them inopportunately to the offence of theology, it remains evident to every untheosophical yet believing apprehension, that "the time from the resurrection to the ascension, which was the connecting link between the weakness of the Lord's former life and the high dignity of His glorified life, and the *transition* from His obedience to the supreme rule of all creation, was a *necessary, essential, and most important* portion of the circle of the life of Jesus. Necessary, and so far essential, not merely economically for the transitional discipline of His disciples, but most certainly indispensable to the *humanity* of Jesus Himself, which was to be exalted and glorified. An immediate ascension of the Risen Lord, an unmediated transi-

tion or rather leap from obedience into dominion is to us, as Klenker says, an unimaginable thing as to Jesus Himself; although the lack of revealed instruction upon the subject, and moreover the incapacity of our minds for such instruction, keeps us in ignorance of the internal process of this transitional state of our Lord. The descent into hell was not this transition in itself, for the resurrection from the sepulchre connects Him at once with the earth again. Here are mysteries, and it is better to acknowledge these in silent reverence, than over-curiously to speculate upon them. A process of gradational glorification in the person and body of Christ Himself is an idea by no means self-contradictory; indeed a thorough investigation of the subject drives us necessarily to assume it. And we may confidently assert, to bring back these observations upon the text which we are expounding to the point from which they set out, that the Lord uttered this presentiating "I ascend" to Mary because His present intermediate state was a continual advance towards His ascending, and preparation for it. Tholuck: "Thus the Lord declares His resurrection to be already a glorification, although not yet His full glorification."

Neither Magdalene nor the brethren understood at the first announcement the depth of the Lord's word; but it was not spoken simply for that purpose. Enough that in loving obedience, desiring no further touch, the same woman who in ver. 15 had bewailed to the Lord Himself the taking away of her Lord, departs and joyfully declares His message: *ἐώρακα—ταῦτα εἶπεν*.¹ The note of Grotius—*dubitabat iterum, annon fuisset visio incorporea*—has not the slightest ground for its folly; certainly not in the emphatic words, "that she had seen the Lord, and that He had spoken these things unto her." For it is plain that she needed not to relate specifically her own *ἄντρεθαι* in addition to the Lord's *Μή μου ἄπτου*. The disciples on the way to Emmaus (according to Luke xxiv. 22, 23)

¹ Lange says: "This Mary, who thus leaves His face to celebrate her Easter, and can find her Easter joy in this form of announcement of His new life, shows an obedience ripened into the character of that of angels; hers is the blessedness of heaven, for she can leave the glorious manifestation of heaven in order to carry the message of consolation to the comfortless circle of her fellows upon earth." This is beautifully said, though somewhat extravagant.

had certainly not yet received this message of Magdalene; but the "disciples" were not all assembled together in one company on this day.

SECOND GREETING, TO THE WOMEN LEAVING THE SEPULCHRE.

(Matt. xxviii. 9, 10.)

St Matthew is to be reconciled with St Mark and St John, without having recourse to all kinds of artifices—the strangest of which is the supposition that there were two Magdalenes. We have said already that the same one Magdalene (ἡ Μαγδαληνή) went and came with the others to the sepulchre; but she hastened before, and went away again earlier. We know not whether St Matthew was acquainted with this; we do not affirm it as a dogma that each Evangelist knew every particular. The first mentions, ver. 1, in addition to Mary Magdalene, only the other Mary; yet we must suppose other women to have been present, as otherwise there would be left for vers. 9, 10, only the second Mary,—Mary Magdalene having, according to St John and St Mark, seen the Lord at first alone. In *this* Ebrard is right, but not in the strange supposition that vers. 9, 10, refers to the manifestation which had been made to the Magdalene alone, but merely continues in the indefinite plural, because that had been already adopted—the Magdalene, however, being solely intended.

If we yield to Ebrard, and those who think with him,¹ this section of our exposition must fall to the ground;—because our present narrative would then be only St Matthew's "depicturing" of the simple occurrence which took place with Mary Magdalene. But such an apparent extension of the manifesta-

¹ Grotius, Olshausen, Tholuck, v. Gerlach. We find the same view developing its consequences where we should not have expected it. For instance, Albertini preaches that "Magdalene had, as *Matthew expressly relates*, embraced the Lord's feet." Similarly, Sepp's "scientific evangelical criticism" perceives in Matthew two events blended into one narrative. We hope, however, in spite of Weizsacker's protest, that our book will have some influence in helping to abolish such a method of dealing with the Gospels!

tion granted to Mary to all the women would be much more than what Olshausen terms "inexactness" in St Matthew! Of such inexactness we admit no "possibility." Have those who adopt this theory considered it in all its bearings? Is it possible that the *χαίρετε* of St Matthew is the same as the apostrophe—Mary!!¹ Is this "Be not afraid," no other than the "Touch Me not!!" Can the announcement that the disciples should *see* Him in Galilee be only another form of the "I ascend" in St John? The sending to His brethren is the only particular which remains common to both; all the rest is totally distinct. We confess that we cannot account on any other ground than that of inadvertence for Meyer's admission in his note that all this may *possibly* refer to Mary Magdalene alone—pointing (with v. Gerlach) to Matt. xxvii. 44. O no! This notion, which the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist broached, is altogether impracticable. We cannot even admit the view which Lange propounds: "St Matthew makes the second appearance of the angels to Magdalene coincide with the first to the other women; and blends the first manifestation of Christ which was granted to the Magdalene with His second appearance, which the women reported." There is no such blending or making to coincide in his account; but what St Matthew relates is a characteristic and independent record, just as is that of St John, who records what he had omitted. The *inexactness* complained of springs from this, that without the other Evangelists we misunderstand St Matthew; making him mean in ver. 1. that only these two women were present, and consequently including Mary Magdalene in vers. 9, 10. But how much slighter is this difficulty than that which makes Matt. xxviii. 9, 10, historically the same as John xx. 14, 17!

This does not invalidate v. Gerlach's excellent remarks upon the climax of the several manifestations of Christ on the day of His resurrection:—it rather adds new features to it. Mary Magdalene is initiated into the mystery after an anxious testing by the angels and by Christ Himself; *some* of the other women see an angel and presently the Lord also; but *some* (Lu. xxiv.)

¹ Grotius actually adds: "Addressing Mary also by name, as is usual with those who salute." But where is the "Woman, why weepest thou—?" And what of the meeting them as they *ἐκπορεύονται*—?

have only a view of the angels who said that He lived; to the dismayed disciples on the road to Emmaus the Lord Himself as unknown first opens the *Scriptures*, and when they believe gives them a momentary *sight* of Himself; between Peter and John, who were not convinced even by the view of the sepulchre, there is a distinction made on account of Peter's *penitence*; finally, the rest of the Apostles who did not believe, even those who had seen Him after He had risen (Mark xvi. 14), are in the *evening* humbled, reproved, and blessed.

But now let us turn to the matter itself! The Lord connects His words with those which an angel had spoken, though somewhat differently. The angel had said, "Fear *ye* not, and be not ye terrified like the guard, and His enemies—I have good tidings for *you* who seek Jesus the crucified." The angel terms Him indeed afterwards "the Lord" (as Lu. ii. 11)—but the first name is the name of reproach and death glorified into a title of honour. According to St Mark it is expressly *Jesus of Nazareth* (comp. Acts xxii. 8)—and in addition, the *Crucified*! This is the first high name of the Risen Lord, as it was given and sanctified at first by the mouth of an angel; thus was the lowly One called now in the world, thus would He be ever named both in heaven and upon earth; of this *cross* it would be proclaimed, in the glorious preaching of salvation, that all things were obtained in it. Ye *seek* Him, even in disgrace and death; yea, it is this cross which has attracted you, and makes you still no other than those who were with Jesus of Nazareth. Ye seek Him, although in the wrong place; but ye shall, nevertheless, find Him. This is the message, *He is not here, He is risen!* and that *as He told you!* The Lord had pointed to the Scripture, but now the angels point back to *His* words; for every testimony to truth which ever fell from His lips is confirmed and sealed by the sign of the resurrection: the First-born from the dead is the *faithful Witness* (Rev. i. 5). The power of God hereby impresses the seal upon *all* that He had spoken; the Father Himself utters His Amen to the *Finished* upon the cross. *Come and see*—not indeed Himself, but the place where *the Lord*—as dead—*lay!* Tarry not, however, in the place, *go on* further—is the meaning of the word "He is risen!" to the disciples. Do ye believe? Will they believe it? Behold,

ye shall all *see* Him, even as He said, in Galilee : and now let it suffice ; for behold I, His and His Father's messenger, have *told* you.

Most mighty words !¹ Nothing but peace, joy, and life, Yea and Amen. But the women are affrighted at Him—this is the combined *spes et horror mortalium*—they shrink from the world beyond the grave ; *fear* contends (as often in the case of us all) in their hearts with their *great joy*. And they said nothing to any man, as St Mark adds, ver. 8 ; that is, they said nothing in the way, before they came to the disciples.² Their fear itself helps them rightly to understand the commission to tell it *only* to the disciples. They go in the way of simple obedience ; their own dawning faith overcoming the temptation to ask—Shall we find credence ? or to say—Let us wait until we have ourselves seen the Lord ! Therefore they receive their recompense, that of being able to say with Mary Magdalene—I have seen the Lord. To them also He makes Himself present, as they walk in the way : for the Living One is no more restricted by limitations of space, as we are to observe at once by the succession of the first two Appearances. It is not in the neighbourhood of the sepulchre (as Hess thinks) that He appears to them ; but, as St Matthew relates, He *met* them as they *went in the way*. Bengel says, “ He came not, therefore, from the

¹ Still more mighty, to excite faith without sight, is that word to the others—Why seek ye the living among the dead ? (Isa. viii. 19). In the question lies its answer ! The *Crucified* is nevertheless the *Living*. He was among the dead, as He *lay* in death. He was intermediately below *among the dead*, but nevertheless *as* the living—and *now* He liveth for evermore (Rev. i. 18). He is the Lord and God not of the dead but of the living. We children of men are the dead, but He the Living who maketh alive ! Thus He is not to be sought among ourselves, in the world, in any particular place. (This answer of the angel's was once more given, as Hezel says, at the sepulchre of our Lord to the crusading world.) Not among dead “ Christians ”—not in the dead letter of Scripture, dogma, preaching—for He Himself, *the Living*, is to be sought. The angel could not then say—Seek Him *among the living* ; but there are living now, among and in whom He lives, and is to be found. Yea, those who *seek* Him as the Living, are to Him as living, and will surely find Him. Thus the seeking is *with* the seekers, but not *among* them, for—seeking is not yet finding.

² Not, as v. Gerlach thinks, that they did not at *first* tell even the Apostles, for this would not agree with St Matthew.

sepulchre, but from the city;" and we add, as always *going before us*, according to the angel's word. But we are not to suppose that Mary Magdalene was already again with them, nor is it probable that the mother of the Lord was in this group of women (as Lange supposes, in order at all events to introduce her somewhere); she would in that case have been mentioned. The Berl. Bible tells us that the holy mother, in her more silent and deeper mind, did not seek the Living among the dead, but waited for Him in perfect composure.

Xalpere—Hail—is His first greeting now: apparently an unpretending word of human confidence, but in His lips retaining its fullest truth and essential reality. It is more than a mere *Avete*, as translated by the Vulg.; certainly not a mere translation of an Israelite *שָׁלוֹם לָכֶם*: both kinds of greeting, that of the Jews and that of the Greeks, the Lord had Himself from the beginning sanctified (comp. Acts xv. 23, and Jas. i. 1); hence the Hebraizing Matthew records *xalpere*, and the Greek Luke *Ειρήνη ὑμῖν*. But *joy* must now overcome the fear! That is its meaning as closely connected with the immediately following "Be not afraid," for which Matt. ver. 8 had prepared. Because it had been already announced to them, the Lord can *begin* with His gracious encouragement. These women are less "beside themselves" through sorrow, or rather less sunk into themselves, than Mary Magdalene; they at once know their Lord, they boldly approach nearer, come close to Him, fall down and grasp His knees, and worship Him without a word. (Bengel: *Jesum ante passionem alii potius alieniores adorarunt, quam discipuli.*) And He does not reject it, because there was nothing in it to be repelled; He encourages still more those who were again affrighted even while they embraced His feet, and gives them from His own lips their commission.

His words, like those to Mary Magdalene, are generally only a repetition of the words of the angel; in the case of these weaker women He does not go beyond that repetition, for to them the higher declaration concerning the "ascending" would have been too high. He therefore in His condescension simply confirms them in their mission. He repeats not only His servant's "fear not," but also the command to go, and the promise that the disciples should see Him in Galilee:—all the angel's

message being thus confirmed. These are the three branches of our Lord's saying. All fear must at once subside; for the Comforter and Conqueror is there, to silence all agitation, to dispel all anxiety, to overcome all weakness and sin. Nothing now remains but the "great joy," now more clearly revealed and more abundantly won, than when it was announced by the angels at the birth of this *Lord*.¹ The angel had said—Tell His disciples; the Lord now says, in a stronger and more dignified expression—*Announce* to them! The angel's word was—That He is risen: the Lord does not first say—I am risen! The angel had said only—tell *His disciples*: the Lord says the second time, as before to Magdalene—My *brethren*! that the comparison and concert of these two messages might produce all the greater joy and assurance. The *disciples* are His *brethren*: new demonstration, if any more were needed, of the true meaning of this word. Nevertheless, He does not say even to those—*Announce* to all the world, tell every man who will hear it! but, as to Magdalene, and confirming the angel's word—*Only* to My brethren. The first message, indeed, even to the disciples, was committed to women; but not on that account (as Gossner says) must the women exalt themselves into Apostles. Not to them was afterwards said, "Go ye forth into all the world and preach." That the Apostles do not first see the Lord Himself, nor even the angel, but were required to *believe* the women without seeing, was not only ordained for their greater honour, but arranged in wisdom with regard to their office. They were not made to wait, as many say, because they had been offended and fled; for how would that agree with the grace shown to Peter, and the Lord's unpunishing benignity generally? The reason lay in their specific *office*. Their *slowness* to believe—grounded upon men's more deep and inquiring thought²—their *unbelief*, mixed with it and yet overcome, would afterwards, when related, itself strengthen their certain testimony: as Leo the Great says, "They had doubted, that we might not doubt, but be all the more urged to believe." The remembrance of their own un-

¹ Although Nitzsch rightly preaches: "How instructive it is, that the revivification of the disciples *begins* in the feeling of fear!—most assuredly, in the fear *thus* excited was a germ of joy and salvation."

² For a flower is more easily planted than a tree—is Bengel's remark.

belief would teach them to bear patiently with the unbelief of their hearers; and we may suppose, with Bengel, that the Apostles would afterwards in their humility think more highly than of themselves of many who believed at once without seeing. They regarded, indeed, as *λήρος*, an idle tale, not merely (according to Lu. xxiv. 11) the report of the appearance of the angels, but also the announcement that the Lord Himself had been seen. "On the one hand, at the bottom of all this unbelief there lay a certain confidence in His love—If He had actually risen, He would himself have appeared even to me. But, on the other hand, If He were alive, would He not first appear to the chosen ambassadors of His kingdom!" (Pfenninger.) They could not understand the preference given to insignificant "women:" "If the law of His kingdom did not require His first and most immediate appearance to themselves, would not His heart move Him to show Himself to John, and to His mother!" Peter especially could not believe that he was mentioned by the angel, and John passed by!

Suffice, that the Lord would thus test them, and reveal to them their hearts, and give them full experience of the true nature of unbelief in its fairest form. He well knew that at this great beginning of fulfilment all His disciples and brethren, even the Apostles, would urgently need and desire to *see* Him; therefore He gave to them by *these* women (as the supplement to the word to Magdalene concerning His ascension) the promise of that sight. But must they go away to *Galilee* (from Jerusalem), and there see Him first? This has been a great difficulty to many; and even Sepp regards this as evidence that St Matthew intends here only an inexact account of the appearance to Mary Magdalene; yea more, that this word concerning Galilee is placed in the angel's mouth by an incorrect anticipation, and therefore in our Lord's is only a pleonasm! For "we cannot suppose (he says) that any one who would meet others to-day, and again repeatedly afterwards in the same place, would refer them by a third person to a more distant time and place." So indeed it would appear; but, when we closely examine, the angel's and the Lord's words are perfectly consistent and right. It was not without reason that the angel (see in Mark) referred back to our Lord's own former words upon this subject (Matt.

xxvi. 32; Mark xiv. 28): this designation of Galilee as the general place of reunion for the scattered flock we have already enlarged upon. The reference here is to be understood in precisely the same sense as that in which our Lord first gave the command. And that is referred to here at the outset, because, as Storr remarks, "this was the last prediction of the resurrection which Jesus gave to His disciples, when they were going forth to the place of His capture, immediately before their dispersion." Thus He brings His own words to their minds, which they should ponder for the assistance of their faith,—words which must be fulfilled; but He does not by any means contradict thereby His own purpose to show Himself previously to His Apostles. Lange has well said that this *losung*, this text of the resurrection-day—To Galilee! applied not so much to the Apostles exclusively as to the Apostles in union with the whole greater company of His disciples and brethren.¹ Not all of these were fit and prepared to see Him at once, at least in Jerusalem, where a premature and unsanctified triumph might have easily broken out. The Apostles were themselves, indeed, surprised on the same day by an appearance of the Lord: this was seasonable and necessary, in order that they might be the leaders of the flock. But that this might appear to be a surprise of His free grace, and not interfere with the test of their faith and obedience, He did not appear to them at once, but directed their thoughts to that future general meeting promised to the whole flock by their Shepherd going before them. It may be asked why the Apostles remained in Jerusalem instead of at once obeying the order received from their Lord; and the answer is, not only (as Ambrose remarks) that their unbelief prevented them, but that the Lord's orders were not, when rightly understood, intended in that sense. The Lord's command presupposed their tarrying through the eight days, according to the rule of the feast; for the intimation (as it more plainly appears in the angel's words) meant no more and no less for the

¹ Hofmann (Schriftbeweis II. i. 364): "Because Galilee was the land of His believing people—there, where He had found faith among the poor and ignorant, and not in Jerusalem, where the rulers had crucified Him in their enmity, it was that He should assemble together the flock which His death had scattered."

collective disciples than this :—that they should without fear or dismay, in the joyful assurance of His resurrection,¹ *after the feast* journey back again in all sobriety to their own Galilee, and that there He would more perfectly reveal Himself to them all at once.

Paulus asserts that the Lord here once more “altered His plan,” and turned back from His way to Galilee through Emmaus, having been induced to do so by the unexpected exhibition of the wilfulness of His disciples’ unbelief. But our reverence recoils from all such thoughts.² The Risen Lord “journeyed” no longer from place to place as He had been wont to do; He no longer could thus change His mind, or turn back, for all that He would do, and all that should happen, was perfectly well known to Him. Moreover, the direction to go to Galilee, understood as we have explained it, is by no means in contradiction with the command to tarry in Jerusalem, Lu. xxiv. 49: the investigation of this, however, must be reserved for that passage. Suffice it that we mark here that the “going to Galilee” is a general, diffusive, intimation for all; just as in ver. 16 we find that a particular mountain in Galilee was appointed for the great assembly of His disciples. There shall they see Me—*ὁψομαι*—all shall see Me as ye have already seen Me; it is not *ὁφειλε*, as the angel had said. The Lord promises the *seeing*—that is, once more before the *ascending*—not therefore His visible continuance. *There shall they see Me*—are His significant words, intimating that His coming to this or that place was not a journey on His part, but simply His making Himself visible there.³ The angel’s *προαγει*—*go before you*, ver. 7—was only taken from the Lord’s own words, in which He figuratively represented Himself as the Shepherd, collecting and leading His flock. The Evangelists never use concerning

¹ Without expecting any revelation of His kingdom in Jerusalem—as Ebrard (against Strauss) finds in the words.

² Olshausen, alas, assents to this: “Probably the Lord would, according to His promise, have shown Himself to the disciples only in quiet Galilee, if these had attained to a living faith in the resurrection at once.” This sentence would be quite true *without* the clause—“according to His promise.”

³ Origen rightly maintained that “the body of Christ was seen during the forty days when He would, and by whom He would.”

the appearance of the Risen Lord the expressions *ἔρχεσθαι*, *πορεύεσθαι* or the like; but the *ἀπῆντησεν* here in ver. 9 is the strongest expression at the outset, meaning only that He (suddenly) came against them, stood in their way. His *vanishing* is not expressed according to ver. 10, but all the more plainly, therefore, presupposed. So in ver. 17 there is the sudden *καὶ ἰδόντες*, before the nearer approach in *προσελθεῖν* follows. In Mark xvi. 9 it is *ἐφάνη*—ver. 12 *ἐφανερώθη*, He appeared—in strict contrast with the *πορευομένους* of the disciples. And in ver. 14 *ἐφανερώθη*, He appeared, without any subsequent departure. It is true that in Lu. xxiv. 15 we read *συνεπορεύετο αὐτοῖς*—*went with them*—but not till after the *ἐγγίσας*—*drew near*—which is thus an *ἐφανερώθη*, and that *in another form*, as ver. 16 shows in a different expression. Consequently in ver. 28 the “going further” is shown by the “made as though” to be an appearance regulated by His own will. In ver. 31 *ἄφαντος ἐγένετο*, *He vanished*—in ver. 36, *He stood in the midst*. Finally in John xx. 14, *θεωρεῖ ἑστῶτα*—in ver. 19 the *ἦλθεν* (and in ver. 24) is shown to be a miraculous “coming” by the *καὶ ἑστη*, through the closed doors. Thus the “coming and standing” ver. 26 must be similarly understood, since in vers. 17, 23, 29 there is no *ἀπέρχεσθαι*, no departure, spoken of; and in ver. 30 His Appearances are reckoned among the *signs*, the *σημεῖα*. So again in chap. xxi. 1 “Jesus showed Himself”—and in ver. 4 the miraculous “stood” without any *ἦλθεν*. No one ever says—*He came to me*, or *was with me*; but—*I have seen*, *we have seen*, *He had been seen*, Mark xvi. 11. Even in Lu. xxiv. 35, concerning His walking with them, it is only *τὰ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ*, what things were (mysteriously) done in the way. All this exhibits the commencing glorification of His body, which was not completed till the ascension.

ON THE WAY TO EMMAUS.

(Luke xxiv. 17-27.)

The notion which was formerly urged, that Mark xvi. 12 refers to two other persons than those mentioned by St Luke, has been for some time exploded. The two disciples journeying out of the city over the country, to whom the Lord appeared as they walked, are as fully described as the Lord's appearance *ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ*, in another form. This cannot mean "in a disguise," if *clothing* is supposed to be the foundation of it; but it might well be the same vestment which had hindered His being recognised in the garden. Certainly it was not "in the form of a traveller;" if by that is meant that they took Him for a fellow-traveller, as Mary had taken Him for a gardener. But *μορφῇ* added to *ἐφανερώθη* points to something objective, proceeding from Christ Himself, and present in Him. But it is not a general notice, applicable to the collective Appearances of the Risen Lord—"that the form of Christ had been changed since His death!" For such a change, as the beginning of His glorification, would have enabled them to recognise Him, rather than otherwise; but it is their not recognising Him which St Mark, compared with St Luke, describes in this first manifestation. And it is certain too that he points out the *cause* of their not knowing Him, and not merely the not knowing itself; for *μορφῇ*, as we have said, is something objective, and cannot possibly stand for an appearance assumed in the eye of others, or for the notion which others form of a person. Ebrard correctly says that "in the perfect interpenetration of the corporeity by the perfectly sinless soul, the formal character first has its true significance, and the body becomes an *expression* of the spiritual being;"—but we would add that according to the same law the will of the soul then *subjects* the body to itself, gives to the expression of its form as much or as little as it will, and can weaken or withdraw this characterising expression even to the becoming invisible. A relative degree of this vanishing is that general indefinite *μορφῇ*, without personal recognisability, which

the Lord assumed;¹ and therefore it is rightly termed by St Mark *ἐρέπα*, that is, a *strange form*.² Bengel calls it with propriety, "an intermediate grade of revelation, between the messengers and manifest appearance."

Lu. ver. 16 appears indeed, in contradiction with this, to assign the cause of their misapprehension to the eyes of the disciples themselves; but, when we closely consider it, the contradiction is only apparent. Proceeding from the opposite point of view, it gives prominence to the fact that as His manifestation generally, so His manifestation in this or that way, was conditioned by a corresponding influence upon those who beheld, and accompanied by it. The corporeity of the Risen Lord was corporeal; but no longer in such a sense like our own that it *might* or *must* have been seen by the eyes of every man who might meet Him, as in ordinary life. This impenetrability, subjecting the spirit to the absolute law of matter, is a concomitant of a condition of death, and consequently no longer to be thought of in relation to Christ: we therefore do not teach Docetism by such an explanation, but only the truth and reality of His resurrection. They are in great error who would press St Luke's words into a demonstration that it was not the Lord Himself who took another appearance, but that the cause of their not knowing Him was merely in their own eyes. The two causes are not at all in conflict, but are inseparably connected together. The Lord's suffering Himself to be seen was in every case at the same time an opening of men's eyes to that end; consequently His being seen as man, but not as Jesus, was a relative *reservation* of Himself, the hindering them from seeing; as it were, half opening their eyes, which left them still half shut. *Ἐκπατοῦντο* is not to be taken as in the Middle voice or Niphal—they *were* in a state of blindness—but as a Passive, which Seiler more appropriately translated by *abgehal-*

¹ As to Magdalene *at first* it was a voice not yet personal and cognisable as His.

² Maywahlen, in his recent work on Death and the Kingdom of the Dead, etc., a work which darkens a sound scriptural truth by much strange exposition, speaks of a change in the Risen Lord which prevented His being recognised. Hase is right, also, in the assumption of a change corresponding with the beginning glorification, but we think that this would make His personality only the more distinct.

ten, than de Wette by *zugehalten*. (*Kpareiv*, *continere*, *retinere*, *cohibere*.) By whom then but by the Lord, who would be seen, indeed, but not be known? Grotius: *Divinitus impediabantur*. Hasse: "The absolute Passive refers to the influence of God." That is, of course, in the present case, of the Lord Jesus.

Luther, indeed, says very decidedly: "not that He was different, or would not be known; but that their heart and thoughts were at the time so alien and far from Him." But this method of explanation, referring their misapprehension to the disciples' prepossession, which rendered it impossible that they should think it could be Jesus, leads us away altogether from the text. That might indeed explain their first mistake, but certainly not the continuance of it from two or three hours until the *instantaneous* "and their eyes were opened;" for their attention, gradually more and more excited, must certainly have made them put the question more and more urgently, *Who* this stranger was, or could be! Kleuker: "If those who knew Him not had been calm and collected, and certainly assured of the Lord's return to life, they would at once have known Him by His tone, voice, and gesture." But how was it that, when fully convinced out of the Scripture that Jesus was alive again, they nevertheless were so little aware that the stranger, who spoke so much and whose influence upon their hearts was so powerful, was Jesus, that they requested Him as a mere traveller to take up His abode with them for the night? Again, how was it that the deeply troubled Mary, quite certain of the death of Jesus, at once recognised Him who called her? If the Lord had *designed* not to be known by the disciples on the way to Emmaus, as Luther thinks, why and to what end did He so strangely begin His discourse in ver. 17? As *Jesus* He could not thus have begun it! The error in this matter has been fallen into by orthodox expositors, and by preachers upon the disciples' holden eyes, simply because they have confused the typical meaning with the historical sense, in this most typical history. It is true that our Lord would here at the same time symbolically show how many of His people, in after times, and through their own fault, might fail at once to discern Him when near to them in the career of life; but He has connected, as we shall see, His full manifestation with the typically signi-

ficant breaking of bread,—which, however, was not on that account an actual Sacrament.

St Luke's expression (*πορευόμενοι εἰς κώμην*) renders it very doubtful whether they were purposing to journey further toward Galilee; ver. 29 makes it probable that both, or at least one of them, dwelt in Emmaus.¹ But this going away *on the very same day* (comp. ver. 21) indicates that they had as good as given up the hope of Christ's resurrection. Who were these disciples? *Ἐξ αὐτῶν*—*of them*—says St Luke; and, as the sequel shows, not with immediate reference to the Apostles, ver. 10, but, going further back, to the "rest," ver. 9. Ver. 33 is decisive for this, as also the name Cleophas. We see that there were, apart from the Twelve, men worthy and capable of such instruction as these men here received before the Apostles (ver. 45). Whether *Κλεόπας* is the *Κλωπᾶς* of Jno. xix. 25, or Alphæus, is more than doubtful, since *Κλεόπας* (instead of *Κλεόπατρος*) appears to be a quite different name from *Κλωπᾶς* for *Ἀλφάιος*, *Ἀπλ.* And who was the other? We find in Braune the confident assumption that the two men were father and son, together in Christian friendship and communion: Alphæus and his son *James the Apostle*, to whom then the apocryphal account of the known manifestation is referred, as a variation of our report. In this all is confused and misapprehended. An old tradition in Epiphanius named the other Nathanael (not in that case an Apostle), and Griesbach has received this among his various readings. Origen contra Celsum quotes it as a *γέγραπται* in St Luke, that the Lord gave the bread to *Simon and Cleopas*; whence (as Grotius rightly remarks) it must be concluded that he read in ver. 34 *λέγοντες* instead of *λέγοντας*. But the text remains firm; and this whole

¹ Not the capital of a Toparchy, 22 miles distant, afterwards called Nicopolis (1 Macc. iii. 40, 57); but the village mentioned by Josephus, 60 stadia from Jerusalem, that is, a journey of two to three hours. (The readings 30 or 160 stadia are manifestly errors.) There was a third place named *עמאוס* or *עמא* from its warm springs; and so probably was this. See Winer's Realwörterb.; and Lange's excellent remarks in reply to Röhr, who in his geography marks the place on the foolish supposition that the Risen Lord intended to travel to Upper Galilee through Emmaus, Bethhoron, and the mountains of Ephraim—in order to avoid meeting the caravans connected with the feast!

view is most forced, making "the Eleven" in ver. 33 merely nine, and just here when the tenth comes to them!¹ We prefer to agree with Valer. Herberger, who preached to his people: "The learned cannot come to any agreement who the other was, and I will give you this good counsel—Let each of you take his place."

This is better than the hypothesis which Lange once more brings forward—that the unnamed companion was the Evangelist himself. He meets the objection of Grotius² by saying that in ch. i. 2 the emphasis must fall upon the ἀπ' ἀρχῆς—St Luke was not indeed an eyewitness at the beginning, but he was at the end. This appears to us to be very arbitrary; as is also all that has been said about the *Hellenist* derivation of both: to wit, that the Lord appeared first to the great Apostle of the Jews, and then to the Hellenists, who with Hellenist freedom wandered so far from the place of the feast, and who as such were furthest from apprehending the cross, etc., etc.³ We would carefully abstain from all that the text itself does not contain, or that may not be developed from it; and thus shall we find the rich fulness of true significance which is contained in this discourse of the Lord, their fellow-traveller, who thus turns His hand upon the little ones. (Zech. xiii. 7.)

In connection with the *ὁμιλεῖν*, which stood comprehensively alone at first, the *συζητεῖν* expresses no unfriendly contention, and yet an *ἀντιβάλλειν λόγους*, a friendly interchange of opposite and differing thoughts and feelings concerning all the dark mysteries which had just been enacted. Here again we observe, as we have seen at the sepulchre, the difference between man's thinking and investigating, and woman's emotional temper. But the deep *sorrow* remains the same in both, sorrow because of no longer having and no longer seeing *Him*; but here there

¹ Neither of these disciples could have been an Apostle, either James, or Simon, or Nathanael. The attempt of Lightfoot and others to establish that it was Peter, leaving the *λέγοντας* of ver. 34 undisturbed, but understanding the words as a question—Has the Lord indeed risen, and appeared to Simon? we leave to those who may be inclined to consider it.

² "Many have thought that the other was St Luke, but he himself refutes them in his Preface, where he distinguishes himself from the eyewitnesses."

³ As Hellenists were they to be convinced by opening the *Scripture*?

is the additional sorrow that they as thinking men know not in what light *they* must regard this Prophet, and for what they must hold Him. To this grievous uncertainty the Lord reveals Himself in consolation; but leading them onward preparatorily by instruction in this consummating continuation of His prophetic office, testifying concerning His own person and guiding them to the knowledge of Himself. St Luke does not record that He came behind the travellers, so that we must ask—*From whence?* but by a mysterious *ἐγγίσας* he marks beforehand the symbolical significance of the whole (Jesus would prove Himself to be *near* to His people, as a fellow-traveller in their way) in the first revelation of Himself out of invisibility; and then follows the “going with them” as in “another form.” Let it be marked and pondered, that instead of a public triumph in Jerusalem He seeks the two sorrowing pilgrims without, that He may bless them in solitude with conviction!

Ver. 17. Confidentially approaching, as a fellow-traveller in the same way, disposed to friendly converse, He takes up the word when He comes quite near them. We cannot suppose the ordinary friendly greeting to have preceded as an introduction, for St Luke would have recorded it; it is significant that without preface He at once appeals to and penetrates their souls by His friendly inquiry. The Lord asks here once more, as so often before, about that which He perfectly well knew,—in order that the answer might be plainly spoken. The first sound which they hear seems to be that of an inquisitive stranger, or one who would gladly have their company—I am going the same way, take me with you, I would *converse with you*. But, then, the second part of the question added another meaning—I take part in your sorrow; *and probably can comfort you*. Pfenninger's sketch imagines, strikingly enough, that while He was uttering these words He went into the midst between them. But we cannot agree with Lange: “He asked them the question in sympathy, about what they thus held communication; and gently rebuked them that they were so troubled, and strengthened themselves in their anxiety by this sad intercourse.” For to assume anything like reproof here at the beginning disturbs the full and gracious confidence of the *ἐγγίξεν*, which opened their hearts; and would be a premature

anticipation of the turn given to the discourse in ver. 25. The ἀντιβάλλειν λόγους (comp. 2 Macc. xi. 13, not simply a Latinism) does indeed express a certain zeal of differing discourse about matters of great moment; this, however, is not blamed as discord, which it was not, but regarded as the natural and friendly interchange of thought. In the general interpretation of the whole history this symbolises that fellowship and mutual communication which is the laudable requisite in order to the Lord's drawing near to ourselves. Σκυθρωποί (before which Tischendorf omits the *καὶ ἔστε*) marks the external impress of sorrow upon the countenance (as in Matt. vi. 16), and gives the reason why the Sympathiser knew that they were in need of comfort: I *hear* that ye are exchanging communications about very weighty matters; I *see* also that they are sad ones. Does not this address at once show that our Lord *would* not at once be known, but rather be regarded as a traveller who casually met them? Nevertheless, He makes prominent already, as if in a distant manner to betray or herald Himself, the decisive mark of His own company of disciples in these days of their sorrow (Jno. xvi. 20)—that He may found His appeal upon that, and extract from them their confession. In the joyous spring-time, and in the feast of joy they were mourners—this rendered them the fit subjects for the reception of joy. The Lord *in our day* fulfils in another sense that which He then began; and draws nigh in spirit to many of His baptized ones whom He must *rebuke*: What manner of idle and evil communications are these that ye have; how are ye so *joyful*—without Me?

Assuredly the first impression which this bringer of consolation would create, was that of an unseasonable interruption; how gladly would they have evaded Him when they saw Him first approaching! But to recoil from Him when He now addresses them—is a thing no longer possible. He did not speak to them obtrusively, but frankly, confidently, and penetratingly. Weiss adopts the current style and says, "they scarcely fixed a direct look upon Jesus"—but this reason for their not knowing Him seems to us unnatural; and we should say, conversely, that they looked with anxious scrutiny upon this stranger. Their first word of response, recorded in the purest

historical truth, seems to be midway between a certain uneasy alienation from such a sudden and interrupting question, and the confidence which, instantly excited, enters into the inquiry, and gives information in reply to it. Thou shouldst know what we are conversing about; and know *us* by this mark, that we are mourning over a matter which makes the world rejoice. Who can speak now of anything but the great event? Who can in good conscience be *joyful* after the crucifixion of Jesus? Thus we may understand both the rising of their slight displeasure in the counter-question, and their free answer given at the same time in their question. We must leave it to every one's feeling to decide whether, as Lange says, "His extraordinary calmness was somewhat offensive to them;" to our own feeling the words of Jesus are not the expression of calmness, but of sympathy which would mourn with them. The main point is this, their wonder that He should know nothing about the great matter which moves them so much, and should not take it for granted that that was the cause of the sorrow in which He found them. It has been very needlessly concluded that Jesus betrayed Himself to them in some particular way as a stranger or foreigner; and even Bengel refers to the Galilæan speech. But it is plain that the disciples judge merely from the ignorant question that He is a stranger, and allege that as the reason—Truly, Thou must be a real stranger here! *Παροικεῖν* (besides here, only Heb. xi. 9) might in St Luke's genuine Greek mean neighbourhood, or residence near¹: Dwellest Thou (as it seems, going now to Emmaus) so near to Jerusalem, and yet knowest Thou not what must be known far and wide around? But this on the one hand presupposes too much; and, on the other, it is not in harmony with the Hellenistic, biblical phraseology derived from the Septuagint, which has given a different sense to *παροικεῖν*, *παροικία*, *πάροις*. Thus *παροικεῖς Ἱερουσαλήμ* (or with *ἐν*), especially in connection with *μόνος*, is a designation of the many guests who came from abroad, and for the time abode in Jerusalem. But, as this expression itself, used of an unknown person concerning whom they know nothing, either whence He came or where He

¹ But not, as many incorrectly say, *dwelling in*; for a *πάροις* is certainly not a *κατοικῶν*.

belonged, might be a mere *figure* in their excited speech, we might almost translate it, finally, as if ξένος εἰ (Syr. טַבְרִינָא) had been written: Art Thou only in the full and perfect sense *alien* and *unknown* in Jerusalem, whence Thou now comest? For σὸν μόνος παροικεῖς has a tone in it quite different from the translation—Art Thou only *among the strangers*. Suffice that the fundamental idea is the same; and it is a type and symbol that the Lord would in the future, and in the person of others, draw nigh to us and go with us as one at first apparently unknown and ignorant. He allows Himself to be reproached, and accused even of strange ignorance, that He may all the more impressively Himself teach and rebuke afterwards!

Ver. 19. The Lord in this most gracious condescension to the *likeness* of our own ordinary humanity, gives us by the way an instructive example how we may in the wisdom of love, and without sinful dissembling, keep back and reserve our thoughts, yet without speaking positive untruth. For the Lord does not affirm that He was one of the strangers at the feast, nor does He deny that He knew what had occurred in these days: He asks simply in continuation—*What then?* or rather—*What and what kind of things do ye mean and lament over?* That sounded, indeed, as if He had said—If I am a stranger, give me information; but it might also have seemed to them as only a continuation of His first sympathising question:—Who can tell whether I know it—let that pass—but I have asked *you, tell me what it is!*¹ No man could attribute to that first “Woman, why weepest thou?” an unwarranted dissembling of that which He very well knew; and so this “what manner of communication have ye as ye walk and are sad?” and again, “*what then?*” are but the same expression of that desire, with which He has risen, to comfort all who mourn. And this brief and pregnant word Ποῖα (much too diffuse in the Heb. version, מַה אַתָּה רֹמֵם —more correctly in the Pesh. only לָמָּה) at once elicits from them the whole section, vers. 19–24, words which flow on and cease not until they have opened all their heart and told Him

¹ “If He had said that He knew all full well, Cleopas would have drawn back—Why should I recount it to Him? No would not have been truth. He therefore so orders His answer that it was neither Yes nor No: What things? I would hear what ye mean.” (G. K. Rieger.)

everything. Such a secretly working power to draw men's hearts proceeds from the Risen Lord, even in this *other form*! Without that the whole matter cannot be explained, and would be scarcely probable. Compare, moreover, the similarly penetrating effect of the words of Christ's servant in Acts viii. 30. How necessary was it for the entrance of the consolation which was to follow, that He should give them occasion to speak out all their mind! How symbolical is this wisdom of consolation for ourselves! What a testimony of His will that we should begin by speaking to Him, and opening to Him all our hearts!

They said: that may naturally be—Both alternately and mutually supplemented each other; only, not as Paulus supposed, that vers. 19 and 21 express different and opposite sentiments in the two men. We shall understand the entire discourse, which St Luke combines into one whole (so in ver. 29 the words of both given in common), very differently in its incomparable living truth and unity. *That concerning Jesus of Nazareth*—thus they at once give the sum of the whole, confessing the abhorred name without fear: *that* they cannot cast off, they cannot be offended at that. Happy all who in this resemble them! They begin with the *prophet* (really more honourable still—*ἄνθρωπος προφήτης*) as of a truth known most surely to all the people (Matt. xxi. 11); as the Pentecost sermon, Acts ii. 22, begins afterwards. In ver. 21 more of their own previous faith comes to light, so that we see that they keep nothing back, but confidentially tell Him all; but because they have erred as to His being *Redeemer*, they fall back now upon that first, preparatory faith:—a prophet at least He certainly *was*, for many prophets have been shamefully put to death. And what was the evidence? The same expressions which we find (probably as proverbial and customary) used in Acts vii. 22 concerning Moses; only with a twofold, not accidental, difference, that here the stronger unity of the entire life is indicated in the *singular*, and the *work* is placed before the word. *Before God and all the people*:—this is scarcely to be paraphrased as Lange does—"equally great in secret contemplative holiness, and in public acts of beneficence"—for what is a secret and contemplative *ἔργον* before God? But Acts ii. 22 gives us the right interpretation at once—Approved of God before the people

through the Divine power imparted to His word and work. Hence the Berl. Bible: "They take God and man together; for it was of God that the people discerned the finger of God in this person." He who at first only acknowledges Him as a prophet, will go further in faith; but he who rejects *that* concerning Jesus, is not of the truth.

Now, nevertheless, it is only—*this He was!* For His life and work, mighty as it was, has come to a miserable end. Our high priests and rulers—thus they continue in deep grief thereupon; this first *we* seems, as addressed to the stranger visiting the feast, to be spoken in the name of *Israel* (ver. 21). Thus, in passing, these disciples were no Hellenists, but Israelites. This prophet, notwithstanding, nay rather on account of His might and truth in the word and work of God, the ungodly, hateful and unworthy rulers of God's people (mark here further the presupposed unity of view as it respects the sad condition of things in Israel) have delivered over to the Gentiles for the confirmation of their sentence and death, and—God has suffered it to take place, they have by unrighteous hands, and with the greatest ignominy and suffering, *crucified* Him. This fearful word closes the sentence which belongs to *ὁ πῶς*;¹ but, as the silent stranger appears to be earnestly listening, there follows a new and bold disclosure, expressed with the more and more confidential "*we*" of the special adherents of this condemned and crucified prophet. Before the unknown personage they openly avow their lost faith, *thereby* as it were strengthening themselves, if it might be, to recover it. *We hoped*: it has been said that this was less than faith; but we regard hope as the stronger, and as built upon the faith. Yet that view may be profitably taken in application; and certainly they do not use the term *believe*. More important than this question is the fact, that they now declare this their hope to be *past*; and yet, which is still more important, that hope could have been based only upon the personal word and testimony of that prophet, who had said and promised all this concerning himself. But as to the present? *Cross and Messiah? Redeemer of Israel?* He cannot have truly been such—but what then? Ah, had He but been all

¹ Instead of which Dav. Schulz groundlessly conjectured *ὁ πῶς*.

this! That a Redeemer of Israel was promised in the prophets as to *come*, they understand and believe, as their prophets had declared; but did they hope for *redemption* with an intelligent apprehension of its meaning? To us it is very improbable that (to quote Olshausen) *λυτροῦσθαι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ* in their meaning had *only* "a very subordinate and in part political signification." For the very word *λυτροῦσθαι* reaches beyond that (comp. *λύτρωσις* and *σωτηρία*, Lu. i. 68, 69 with ver. 75); moreover, disciples so entirely entangled in Jewish feeling would scarcely have been thought by the Lord worthy of such a manifestation; and they would not have brought with them the first essential foundation for His conviction out of the prophets (which concerned, too, only the *ἔδει παθεῖν*). Thus in the hoping for "redemption" the spiritual character of their faith was in some slight degree expressed; but with this there was mingled the expectation of an immediate setting up of the kingdom (Acts i. 6). Like all the others down to this time, they could not represent to themselves a spiritual redemption, without at least connecting it with a political, or rather externally manifest, redemption. They waited for the kingdom of God and the redemption as one. (Lu. xxiii. 51, ii. 38.) That through the death of the cross, to them so incomprehensible, not merely Israel, but the whole world, was actually already *redeemed*, does not in the most distant degree enter their imagination; while they thus affectingly complain to the already victorious Redeemer. Finally, they mention *the third day*; and it was scarcely fortuitous and without some peculiar thought in the background. They do not say—Three days have now rolled away; but, as we think, their *τρίτην ἡμέραν* faintly echoes the saying, which was made known in mockery under the cross, that He Himself had promised a decisive event, or resurrection on this third day.¹ But they scarcely confess this to themselves; it is but gently and involuntarily spoken. We must certainly not give it the harsh interpretation: But the time is come, and He has not risen, and almost appears now to

¹ It is indifferent whether we take *ἀγν* as Impersonal; the Nomin. being omitted, and the meaning being *tertius agitur dies*; or, as in later Greek, supply *Ἰησοῦς* as the Nominative. The latter does not commend itself to us.

be a *false prophet* ! For such a flat contradiction with the firm avowal of ver. 19, could not have shaped itself in their thoughts.

Yea, more than that : on this third day something has actually transpired, which has thrown them into astonishment, and engendered thoughts which waver between faith and unbelief. This is further proof that we have rightly understood the previous verse. With expressions of a still more confidential and trusting character they now declare themselves to be members of the little company which was and still is united in dependence on this Jesus : in ver. 22 ἐξ ἡμῶν is a continuation of the previous ἡμεῖς, as opposed to the rulers ; and then in ver. 27 τινὲς τῶν σὺν ἡμῖν plainly and without fear avows their secret confederacy. The ἐξέστησαν is generally interpreted—They have rather *affrighted* us more, than comforted us ; but this appears to us (especially when Acts viii. 9 is compared) incorrect. When they name the third day, they record that at least in the early morning of this very day (yet passing in the *ἄγρυπ*),¹ a rumour of resurrection was circulated which threw them into *astonishment*. But these women had done no more than excite their astonishment, and the doubt which could not believe ; certainly they had not given them back their “hope” again. For what after all does it amount to ? Certain *women*—found not the body in the sepulchre—*said* they had *seen*—what ? An appearance or vision of angels : it remains doubtful whether they were really angels, or all was an *ὄρασις* of the women.² And these angels, again, are said to have *said*—*that He lived* ! They pause now before the amazing thought which well might εἰς ἑκστασιν ἄγειν—*He lived ! He is risen*—they venture not to express.

Still more : Certain of them which were connected with us (Peter and John of course, but probably not only these ; others, it may be, not Apostles, might have gone later in the day, all the confusion and distraction of which is not recorded)—cer-

¹ Hence the *ὑπνίσταται* (or *ὑπνίσταται*) not forgotten !

² Had these disciples left *before* the message of the others who had seen the Lord Himself ? This can hardly be admitted, when we reckon the time to and from Emmaus, before *ὥρα* John xx. 19, and connect with it Luke, ver. 29. But the disciples were not all together in one place ; and these two had not received the intelligence.

tain men went to the sepulchre, to investigate this *saying* of the women concerning what angels had said—but they found the *sepulchre empty*, in *this* the women said right—but Himself, who was said to be alive, *they saw not*!

They saw not! This they say now before His own face!¹ And He does not emerge from His other form; He reveals Himself not; but begins as an unknown one to point their faith to the word of *all* the prophets. But we must pause to consider for a while the words which *they* uttered, that we may understand the whole aright. It is, as Lange beautifully says, “the first report of the Easter-message, as yet in the form of a lamentation; Easter-tidings in the Ash-Wednesday spirit; the Sun of the resurrection is enveloped in thick clouds of despondency and sorrow, scarcely penetrated by a ray.” They have fully exposed their own hearts, and shown how all was with them. Weak toward faith—blinded in their folly (while thinking themselves thoughtful inquirers!) against joyful intelligence—slow of heart to understand the Divine word:—all this indeed they are; but it is equally evident that they are *sincere* withal, *disciples* who still love Christ. To see *Him* and to have *Him* again—is what they want, and that to which all their desire and sorrow tends: if He does not live, they also would not wish to live. “Nothing would they more deeply desire than that what they have heard about His resurrection should be true”—says Luther. And for that reason the Lord gives them this manifestation. On the one hand, it is easy to dilate upon the folly which gave so little credence to the saying of the women and of the angels;² but, on the other hand, Tholuck is right in saying: “Does not their word sound as the language of those in whose hearts the flax yet glimmers, though nigh to extinction?” Yes, certainly, their secret thought was pro-

¹ As Magdalene asked Him—Where hast thou laid Him?

² Zinzendorf gives a stronger colouring to their thought: “If that were true, half the world would have been in amazement, and the city would have been overturned:—it cannot be more than idle tales of the women. Yea, if the report goes abroad, they will say that we have substituted some one, and lay hold of us on that account, etc.” But all this, and what follows, is based upon an uncertain translation of the word *ἐξέστησαν*. “Otherwise they would not have said—The women *affrighted* us; but merely that they created in us a vain joy.”

foundly sorrowful, but had not absolutely and altogether given up the previous hope: "Something may yet occur, something will yet appear." Thus their *συζητεῖν*, previously, was—What should, will, or may that be? What is *now* to be hoped, or feared? But observe that as to what had taken place after the *ταῦτα ἐγένετο*, ver. 21, they are only astonished: they are yet in some slight degree *waiting*—but nothing more! They do not remember or remind themselves of *His* words, and that they could not fail; nor do they think—What saith the *Scripture* to all this? Oh that some one would explain it to us! For as St John chap. xx. 9 refers the unbelief of the Apostles themselves to their not knowing the *Scripture*, and not *bringing it to mind*; so in this intimation all the Evangelists concur, St Luke, however, confirming it most emphatically as from the lips of the Lord Himself. With this, that is, with this deficiency in the words which He heard them speak, our Lord impressively connects His saying; and, as St Luke records, in direct and emphatic contrast. We cannot think, as some have supposed, that the disciples after ver. 24 continued to speak in more positive terms of unbelief, and thus gave occasion to the Lord's rebuke in ver. 25. The final lamentation, *Him they saw not*—allows nothing further in their deep emotion; they keep silence in the presence of their hitherto sympathising fellow-traveller, who now knows all.

Ver. 25. It is now His turn to speak, and theirs to listen and give heed. Observe at once, and at the outset, the sudden and entire diversion of their thoughts from the confused and mysterious accounts of the passing time—His having been seen, and their not seeing Him—to the *Scripture*, sublimely elevated above all things that are passing, from the beginning above all history! We learn, indeed, in the resurrection, on the one hand, that the actual fulfilment alone makes us capable fully to understand the prophecy; but now with profound propriety the Lord proceeds from the other side, and *opens up the historical event by first unfolding the Scripture*. They cannot comprehend and reconcile the things which have come to pass; but He leaves these things in their specific character alone for a while, and tells them—All will be rightly adjusted to your minds, if ye only understand and receive the forewritten word. He will not

have their faith to be grounded upon any appearance and word of angels, upon any human report of women or of men, upon any seeing or not seeing, yea, not upon their personally seeing *Himself*—but solely and essentially upon the self-consistent, harmonious, and convincing *Word*! This is so plain before His own eyes, that their ignorance can only excite within Him earnest reproof. The sympathising, questioning, and listening stranger is at once transformed into a mightily rebuking Master of Scripture-instruction. Can he be the same? was the question which they must ask, once more looking at Him more fixedly than before. But it is the same graciousness and love which now rebukes; and this their rebuked and smitten hearts, penetrated by the fire of His love, begin at once to feel. It is, at the same time, as if He would cover the rebuke with consolation: O ye poor men, who so groundlessly sorrow and doubt, and *cannot believe*—what ye might and would so gladly believe! Why can ye not? If ye understood the Scripture, and *would* understand it, all things are there rightly and clearly set forth concerning the career of your Christ. “Smitten, and as if translated to another world, they listen to their fellow-traveller, as He thus talks to them” (Hess). What words are these—no man has ever thus spoken in Israel before Him—what manner of scribe is this? *Ἀνόητοι* He calls them—unintelligent and not understanding; “perceptionless” fools, as Lange has well translated. (Compare Beck’s *biblische Seelenlehre*, S. 51, for the moral import of the word.) And wherefore? Because faith is what is wanting; but the *heart* is indisposed and averse, too *slow* or dull and idle to believe. Certainly *καρδιά* is not merely *voûs* or understanding again;¹ this would involve tautology, and indeed a softening retraction, in some sense, of the *ἀνόητοι*. But the deeper *reason* of their ignorance, and which properly was the object of rebuke, lay in the *heart*—as all Scripture attests in relation to Divine things—in the slowness of the heart, as the error of the will and disposition. *Βραδεὶς τῇ καρδίᾳ* is something different from the mere state of *כְּדִי לֵב*, or the like, as the Inf. *τοῦ πιστεύειν*, belonging to it, shows: this *tarditas* infers a moral imputation, a *not able* springing from a *not will*

¹ As Stolz: slow of apprehension.

ing. Just as our Lord had often similarly rebuked His disciples. If these two disciples (as is probable) had often walked with Him before, His words might now have appealed to them, as if He were alive again, and were saying to them as in former time—Have ye not yet further advanced in My school? They do not mark *that*; but we, who know Who it is that speaks, observe that He, the risen Lord of glory, has not left the requirement of faith in these old Jewish prophetic books behind Him in the sepulchre, as if that had been no more than a mere accommodation on His part before;—but that He demands it now more rigorously and earnestly than ever. We would submit ourselves to His supreme *criticism*, grounded upon His victory over death as the express and actual ground of all demonstration: a criticism which does not refer so much to the books as to their readers; which terms those *fools*, whose hearts are guilty, who find not in these prophets what He had found in them—His suffering and His glory, and all spoken purely concerning Himself!¹ For, had not the same Spirit, who gave all this to the prophets, provided for their readers also, yea, for all Israel from the beginning, so that all misunderstanding must have sprung, so far as its essentials are concerned, only from sin in the heart as its cause? And how much more now, when in the new church of the Risen Lord, the Spirit is poured out in all His fulness! Who will be able to stand before Him with his ignorance or false science and theology, when He shall one day pronounce in a very different manner His rebuke of unbelief!

Believe! This great word, constantly recurring as the decisive test for man's heart and will, and as leading to understanding (*voëiv*)—He now opposes to their *hoping*, in order to give them back again something more than hope. They had shrunk from openly expressing that decisive little word, but He makes it all the more prominent on that account. Yet (to quote Braune), "He does not so much condemn their unbelief in the report of the women (which was only a consequence) as their want of faith in the prophetic word." They had declared that they still held Jesus as a *prophet*, at least, and therefore as that last and greatest One, whom Moses, the first of them, had promised as greater

¹ Still greater fools—may the preacher now cry to the congregation—who will not seek and read and find!

than he: then they ought clearly and firmly to have combined together and held fast the words of this prophet and of *all* the prophets. That which Jesus had prophesied concerning His own suffering, dying, and rising again on the "third day," had its sure foundation in the words of all who had spoken before Him and about Him. Tertullian tells us that Marcion had altered it—"to believe all that He (Jesus) had spoken to you;" but he allows that, in the argument, to his adversary, in order to confirm the authority of the prophets from the lips of Jesus Himself.¹ The two things are inseparable: If these disciples had fully believed Jesus, they must have believed the prophets also; and so conversely. It is the latter which Jesus now makes the ground of His appeal; but not without subordinately including the former, in the absolutely expressed and independent πιστεύειν. It is usual to connect it with the following words—to believe *in all*—and that would have its own impressive truth, just as in Acts xxiv. 14 the emphasis falls upon a similar πάντοι:—to believe not only the word concerning the kingdom and the glory, but that also concerning the sufferings. Philip (John i. 45) had found Jesus of Nazareth in Moses and the prophets (yet as the son of Joseph!); but much was wanting to the believing apprehension of *all* that was written in them, else they would not have almost lost again Him whom they had found. Only in Acts xiii. 12 can we in any way construe πιστεύειν with ἐπι and the Dative; hence it is more natural to interpret here—O ye, slow of heart to *believe* (in itself and generally) *after*, or *notwithstanding* all that the prophets have spoken! So Bengel: "The words of the prophets are among you, and yet ye believe not! Comp. Lu. xvi. 26 *præter* hæc omnia, or Mar. vi. 52 even *post*." Faith in the prophetic word is of course included; but the thought is made more comprehensive and more penetrating when we regard the prophetic word as the auxiliary or instrument, the *adminiculum*, and not the object of faith. The πιστεύειν, the believing, has itself a wider range than faith simply in the Bible.

¹ "Christus enim Jesus in evangelio tuo meus est" (see in Grotius). So may it be said to all such heretics: Would ye turn away from the Old Testament to the simple "pure doctrine of Jesus"—be it so, this pure doctrine sends you back to the Old Testament again.

Ver. 26. "Christ" instead of the preceding "He that should redeem Israel;" for the Lord, hastening rapidly onward, substitutes in His convincing appeal the true word instead of all their more indefinite expressions. They had not ventured to say plainly either *believe* or *Messiah*—not through any want of candour, but through the hesitation of fear—but He sets *both* words before them in all their clearness; and in this connection and progress we have new evidence that the Lord meant by the "believing" of ver. 5 "believing that Jesus was the Christ." Indeed, this is the same with believing all that the prophets had spoken; for the Christ in the prophets so entirely coincides with this crucified and risen Jesus, that there only remains the plain—*Ought not these things to have taken place?* The very thing which was matter of scruple and objection to the Apostles—the grievous suffering of death—is turned into most decisive argument and demonstration. Teschendorff well paraphrases the word, in its immediate connection: "Has this thrown you into amazement? Ye could not then hold Him for the Messiah, because He had *died*; and when it was told you that He had risen, were ye astounded, and would not believe? O ye fools—was it not then necessary that the Messiah should suffer such things; and must He not attain to His glorification through such sufferings?" Kinkel, blinded by his theory of the ascension, finds here a demonstration of it; "suffering and entering His glory" he reads together, as if *both* were spoken of as *past*. But it is easy enough to explain away this semblance of such a meaning from the words. It is more correct to say that neither the suffering nor the entering is here regarded as *past*; the words are aoristical, and dogmatically refer to what *was* to befall the Christ according to the Scripture. Moreover, the "suffering" in its connection with "*these things*" points distinctively to the history already fulfilled. The emphasis lies, as should be self-evident to every Christian reader, upon the great truth which was now concealed, which had been concealed from Israel through its own wilful blindness, and was now not known even to the disciples, that Christ was a suffering Messiah—*παθὴντὸς ὁ Χριστός*. (Acts xxvi. 23 comp. xvii. 3.) And it is equivalent to *παθόντα εἰσελθεῖν*—that He should enter as suffering. The *δόξα αὐτοῦ*, *His* glory, the glory appropriate

and due to Christ, is something *presupposed*; but the condition of that glory and the *way* to it (on which account the word *εἰσελθεῖν* is used) is shown in the *suffering*. And it is *ταῦτα παθεῖν*, with reference to *ταῦτα ἐγένετο*, ver. 21. Just that which has taken place, and in the way in which it took place, *must* have come to pass, for thus was it written. Thus to collate the *ἐγένετο* with the *ῥέγραπται*, and the prophecies of the glory with the prophecies of the suffering, would have been a far more profitable *ἀντιβάλλειν*, or discussion and argumentative communication. Then would the conclusion of faith have been easily reached—As His suffering is now fulfilled, nothing remains of that which is written but the entering into His glory!¹ Thus they would have hoped and believed in the *rising again* as the *beginning* of the *entering* (this alone is the historical reference of this word here, a repetition of *ἀναβαίνει ἀπάρτι*) before they had heard and seen; at least they would not have been amazed at the intelligence thereof as an *ἀπίστον*—a thing incredible—Acts xxvi. 8.

Apart from and beyond this immediate and necessary reference to the thoughts of the disciples, the Lord's saying—which shines like the Easter sun upon all the darkness of the prophets—teaches us the clear fundamental truth, that all the prophets have predicted the *sufferings* and the *glory* of the Coming One, both in their unity, just as it is declared in 1 Pet. i. 11. To understand these two things, each separately first and then both in their connection, is the only key which can open the entire prophetic word. The *glory* of Christ, that is, is no more a mere internal and spiritual glorification (as many are disposed to assume, in their interpretation of St John's Gospel especially) than the *sufferings* which preceded. Its beginning was the resurrection from the dead; but its end was not the glorifying ascension into heaven. There are yet unfulfilled "glories that should follow," as there are for the church in Christ, and for Christ in the church, yet remaining "sufferings." The *ἔδει* in the *past tense* refers, when strictly viewed, only to the Scripture which had been long with them as containing the eternal counsel of God; not to the suffering of "all things" indepen-

¹ In this *dichotomy* there lies latent the thought (commonly regarded as St John's) that the *πάσχειν* is even itself the *εἰσερχομαι εἰς δόξαν*.

dently of the "these things," still less to an already accomplished "entering into His glory." He Himself in His own person is led through the suffering of death into glory; but the same way is now before His members, and, consequently, as far as He lives in His members, that same way is still before the Head, until all the "sufferings" are accomplished and all the "glories" obtained. Suffering is ever the way to glory, as faith is to salvation:—this is the Easter-lesson which our Fore-runner teaches us. He who understands and experiences this, cries with all His saints in growing confidence, challenging all things that may transpire—But we *hope*, that He will certainly *redeem*.

Ver. 27. The *verba ipsissima* cease; but as St Luke summarily records how the Lord established the mighty paradox of ver. 26, and pointed them to the Scriptures, he doubtless received his special expressions from the lips or from the Spirit of Jesus, and we are justified in interpreting this verse also as part of our Lord's own discourse. Now followed in quick succession answers to the inquiries which lay deep in the doubting hearts of the disciples, and which may be reduced to two or three leading questions: How could Jesus, and wherefore *must* He, if He was the Christ, suffer these things? What must and what will follow after these sufferings? Where have the prophets thus spoken of both? In order that the law of His kingdom concerning faith in the word might not be invaded, He does not at once say—See ye, feel ye, that I am He! He Himself rather points to Himself in the Scripture, and thus opens their understanding, before He opens their eyes to behold His commenced glory. Thus He places *the word* above all visible manifestation; and thus the beginning of faith, and the way to it, is ever the knowledge of the word. None among those who beheld Him would have apprehended the Risen Lord in faith, without a certain preparation through the word, such a preparation as was not altogether wanting to these Emmaus-disciples. Even for the Apostles afterwards, the great essential was that which St Luke records in his gospel, ch. xxiv. 45, and in the Acts ch. i. 3; for without that nothing would have been able to strengthen their faith for its victory over the world. Faith is a matter of experience; but in and in order to experience, yea in

a certain sense *before* experience, and in order that it may be possible, faith is assuredly matter of *knowledge*.

The Lord has no need of the Codex, the entire Scripture lies open before Him—and the disciples have at least so much of it within them, that they can recognise the passages He quotes, as such. “If He had the spirit, the two disciples had the letter of the Scriptures. How good a thing it is to get firm possession of the Bible in early youth; the letter itself does not kill unless it drive away the Spirit, but it is there in readiness for His coming.” (Braune.) If thou knowest the Scripture, the Lord may come to expound it. The earlier instruction of Jesus (as Hess remarks) “had not been a proper and detailed *explanation* of Scripture,” at least in the great connection of the whole; for before the *ταῦτα ἐγένετο* all representation of their *δεῖ γενέσθαι* would be vain. Remark, once more, the reciprocation: before its fulfilment in history there is no perfect understanding of the Scripture; while the history itself is not to be understood without the Scripture.

Ἀρχάμενος—*beginning*—has a strong emphasis: He began to speak and to teach, as no lips upon earth had ever yet, before this crisis, spoken and taught. We may understand it, further, that He began and continued long; that He began now a long detail and exhibition of the scriptural truth. Or, that He each time began anew with the *word of Scripture*, in order then to append the *διερμηνεύειν*, the comparison of it with the facts which had occurred—as it were already preaching upon the text of the prophets His own Gospel. (Acts viii. 35.) At least we prefer such interpretations as these to that which connects the specific *ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως* alone with the word¹ (as Alford maintains against me). St Luke does not mean to say that the Lord began with Moses; but his “beginning” has a much more comprehensive sense than that of merely expressing the order of progression; *therefore* it immediately follows—*And from* all the

¹ *Καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων* is hard to reconcile with this. It is strange to read in Alford: “He began with Moses first;—He began with each as He came to them.” Winer Gr. affirms the phraseology to be inexact, and compares Acts iii. 24. But there the *τῶν καθ' ἑξῆς*, standing in a kind of attraction, is solved by the following *οἱ ἐλάλησαν*, and the passage is so far not strictly parallel.

prophets. Meanwhile, it is self-understood that the Great Interpreter would advance through the series in order, for this alone would luminously set forth the progressive development of the prophetic word. Would that all our teachers and learners would now also begin with the *Scripture*, and, as God has appointed it, with the first and earliest *Scripture*, *καθεξῆς* ! *Moses* wrote concerning Christ (Jno. v. 46) not only in the Abrahamic promises, in the passage concerning the future Prophet, in the *protevangelium*, but also in the whole law which condemns sin, and figuratively predicts atonement, in the whole of his typical history, especially that of the first deliverance of Israel, and before that in the original history of the creation which testifies of the eternal Word. Our Lord's exposition was assuredly not confined to what we call prophecies in the narrower sense ; but, as the Spirit in the Apostles teaches us, all the types both of the history and of the law, were included in it. His deep-drawn *ἔδει* embraced the necessity of an *atoning* Redeemer from the sin which the Old Testament reveals, and of a *dying* Redeemer from the *death* which it denounced as the consequence. *Moses* himself was a prophet, yea the first and the greatest, with whom Christ alone, as a Prophet completing the whole series, is compared ; *καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων* has also the meaning that *Moses* is in no sense opposed to the prophets. But inasmuch as afterwards "in all the *Scriptures*" is plainly synonymous with "all the *prophets*," we learn further that *all* the holy writers of the canon wrote as prophets, under Divine inspiration. The *Christ*, toward whom the entire Old Testament pointed and pressed forward, was not an idea and a hope which grew up in the national mind ; but the prophets spoke and wrote concerning Him under the light and counsel of God. This is to all unbiassed historical investigation the peculiar characteristic of the Hebrew people, that their national character was not like that of other people, developed only from within outwards, but by continual inspiration from above, continual miracles of guidance, miracles of revelation. These last form the system of prophecy in its most general sense, which pervades the whole life of the people, and yet at the same time is ever bringing out new *ideas*, sublimely elevated above the people.

How wonderfully did the Lord in concentrated brevity disclose

this, through *all* the prophets, through *all* the Scriptures!¹ We may adopt Pfenninger's thought: "Both listened with one rapt attention—hung upon His lips, went excitedly on their way, heedless of fatigue. Oft did He for a brief space restrain His words. But without speaking they gave Him to understand their desire that He would renew His discourse." Hennell expresses his wonder that such an epitome and summary of truth should have been forgotten in the Church, and not rather have been preserved as a precious document! We have this document in the entire New Testament, in which the Apostles, taught in the school of Christ, interpret to us the Old Testament; but more than any document in definite paragraphs have we in the communication of the Holy Spirit, through whom Jesus to the present day continues and ever renews His office of expositor. Let us hear and learn from Him; then shall we ever more deeply penetrate and understand the things said *concerning Him*. It is not absolutely necessary that all obscurities in the mere external and historical relations should be cleared up. That may rather be left to natural investigation and its uncertain criticism; although, on the other hand, these things are never altogether distinct from the essentials. But the great essential, the kernel of the Scripture is Christ. Here it is said—*τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ*, identical with the *τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, ver. 26. Consequently, all that is written concerning the Christ is written concerning Jesus, the fulfilling Person. This is infinitely more than the longing and anticipating type of a Coming One which alone many in our day find in the Old Testament; in the counsel of God that which really took place in Jesus was foreseen and written in an anticipatory history. Nor are they mere detached and unconnected vaticinations here and there, such as the old exegesis termed "Messianic passages." There is one great connected unity in the whole; history, type, and prophecy all coinciding in their harmonious progressive development.² Finally, it is not merely the personal Christ manifested in Jesus, the Head, which is meant, but also the

¹ Mark again this *ταῖς γραφαῖς* as the confirmation of the canon which was then received, in every individual part of it!

² Alford lays a proper emphasis upon the expression of the English Bible: the things concerning Himself—not the parts.

mystical Christ in His people and members; and no man will thoroughly find the true connection of all the Scriptures, who does not recognise that Christ and His Israel, the true Israel, as the Son and Servant of God, are ever as Head and members embraced by the Spirit in one.

It is not that "the life under the old covenant is the historical ground and foundation of the life in the new;" but there was an actual *prophecy*, which when it was given transcended, and went beyond, all history; a specific *inspiration* of the holy writers, the *prophets*, furnishing them for their work. The older theologians were in great error through not rightly perceiving the connection between the prophetic testimony and the historical time of the prophets themselves, and consequently they apprehended both prophecy and inspiration in too mechanical a manner:—but the exegesis of Jesus, as He taught it to His disciples, is at the utmost remove from this error. For, inasmuch as it speaks from the living centre of the whole Old Testament, in all its individual quotations, it not only requires us to enter upon a thorough investigation of the whole, in order that the abrupt citation may be understood, but it also approves itself to all inquirers as adjusting the history in a manner most systematic. The old faith of Christendom in the *expounding* word of Christ and His Apostles will never have to retreat before the young science of our modern times. As often as hearts which, burning like the disciples', and hearing the one Master's words, come to the Old Testament, they make the captious tenets of critical-historical speculation pay tribute to the genuine hermeneutics which the Scripture itself contains. And in this way of the opened understanding those most critical and strange *special fulfilments*, which are the very pith of all convincing demonstration, justify themselves more and more, fully to the inquirer.¹ But that the *suffering* of Christ, as certainly as His glorification, is predicted, belongs to the immoveable axioms of Christian doctrine and preaching—even its catechetical and

¹ Nitzsch, with all his one-sided polemics against that which he terms "Vorhersagung," confesses: "Prediction attains its full perfection, in the cases to which it refers, only in the most definite precision in the peculiar marks of the fact." We would term this fore-describing prediction of future events not *subordinate* but rather *co-ordinate*.

elementary form. On the one hand, as we find on the way to Emmaus, the death of Christ was (as de Wette says) "a mystery which was first disclosed in the history and by the history." But that mystery is at the same time an eternal decree of God, from before the foundation of the world (*ἔδει*); and this had been revealed previously to the prophets, His servants. (Amos iii. 7.) The *ᾠρισμένον*, in xxii. 22, is a *γέγραπται*, Matt. xxvi. 24. In connection with the universal, all pervading principle, according to which the whole Scripture announces and typifies no other way to glory for the Coming One but that of suffering, the most express and particular specialities are embraced—the "these things" which were to be suffered. This the Risen Lord, without any accommodation to Rabbinical hermeneutics, pointed out to the Two, and afterwards to the Apostles in their writings: whence did the Apostles and Evangelists, among whom the Galilæan fishermen, Peter and John, had no previous knowledge of Rabbinism, obtain their citations but from this highest authority and school? Either Christ did not say what St Luke here records of Him, and then we are on the foundation of Strauss, that is, we have no foundation under our feet; or we find through the enlightening Spirit, who willingly approves Himself such to all who pray, as Christ Himself found, the *ταῦτα ἔδει παθεῖν*. "In short"—says Olshausen—"a man must be altogether a Christian, or not a Christian at all. He who will not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is Antichrist; and he who does not believe all that the incarnate Word of the Father teaches, proves in fact that he does not believe that God in Him manifested Himself in the flesh. But he who would believe these words of the Son of God, and of those disciples concerning whom it is said that He Himself opened to them the Scriptures, must also explain the Scripture as the Lord Himself and His disciples expound it."—And Meyer writes: "If the exegete should read the Old-Testament Scriptures without knowing to whom and to what they everywhere point, the New Testament clearly directs his understanding, and places him under an obligation, if he would be a sound Christian teacher, to acknowledge its authority and interpret accordingly. Doubt as to the validity of our Lord's and of His Apostles' method of expounding, involves necessarily a renunciation of Christianity."

Two reasons as clear as day forbid us to assume, in the exposition which the "sacred writers" of the New Testament give of the Old Testament, anything like a "*τρόπος παιδείας* which must be directed according to the education and needs of the age." First, this exposition and this use of Scripture is so strictly connected with that most essential principle of the whole gospel—*Jesus is the Christ!* that God's providence (thus for once rationalistically to speak) cannot be conceived of as that of a true God, if it had introduced the great truth of salvation into the world through the medium of a confusing error. But, secondly, the Apostles point to Christ in the Old Testament, not as "writers," but as *Apostles*, who in this very particular received *their Lord's full directions*; and it is altogether impossible to attribute to the Risen Lord of Glory a *τρόπος παιδείας* in the esoterical doctrine which He gave His Apostles for their new preaching to the world.¹

The Risen Lord shows Himself to the sorrowing and doubting disciples in the Christ of the *Scriptures*, as suffering and through suffering entering into His glory—before He opens their eyes to behold Himself, and to see that He still lives and had said all this to them Himself. The gracious explanation of vers. 17–19 (by which their offence at the cross was to be brought out into full utterance) is followed by earnest instruction: by sharp rebuke, ver. 25—by paradoxically decisive assertion, ver. 26—by convincing proof from the entire body of Scripture, ver. 27. The conclusion of ver. 30, with its full return of graciousness, we shall also learn to understand. Suffer thyself, dear reader, to be thus rebuked and taught by Him: it will be no disgrace to thee, and will bring thee great joy! Take to thyself the rebuke and the instruction; the demonstration will follow then.²

¹ Thus, not as Hase's unbelief in this Lord utters itself: "A dying Messiah—could be recognised by Jesus as a Divine decree, and by *allegorical exposition* found in the prophecies, etc." Or, as Döpke babbles on Luke xxiv.: "Christ must open it to their conviction from Moses and the prophets that such a Messiah had been promised in the Holy Scriptures; and *He could do this according to the then general allegorical method of explanation, which He Himself received and used!*"

² *Cæde, modo doce*—was a word even of Diogenes. "The Lord would reveal Himself, but instead of immediately disclosing His glory, He leads them as it were by a byeway, through the whole of Scripture. He would

Know, mark, and feel that He who approaches thee for thy consolation, and He who comes to thy unbelief with the severe rebuke of Scripture, are one and the same (and so is it also of the servant who comes in his Lord's name); and that these two functions are united and one. If thy heart begins to burn, know that it is Jesus under another form who would thus prepare thee for a living understanding of Scripture. Hear, read, search, begin and continue to understand the Scripture with the *heart*—the longing, seeking heart which *feels its need of redemption*—and already beginning to *burn* in love to the Redeemer. This is the test of true exegesis. Dost thou *rejoice* to find in the Old Testament a Christ who is thy atonement and thy forerunner to glory, so that *thereby* the New Testament preaching concerning Him finds in thy heart the “sure foundation” of a Divine decree? Dost thou say sincerely, and not as a mere phrase—The message I hear, but faith fails me? Then mayest thou and thou wilt mark that He draws *nigh*, to demonstrate to thee His own claims. And canst thou not call upon Him to come? Pray in confidence, as if He were really near, for He is so—Expound Thou to me Thine own Scripture! And He will expound it. He will indeed rebuke, but only in love. He will not even require it of thee that thou shouldst interpret and understand it like Himself, because He would have it so—but, as this blessed history shows, He will conceal and renounce His own highest authority, in order to give the *insight* and *understanding* through personal conviction. Thus only would we have all the previous rigorous expressions of *requirement* to be understood; their propriety rests upon the comparative impossibility of remaining honestly in doubt, since the glorification of Christ; as also upon an experimental assurance that the Lord continues to the present day to act as He acted towards the disciples on the way to Emmaus.

Though there are no more of our Lord's *words* in it, we must not decline to pursue the narrative to its conclusion. After comfort them, and He begins by rebuking them as fools and slow of heart.” (Leipoldt.)

a thorough glance at the whole we shall be able to understand it in all its significance ; and thus alone make it a fit preparation for our Lord's next appearance in the circle of the Apostles. *Προσπεποιέτο* (or *προσπεποιήσατο*) ver. 28 occurs only here in the New Testament ;¹ it indicates no feint or deception, which itself would require justification, and means that He would go further, if they did not retain Him, and would actually have gone. Thus does He test them, whether His words had duly penetrated their hearts, or whether they were satisfied or satiated. It is His will to be retained, to be intreated, when He draws near ; not only are we ourselves to penetrate the mystery of His presence, but we are ourselves to hold Him fast. Alas, how many are there to whom He has drawn near, but with whom He has not tarried, because they have suffered Him to go away again in His living and heartmoving words ! It was not so here : they rejoice at heart, notwithstanding their humiliation ; thankful, and still desiring more, they *constrain* Him with the utmost confidence. (Comp. Acts xvi. 15, the same word : here as there it is only by urgent appeal, *παρακαλεῖν* ; they did not of course lay hold of and retain Him, which would have been opposed to the reverence mingled with their trust.) Their request, though it has sometimes been too allegorically dealt with, invites most suggestively to a typical view of the whole transaction—of which more anon. First, and in its simple historical sense, “they make their care of Him the pretext of their request,” as the sure token that they do not yet suspect who He is. As in Gen. xix. 2, 3 ;² Judg. xix. 9, they say, Thou canst not travel farther now that it is night—and would thus give emphasis to their *abide with us* ! the true reason of which they might probably proceed to give in their further *constraining*. Or still better, this simple word of request was to Him a sufficient constraint. And now they entertain Him, preparing the meal with Him alone. But He does not go on so abundantly to teach and expound as He had done in the way ; He becomes gradually more silent and more invested with sacred solemnity. When they sit down—*He taketh the bread* ! Either they resign to Him, as the obvious prerogative of a Rabbi or Teacher of Scripture, the office of

¹ John viii. 6 in an explanatory gloss.

² Where ver. 9 Sept. has *παρεβιάζοντο*.

blessing the table—or He suddenly assumed on His own part the function of the Master of the household, as a transition to the revelation of Himself. Both suppositions agree very well together; as He alone was the Teacher, Rebuker, Comforter, and Giver of blessing through the word, so can He alone give thanks and pray:—this is self-apparent. He utters the benediction; He breaks the bread and gives it to them; then were their eyes opened, and they knew Him! St Luke, by using *διηνοίχθησαν* as corresponding to the previous *ἐκρατοῦντο*, obviously assigns a specific, miraculous influence as the reason of their knowing Him. He does not intend to intimate that they knew Him by the circumstance of His blessing and breaking the bread. *Ἐν τῇ κλάσει*, ver. 35, may as well mean “in connection with, at the time of” the breaking, as “by the breaking,” in the sense of Luther’s translation. Here in ver. 31 St Luke does not say *τότε* or *ἐν τούτῳ*; but the somewhat opposite *δέ*. Thus it is not, as commonly said, that they knew Him by His customary manner of taking food, and “breaking bread;” although, as a consequence of the opening of their eyes, they might immediately observe this also. Certainly these two disciples could not have been immediately reminded of the *Lord’s Supper*, at which they had not been present, or of any manner of breaking bread peculiar to that sacrament.¹ Least of all can we allow, or reconcile it with our theory as developed on the sacrament, that Christ here celebrated His Supper with them, or gave to them His body (now visible before them, and not yet glorified and perfectly capable of impartation) in the bread. Pfenninger makes the Lord speak first of a “pledge of that food which should endure unto eternal life, which the Son of man will give unto you,” and then adds the solemn form—Take, eat, this is My body, which *was* given for you, etc. This is

¹ Nitzsch: “We are not clear that Jesus broke the bread in any peculiar manner (as if suiting the symbolism of His violent death), and was thus known by the two disciples in Lu. xxiv. 30, 35. For it is not said that He was recognised in the breaking of bread, but *at* or *during* the breaking of bread; that is, in the confidential meal, when His gestures or words would remind them of His former intercourse just before He died, or of the last Supper.” While we agree with the former part, we must contend against their being reminded of the last Supper, and against the Lord’s “words” reminding them.

most questionable, under two aspects. He could really and essentially no more give His body now than He could at the first institution (for Jno. vi. 62 still holds good) :—such a supposition would lead us, if not into the error of a mere symbolism in the Sacrament, yet into that magical notion of a body apart from the body which we for our own part must protest against. And then, secondly, the Lord's Supper would be here partaken of *under one form*, the body without the blood ; as it is well known that the Romanists press this instance into a scriptural demonstration for their perversion.¹ Thus we have here no celebration of the Sacrament in the historical and actual sense. But it is a different thing, and quite consistent with this, to assume a typical significance as designed by our Lord throughout the whole scene, and especially now at its impressive conclusion. The opening of their eyes in immediate connection with the *breaking of bread* was intended by the Lord to say—*In that* will I be ever known ; *in that* I will make Myself felt to be living and near. This also still more plainly appears in the expressions of the disciples, ver. 35, or of the Evangelist under the guidance of the Spirit ; (and in Jno. xxi. the early meal on the shore will be found to bear a similar application). Grotius quotes it as a “mystical interpretation of the ancients” which he is not displeased with ; and even Neander admits, though he weakens away the force of it, that “His manifestation in this manner might have reference to the promise given at the last meal, and thus remind His disciples that He in their common meal (it should be—in the celebration of the Supper) would be always as certainly in their midst.” The *renewed promise* which is contained in this revelation in the breaking of bread, points to the future Sacrament which should bring His invisible but corporeal presence ; but there is not a *repeated celebration*, for that would be inconsistent with the plain record that the Lord, known by

¹ In the so-called “Refutation of the Augaburg Confession,” after referring to Acts ii. 42, xx. 7, we read : “Certainly Christ, the Instituter of this most sacred Sacrament, when He rose from the dead, administered the Eucharist to the disciples at Emmaus *under one species only* ; for He took the bread, brake, and gave it to them. But they knew Him in the breaking of the bread. SS. Augustine, Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Beza affirm that this meal was the Sacrament.”

His countenance and form,¹ immediately vanished without further speaking or act:—thus there was no eating and drinking with Him, and therefore no common meal.²

Their knowing Him and His vanishing are in swift succession. To *these* disciples He has nothing further to say; and nothing more to give than the longed for "*seeing of Himself*:"—for this suffices one great critical moment, which refers them back to the enlightenment given to their understanding in and in order to their *believing*. The very beginning of faith is greater assurance, a stronger internal persuasion rather than direct knowledge; but *afterwards* reflection will go back and collect all. Thus these disciples themselves subsequently wonder that they had not sooner discerned the stranger who exerted so mighty an influence upon them. He had touched their *hearts*, and opened them to trust Him, even in the first question; and in and after the rebuke of ver. 25 He had set them on fire. "The expression—a *burning heart*—was not coined in the school of human wisdom; these disciples had not found it in the treasure-house of the Divine word.³ It is a new word, which was given them in connection with a new and hitherto unfelt experience. How surely and swiftly does internal experience find the right word for its emotions!" (Leipoldt.) Yes, verily, what this word means we must *experience* to know. It is far more than Zinzen-dorf's too superficial paraphrase: "Ah, how did our hearts *beat with emotion*!" This burning speaks not only of new life in the joy and hope of faith, but especially of a most internal impulse of *love* to the Lord, and to this marvellous stranger for the Lord's sake. Not only did He kindle the light of their un-

¹ Possibly—and there is something touching in this—by the print of the nails in the hands which broke the bread, and which were beheld by their opened eyes.

² Nietzsche says: "The Lord made Himself cognisable at once after His resurrection by the repetition of this festival." But this is inexactly expressed, and seems to retain the opinion which he formerly expressed, that *Sacraments were held with the disciples after the resurrection*. This view itself we cannot adopt; but there it is even stated that in these subsequent celebrations the properly instituting commandment was given.

³ Ps. xxxix. 4 is different; but Gen. xliii. 30; 1 Kings iii. 26, are analogous. Thus the expression is not exact, but it is true that the disciples spoke only from their own impulse, and did not think of scriptural words.

derstanding in opposition to their *folly*, this light of life became a fire in opposition to their slowness of heart; but this fire was most internally the drawing and the energy of love. The cold moonlight of *illuminism* is dead, and leaves us in death; but when Christ, after His ascension, begins only to teach, the sincere and receiving hearts begin at once to burn. Did not our hearts (more and more) burn within us, when He spoke with us, or rather *to us*,—spoke so mightily to our hearts? (Bengel: *ἐλάλει ἡμῖν*; *to us*, which is more than *with us*.) And when He opened to us the Scripture:—both are here viewed as one. The first rebuking word to their slow hearts was continued in exposition; the exposition which opened and won their hearts began already in the rebuke and declaration of vers. 25, 26. But the Scripture is opened *to us*, when in us the *νοῦς* and *καρδία*, the eye of faith and the eye of the heart, are opened, ver. 45. This was to them a foretaste and anticipatory beginning of the Pentecostal fire, of which also Lu. xii. 49 speaks. Oh that it would descend now upon our expositors, to melt away all their previous unworthy thoughts! Oh that the frightful coldness of many were exchanged for a warm heart toward the Scripture, which speaks of Christ, and through which Christ speaks! The living demonstration of faith is found only in this *way* of the Emmaus-disciples; but Christ is always ready thus to draw near and go with us.

Leipoldt, the excellent preacher on Emmaus, is exegetically incorrect when he lays the emphasis on the past tense—"Burned not our heart within us? Thereby they declare that it *was not the same* with them then, while He was yet speaking, and now, when He had vanished from their eyes. Even the still life of faith and love is not the less on that account a burning of the heart." What he means is true, and may find its proper application to their subsequent remembrance of the whole; but it is quite foreign to the historical reality. Did not our hearts burn within us *already* in the way?—that is their meaning here, just after the crisis of the manifestation; and, although He had vanished, the zeal of their faith and love burns still more fervently and joyfully within them. Proof of this is their hastening back to Jerusalem, after they had tasted but a little of the bread blessed by Him. "They now fear not the journey in the

night, who had before dissuaded from it their unknown companion." *Kai anastantes*—as themselves risen again! They find the *Eleven* together with the others¹—these open at their knocking, and the doors are then prudently and securely shut. But the message of joy which they bring is anticipated by the intonation of the antiphony of the Easter Hymn—*The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared unto Simon!*² It is not meant that they all said this in concert; nor does ver. 35 intimate that all of them fully and firmly believed the new report. For Mark xvi. 13 must retain its force, and in ver. 14 the rebuke of the unbelief and hardness of heart even of the Eleven.³

Such is the Emmaus-history, in which Jesus *speaks* from beginning to end, even in the bread-breaking, the manifestation, the vanishing, in the witness of His power which the narrative gives. The event was ordered by Him thus, and thus recorded to us, in order that it, and He in it, might *speak* to us still more. The first aim of His "being seen" in these exhibitions of Himself was that He might show Himself to be alive; the second was that He might speak and teach. (Acts i. 3.) But the appearances as *τεκμήρια* and *signs* speak to us a symbolical language of promise for the future; and we may now in a final glance at the whole ask what is the *significance* of our history.

¹ Now a general term, referring to the chasm in the number of the apostles; it does not follow necessarily, that St Luke did not know of the absence of Thomas.

² Peter, certainly, according to Mar. xvi. 7 and 1 Cor. xv. 5. But even after such a favour the fallen one is not yet mentioned by his name of honour! Did he see the Lord before and after the Emmaus-disciples? Chrys. thinks, "to him first among the men, as most deeply desiring to see Him—or most deeply needing." Possibly, but who knows that? It was a private mystery between the Lord and His disciple.

³ On the one hand, according to Bengel: "They believed, but suspicion and even incredulity recurred. Their rising faith, when the first joy was removed, which had in it an admixture of something unwonted and ecstatic, was not faith, when compared with that purged, and satisfied, and apostolical faith which followed afterwards." On the other hand, according to v. Gerlach, "the rebuke of Jesus fell upon all together on account of some individuals. And it appears that the *δυσως* here is directed against some known unbelief."

He who had been previously visible will henceforth invisibly *draw near* to His people (ver. 15, *ἐγγίσας*), be their fellow-traveller upon earth, yea, enter and abide with them: to give them a pledge of this, to detach them from dependence on visible intercourse and accustom them *to this*, was certainly the design and meaning of all the Appearances of the Risen Lord in the *transition* to the day of Pentecost—but here it was most plainly shown. Thus it was the beginning of the fulfilment of the promise given long before, Matt. xviii. 20, and finally in Matt. xxviii. 20. He was not yet properly omnipresent through the Holy Spirit during the forty days; but He gave a final typical example thereof, which was the germ of its full accomplishment. This narrative is to be interpreted in that light; but this being perceived, the natural, historical meaning of the incidents is to be distinguished by sober exposition from the typical meaning which was shadowed forth in it:—the unskillful blending of the two tends much to the disparagement of God's word. Thus at the very outset: the eyes of the disciples were holden by Christ; but now alas they are closed by our own fault, so that we know Him not.¹

The narrative teaches us in the details and in the whole what the Lord, approaching and going with us, will do: this needs no further development. But the answer is not always quite so clear which we must give to the question—*When* may and should *we* believe that the Lord is near to us and will reveal Himself? First of all, when we *mourn* the Comforter draws nigh with His—*Why weep ye, and are sad?* Specially, however, when our sorrow concerns Him; but such sorrow is in principle every doubt which *troubles* the God-seeking heart, all inability to believe, all abandonment of faith and hope. For all *sincere* doubters and seekers, Ps. xxii. 26 holds good—in which word of prophecy the Emmaus-history itself seems to be marvellously pretypified; and then, as the *consequence* of this at the same time that it is the *condition* of it, when we, forsaking Jerusalem's pernicious uproar, betake ourselves into seclusion with our sorrow. Again, thirdly, when we do not selfishly and with self-will shun the fellowship of those like-minded; but go

¹ To intimate this, is the reason why *St Luke* here expresses the matter in this particular way.

on our way together in mutual communion and opening of heart.¹ O how gladly does He make the third or the fourth of such little companies of two and three! Fourthly, we must, when He incites us to it in the form of another, mourn to Him and tell Him out all that concerns us; this we can do, even in the beginning of faith, immediately by prayer. And thus it proceeds: He, fifthly, points us to Scripture and Scripture-inquiry. When we, with seeking and susceptible hearts, read ourselves, or yield ourselves up to be preached unto, expounded to, and exhorted,² He Himself is near:—and then shall we, sixthly, soon begin to mark that our hearts burn within us—until, seventhly and finally, while we are holding Him fast in our presentiment, He breaks to us the bread, seals the *word* in the *sacrament*, and gives us more without seeing and touching, yet by the taste of inmost experience, than all the *understanding* previously given. These are the seven steps of our Lord's drawing nigh. Or they may be condensed into three: He *draws nigh* to us and teaches us, when we turn and open our hearts to Him; He *abides*, when we ask Him to do so (we should *now* know that it is He!); He gives Himself to be *known* by us, if and when we, entering into ourselves, take Him with us. But most important in the whole recital is His condescension to the weak, a condescension which our rigorous dogmatists are slow to learn: He does not at once demand firm faith from the slow hearts, which He nevertheless penetrates, probes, and blesses; still less does He expect clear perception from the fools, whom He is ready with equal grace to rebuke and to convince.³ He who thinks that he has from the beginning known and understood all without failure, is not sincere and not the man for Christ's school, who gives in His instruction all that is found wanting.

¹ They might have gone sadly and silently one to the right and the other to the left!

² For He comes now to men by the medium of other men, whom He sends in His own name.

³ But He reproves and convinces even now only by *Scripture*. We have no right even in His name to use the rebuke—O fools and slow of heart to believe all that "the church" has established and taught! Become mighty in the Scripture thyself through Him—and what avails it? No man shall rebuke thee then as a fool.

Let him to whom error still adheres, be humble and patient ! We see the divisions and sore weakness even of believers (the worse their guilt)—and should we so rigorously condemn those who are without? If so few of us stand, yea all of us so seldom, in the full *power of the word*, because not in perfect consecration ; if with us alas there is dulness, and it may be such impurity of vision, as the Lord must rebuke—should we demean ourselves so rigorously, so exactingly, towards unbelievers ? Alas, that in many instances the *spiritually striving life* is on the side of those who still err ; and opposed to them is—we will not say what.¹

Further, in as far as the first preliminary and then perfect revelation of Himself by the Lord is the type of our present internal, yet still more living, *experience* of His power and fellowship, so the narrative symbolises to us—*how the internal word and the internal experience are related to each other*. It repels all enthusiastic seeking and enjoying of the latter alone, and also all self-sufficient dealing with the former. For we see here that the beginning of faith comes from the word and proceeds through the word—but in and *after* the word comes also the Lord Himself, giving life, and in it assurance. Desire not at once and prematurely to enjoy and possess only Himself ; it is He Himself who (with some exceptions) leads to the life of faith through the Scripture and preaching. Here learn with docility, for here is the living transition ! Yes indeed, already *in* and *under* the word He Himself seizes thine heart—but He comes Himself more properly *after* it, as not only drawing nigh but clearly disclosed. Therefore be thou never satisfied with any mere understanding ! The word testifies concerning the Living One, breathes as it were His breath, but it is not Himself. He who *has* the word concerning Christ merely in the external understanding (without the urgent seeking of the heart)—has essentially nothing, and although most orthodox has no sound faith. He who *believes* the word from the heart—is in the way with the Lord, already His com-

¹ This is the meaning of the 173d of my Unlutheran Theses, which must not be retracted, whatever offence they may have given. *Sincere seeking* avails more in the Lord's sight than an imaginary *having found*, which without love and without wisdom puts difficulties in the way of the seeker.

panion. Then will the day dawn, and the day-star arise in his heart (2 Pet. i. 19); but it will be *evening* again, and the Lord will testingly seem to be going farther:—then pray and hold Him fast, *constrain* Him! He who *possesses Him* as Him that liveth, has reached the goal. But, again, it is not as if the external word must be rejected, as the mere staff by the way. The history is ever being renewed. The *word* also as the medium of His Spirit *abides*; and we need it for continual test whether our internal experience, possession, and enjoyment is genuine—and in order to our increasing enlightenment and assurance. Let us well observe how through the *word* and *sacrament* the fellowship of the *Spirit* is attained. With these, we should be content, since the ascension has withdrawn from us the “*seeing* of Himself,” and He holds our eyes; until one day our eyes and our hearts will be finally and fully opened. For, finally, this way to Emmaus is a figure of our life-pilgrimage: He who now in the beginning is often for a long time, in a certain sense down to the end, an unknown Guide, Teacher, and Comforter, will in the eventide be perfectly adored—then will He visibly break to us the bread of eternal life, without vanishing again out of our sight.

FIRST APPEARANCE TO THE APOSTLES.

([Mark xvi. 14] Lu. xxiv. 36-41; Jno. xx. 19-23.)

Few words are needful to establish our conviction that the section, Mark xvi. 9-20, is genuine. Reuss decides (appealing to Tischendorf), on the evidence of a pure diplomatic criticism of manuscripts, that this is an “addition of a very late period;” and Hofmann adheres to this view; but we perfectly agree with Guericke, who has fully settled the question. We appeal to his demonstration, that the external arguments against it are not unconditionally valid, and that much internal evidence is strongly in its favour. The *conclusion* of a gospel with merely the words of the angel, with the report that the women said nothing to any man, with “they were afraid”—appears to us never to have been the original design of the Evangelist, and Hofmann himself admits the same. Against Greg. Nyss., Euseb., and

Jerome, stand Irenæus, who mentions ver. 19 as "the end of the Gospel of St Mark," the Peschito, and all the old versions. The alleged difference of style is partly not true, and partly to be explained by the recapitulating conciseness of such a conclusion. Its omission *might* have proceeded from the Evangelist's having for a time allowed his writing to be divulged in a state of incompleteness—while he hesitated how to sum up all the rest in few words. This at any rate is imaginable; but not so Hofmann's theory of a definitely *imperfect gospel*.

The Evangelist Mark (we therefore confidently maintain) gives us in ver. 14 a very rapid report of the first Appearance of the Lord in the circle of the Apostles, on the evening of the day of His resurrection. For "it is clear that we here have the colloquy on Easter evening;" this much we concede to Kinkel, but not that vers. 15–18 also belongs to the same colloquy, thus making the ascension coincide with the same day. (But more of this in due time.) The ὕστερον—*afterwards*—is by no means *at last* (Vulg. *novissime*), in the sense that this (as we find in Allioli) "was the last Appearance of Jesus Christ, shortly before the ascension!" Nor, as Bengel (who in his Germ. N. T. translates "finally") interprets in the Gnomon: "not absolutely the last of the Appearances, but of those which St Mark records." For the following καὶ ἐπὶ evidently belongs, if we compare the others, to a later Appearance (it is indeed parallel with Matt. xxviii. 18–20); and St Mark embraces, as ver. 19 teaches, all the λαλῆσαι αὐτοῖς, before the ascension, in a few leading traits. Thus, as Grotius decided for the obvious chronological sense—non est *postremo*, sed *deinde*. What he concedes afterwards, that it may be taken for αὐτοῖς, is less appropriate, for it corresponds in the series with the πρῶτον of ver. 9, and μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα of ver. 12. It is a repeated *postea* (comp. Matt. iv. 2), and will, before the brief summing up of the λαλεῖν is introduced, arrange the three remarkable Appearances of the *first day of the week* (ver. 9), and intimate by the expression which seems to pass over into *postremo*—that not till late, and as the last, the *Eleven* (sitting at the evening meal) received their manifestation.¹

¹ "At last, that is, on His departure and as His farewell before His ascension, the Lord administered rebuke!" (Helferich.) There is a cer-

Once more "He appeared," ἐφανερώθη, but *not* now in *another form*—this is emphatically contrasted in St Mark's words, and perfectly agrees with the record of the others, which represents the Lord as most perfectly and certainly revealing Himself to them. When this Evangelist gives prominence only to the rebuke of their unbelief, he shows us generally that it was his purpose only to hasten over this as a connecting link for his concluding words; no thoughtful reader can suppose that the mission of ver. 15 was thus immediately connected with the sharp ὀνειδίζειν. Further, St Mark presupposes that the more precise tradition of that which he briefly hinted was known to most of his readers; and hence we understand the σκληροκαρδία (Lu. xxiv. 25) which would say: He rebuked the Apostles not less than the disciples from Emmaus. How this rebuke is reconciled with the peace and the showing Himself which the others record, we shall see in the end. St Mark calls the company of the Apostles without Thomas *the Eleven*,¹ just as in Lu. ver. 33; and as 1 Cor. xv. 5 the two Appearances on this and the following Sunday are embraced together as—to the *Twelve*. Here in St Mark Thomas is not included among the ἀνακειμένους; but the Evangelist has this reason for speaking so generally, that one of these Eleven remained long and firmly in unbelief, and then received the *most gracious* rebuke.

Mary Magdalene had announced, the other women had related;—to one of the Apostles, though not as an Apostle, but as the troubled *Simon*, the Lord had appeared for His abundant consolation;—but the others, most of them at least, find their hearts quite unprepared to believe those who had seen the Lord as Risen.² Then come the two joyful messengers from Emmaus, with their burning, melting hearts, and shame them by the artless account of their own *faith*, in the

tain truth in this as far as it regards St Mark's summary; but it is not true that after the intercourse of the forty days, and the faith of Thomas, etc., the Lord left as His testament and farewell rebukes of faults which were altogether past and over! Every unprejudiced feeling must contradict this.

¹ The conjecture of Michaelis αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰδούκας might do very well, but cannot be defended, nor is it necessary.

² Lachmann's text adds with emphatic ἐκ νεκρῶν!

word brought home to their understanding before they had seen :—but *neither believed they them*, says St Mark, that he may connect with this his immediately following *afterwards*. Consequently we are not to suppose in the converse which Lu. ver. 36 records by “as they thus spake” any general and perfect unbelief—after vers. 34, 35; but certainly there was no unanimous and joyful faith, which would not be mentioned with a mere *ταῦτα λαλεῖν*—*talking of these things*—and Lu. vers. 37 and 41 decisively confirms this. So far all agrees very well. We cannot, however, adopt the concise words of Richter’s Bible: “But as they were speaking thereof, disputing away their faith”¹—though there is, on the one hand, some general truth in this. On the other hand, it is not altogether as Tholuck says: “Full of joy and of that internal life which increasing assurance must create, the disciples are talking together about it”—though there is also some truth in this. Suffice that they waver and doubt even yet whether they might dare to believe the great fact; this is estimated by the Lord as *ἀπιστία*, and therefore is recorded by St Mark as *οὐδὲ ἐπίστευσαν*. In His deep wisdom the Lord, although His love to His chosen Apostles and witnesses must have drawn Him mightily, had withheld Himself from them down to this *ὑστερον*; He administered to the future preachers of the faith the severest test, as it was fit. But He had at the same time by degrees prepared them, attracted them more and more powerfully towards faith, by varying evidence, from the empty sepulchre to the tidings of the Emmaus-disciples; for this was needful to their disposition of mind, which as it more deeply pondered all things, so was more slow in decision. They did not, as He foreknew, altogether stand when they were tried; but they were so far prepared that He anticipated the promised meeting in Galilee, and entered among them now with His graciously rebuking peace. Divided between faith and unbelief, they are nevertheless gathered together into one place (*συνηθροισμένους*)

¹ Most assuredly not as Teschendorff exaggerates: They sought to bring all into suspicion, the declaration of Mary, of Peter, and of Cleophas—that Mary had only seen the gardener, Peter probably a wilful Sadducee who deceived him (!), the two disciples a learned scribe who, becoming aware of their error, made that a handle!

as His disciples, who can speak and think only about Himself; thus He finds them desiring most earnestly to believe the truth of His resurrection. And probably they were in the same sacred paschal room where He had last sat in the midst, spoken with them, established His testament, and prayed in their hearing. Farewell and welcome tenderly join their hands over this sad interval. We must not too far press the "toward evening" and "the day is far spent" of the Emmaus-disciples; we must assume a very rapid hastening back on the part of these happy men; and the *ὄψις*, John ver. 19 (still the first day of the week), is not already dark night, as Nonnus describes it. We may understand it of the *first* evening of the Jews, as Matt. xxvii. 57. *This* is now the sanctuary and church of the Lord, not where the evening sacrifice is brought; the High Priest comes here to His people with His benediction and peace!

Inasmuch as St John has already mentioned the *eventide*, he cannot mean by the "doors being shut" to indicate the time, but the actually shutting of the doors of the houses *where the disciples were*. He gives also the decisive reason—for fear of the Jews. For *διὰ τὸν φόβον* without any comma must not be connected *only* with *συνηγμένοι*; at furthest it must be referred to both together (Grotius, Lampe, Bengel), referring both to the shutting of the doors and their own assembling¹—that is, if *συνηγμένοι* itself is genuine. According to our feeling, St John as certainly gives the cause of the unusual door-shutting; and further marks by the latter something miraculous in the Lord's entrance. Hezel thinks that the *Ἰουδαῖοι* were not the high council or the rulers of the people (as elsewhere in St John for the most part) but the Jews, those who were generally Jewishly, that is, evil disposed towards Jesus; but a comparison with ch. vii. 13, ix. 22, xii. 42, shows us the contrary; and the Evangelist thereby intimates that even the disciples, the Apostles themselves, were not more bold than those half-believing but not confessing individuals among the people whom he had formerly mentioned. Assuredly, had not these affrighted disciples seen the Risen Lord Himself, they never could have been His witnesses to the world!

¹ It would then symbolise the secret assemblies of disciples which is winked at or in a sense permitted to our weakness, in fear of the world.

Then came He unto them, *Himself*, after so many announcements of His living had preceded.¹ The *ἦλθεν*—*He came*—in St John has certainly a designed reference to the closed doors, although it is not said—*through* the doors; nor is there expressly recorded any miraculous opening of them (as in Acts xii. 10, comp. v. 19, 23). Lampe, indeed, thinks it possible according to the text that the Lord knocked, and that it was then opened to Him; or that He entered immediately after the Emmaus-disciples, before the door was again shut (which is not to be reconciled with Luke);² but the *knocking* and opening would certainly (as in Acts xii. 13) as a remarkable circumstance have been precisely recorded, after the closing of the doors had been mentioned so expressly.³ Instead of this we read in St Luke the mysteriously sounding, instantaneous *ἔστη ἐν μέσῳ*—*He stood in the midst*—and nothing more; in John it is true we read *ἔστη εἰς τὸ μέσον* (with which, however, ch. xxi. 4, *εἰς τὸν αἰγυάλον* is to be compared); but this in connection with the “*doors shut*” has the meaning of a miraculous circumstance, and this is communicated to the *ἦλθεν*—*He came*. We think that they saw Him not, as it were, coming through the (still shut or self-opening) door; nor (as Lampe says) “coming forward in His ordinary manner;” but His sudden presence there, standing in their midst, was His *coming*, here as in ver. 26. That He could thus appear, unimpeded by the closed door, is self-understood in the analogy of all His other Appearances and the manner in which they are spoken of; although we have no experimental insight into the character of His risen body. Lücke maintains decidedly that a medium between etherial angel-corporeity and material, bodily, solidity is to him *unimaginable*: and we may allow that, without finding in it any argument against those who have from the beginning thought otherwise. To the intervening condition of the Forty Days, as the Scripture exhibits it, there corresponds nothing but a medium

¹ In Lu. the *ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, after *αὐτός*, must be struck out, as most critics agree.

² According to Teschendorff He knocked twice before the door was opened to Him!

³ Apart from the thought that such a manner of coming would be unsuitable to the majesty of the Conqueror of death—even as a condescending symbolising of Rev. iii. 20.

between perfect spiritualisation or glorification, and perfect similarity to the state before death; all our error may be traced to an unhappy leaning either to the one or the other of these extremes. Many of the Fathers, with whom we cannot at all agree, speak without consideration on this subject, and only render the marvel more marvellous. Most unfounded is that of Theodoret: "He passed through the door, even *ὡς ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ μήτρας*." Better, Augustine: "It had been already in His power to walk upon the water."¹ Quite right, but to what end is such a mere miracle of omnipotence here, as he views it? Christ must have designed to point out something to His disciples by the manner of His coming; and nothing remains but that we say—He will teach them two things: that He lives bodily (as will presently be seen to follow); and that this bodiliness—to obviate all misunderstanding—is at the same time different, and already less bound than before. Hence Epiphanius most correctly ascribes to the body of the Risen Lord a *λεπτότης πνευματικῆς*, a "spiritual subtilty;" Euthymius says, "His body being now subtle, thin, and unmixed."² The question has been lately confused by the Lutheran champions of the so-called *ubiquitas corporis Christi*. This is not to be held in any such sense as they teach it, certainly not before the ascension; and this passage cannot be made evidence, since it says nothing about penetrating or coming in any way, indeed penetration opposes the notion of ubiquity. (Lampe: Why should He penetrate and approach, if He was there already by His omnipresence?) Calvin, therefore, termed this penetrating through the door, and so forth, puerile conceits. But when he assumed that the Lord's *ἦλθεν* was connected with a display of His power—"on the Lord's coming the closed doors opened at the nod of His Divine Majesty"³—we can only say that this *opening* is not

¹ Through want of insight into the power of the spirit ruling the body, he regards this as "contrary to the nature of the body," which it absolutely is not.

² Poetically in Nonnus: *ὡς πτερὸν ἢ νῆμα μετάρσιος εἰς μέσον ἵστη*. The afterwards handled corporeity by no means "contradicts" this "spiritual entering through an unopened door"—but both in their union attests only the power of the Spirit in the body of the Lord.

³ Jerome: *Creaturâ cedente Creatori*

in the text, the *κεκλεισμένων* of which sounds rather as if they remained closed. Suffice it that we must leave all exact definition, and confine ourselves, on a subject of which we know nothing, to the simple truth that the Lord, as He could be either visible or invisible, so could *come* into a closed room; that this was a miracle connected with the relatively miraculous nature of His present body; and that St John records it, as and because the Lord did it, to indicate this characteristic of His risen body. We agree, further, with Tholuck, in regarding the otherwise unrequired *repetition* of this circumstance in ver. 26 as decisive for this meaning in his account.

But we say finally: More important than the instruction which the Lord here gives concerning the *λεπτότης* of the body of His resurrection, is the *symbolical-prophetical* significance of this *sign*, in the analogy of all the similar appearances of the Forty Days. To this the Evangelist points our attention by the mention of the *fear*, and we should understand—Thus does the Bringer of peace penetrate all the bolts of fear and weakness in the hearts of His disciples, and comes with His blessing when they are assembled as a company of His own! Doors hinder Him not, like closed hearts.

Thus we arrive at the word of entrance—*Peace be unto you*—testified alike by Luke and John. The Apostles receive the Resurrection-greeting at the latest, but it is, therefore, all the more emphatic and sure: the Lord enters with *this* greeting only to them, and for their sake to those who were assembled with them. His word connects itself with the *peace* which He had at His farewell both left and promised to give: the first word on His return reminds them of that, and points to the fulfilment of the promise. See John xiv. 27, xvi. 33, and what we have already said in Vol. vi. upon the profound meaning of this ordinary greeting as used by the Lord Himself. The whole fulness of accomplished and attained salvation lies in this one word, which the Apostles afterwards so often gave to the Church for inexhaustible experience; here, however, it was first obviously intended to take from them not merely all fear of the Jews, but all that fear which His appearance excited in their hearts. The Lord gives His peace first, before He renews the rebuke of His love. This “Peace be with you!” was, as Dietz preaches, “a

mighty heartquickenings assurance that all the past, its sin, and perversions, was forgiven and forgotten. Be not afraid, would Jesus say. I come not as a wrathful judge, to reckon with you thus for your unbelief and unfaithfulness; I do not enter among you as one who has been injured, to reproach you for your blameworthy conduct. I bring to you (and all the world) from My sepulchre something very different from upbraidings." These indeed followed afterwards; how could the Apostles escape, who deserved them more than those two disciples in the way? Yet it is love that rebukes, in peace and unto peace. With all the weakness, and even obduracy of their unbelief, they are nevertheless children of peace, worthy and susceptible of receiving it. (Luke x. 5, 6.) But as to the Jews, for fear of whom they have shut themselves in, whether they were enemies or only indifferent—how could Jesus bring and offer peace to them?

There is a very plausible reading¹ which follows St Luke's "Peace be to you" by the reassuring comfort *εἰρήνη, μὴ φοβεῖσθε*. But we prefer to adhere to St John; this addition to the sublime and all-comprehending word at His entrance seems premature, and scarcely in harmony with the fear and terror which follows in Lu. ver. 37. They are terrified at the *peace*, they are afraid of the Lord and Master whom they had so painfully longed for—for they suppose they see a *spirit*! Klee says: "His coming so *marvellously* into their midst was the reason why they took Him for a spirit." Almost right, in as far as this bodily penetration of the Lord through a closed door must have at once excited doubt as to His real corporeity; and so this circumstance would be a new argument for our previous exposition. It was not, however, this alone, but generally the novelty of the appearance of the form of Him who had been dead, that made such an impression upon them. Mark here, as in its highest exposition, the *fear of spirits* which belongs to the natural man, and which could only be overcome by the Peace of the Risen Lord! We may even say, penetrating deeper into its most general meaning (and to this end *πνεῦμα* is here chosen)—Thus fears the flesh before *the spirit*! Before the spirit only improperly regarded as utterly without body! Meanwhile,

¹ So the Pesch. אֲנִי הָאֵלֶּם אֲנִי הָאֵלֶּם—Vulg. ego sum, nolite timere! Ambrose thus quotes it, and the Arab. vers. so translates. Bengel too accepts it.

πνεῦμα here signifies something specific; it is not altogether the same as *φάντασμα* in the similar want of recognition upon the sea, Matt. xiv. 26. Nor is it "an appearance without essence" (for see afterwards, ver. 39, the recognition of the existence of such *πνεύματα*); nor "a higher superhuman being," as v. Gerlach says on this passage; nor a *δαμόνιον ἀσώματον*, as we find in Ignat. ad Smyrn. c. 3;¹ but, as in Acts xxiii. 8 with *ἄγγελος*, correlative of *ἀνάστασις*, a human soul without the body (yet seen visibly), an *εἰδώλον* from the kingdom of the dead—thus rather a being in another manifestation than that with which we are familiar. The disciples do not think, as "a spirit" might mislead us to suppose, of an *evil* spirit; but their *δοκεῖν*, in connection with the perfectly cognisable form of Jesus, indicates only that this Jesus who had certainly been dead *appeared* to them without a body, that is as *πνεῦμα*: they cannot yet apprehend the resurrection of the body. The whole scene shows us "superstition, unbelief, and true faith in reference to the kingdom of spirits" (Heubner)—concerning which much might be said in more precise development. Perverted man, until he has come to sound faith, vibrates contradictorily between too much and too little faith, between superstition and unbelief. The "thing incredible" is altogether too great and wonderful for him—he may maintain it in his system and as a dogma; but *if* God actually reawakens in the body such as have been bodily dead, he cannot believe it. (Acts xxvi. 8.) He has a *superstition* as to the mere *spirit*, that there may be and is such alone; he has nevertheless (in testimony of the error and unnaturalness in his too much faith) "a secret horror of all pure spirit, unclothed of bodily investiture." He has an *unbelief* in the continuance and restoration of corporeity beyond death; the very (supposed) *appearance* of such corporeity amazes him, as if it could only be a lie of the abominated spirit; nevertheless, he is pacified, and brought to true and certain faith, to peace even as it respects the world beyond, only by

¹ This being, as by Grotius, understood of a bad spirit or of the devil; though the word was at a later time used of departed men. Moreover, the passage in Ignatius (concerning which Eusebius iii. 36, says that he knows not whence it was derived) is referred by Hieron. Catal. to the gospel of the Nazarenes; by Origen, *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, to the *doctrina Petri*.

the convincing demonstration of a bodily human life which has gone through and survived death. This last is the surest proof that the body and the soul of man belong inseparably together, and that the resurrection is the only complete victory over death. Whence else the horror of an unclothed spirit, and of being unclothed generally (found even in the Apostle, 2 Cor. v. 4)—even among those who hope to be such spirits? Here there is co-existing with a germ of faith superstition and infidelity still, the indistinctness and baselessness of which brings its own fear; but which at the same time rests upon unbelief in the reality of our corporeity, as triumphing even over death.

As unbelief in the disciples now degenerates thus into superstition, and confounds them with fear, the Lord graciously goes on to encourage them.¹ Lu. vers. 38-40 is evidently parallel with Joh. ver. 20. Because St John will report the following and more important words, he passes over those which are mentioned by St Luke as accompanying the *showing*. As He had formerly spoken in Mark iv. 40; Matt. viii. 26, the Lord must still continue to speak to His disciples—even down to this time, when He comes to them to abide with them for ever in the Spirit, He must bear with their unbelieving and perverted thoughts! (Matt. xvii. 17.) Were He yet capable of suffering, His passion would now begin again. But the consummate power of His High-priestly patience and long forbearance now elevates His *bearing* our weakness above everything like *suffering* it; and He knows that such weakness will be of perpetual recurrence, and, moreover, that His peace penetrating through the doors of their fear will soon most perfectly enter their hearts. If an anticipatory “Be not afraid, it is I!” was not before suitable to the occasion, it is appropriate now and is most emphatically spoken. *Before* there was the expression of one humbling *question*—Wherefore do ye still fear? in which the word “fear” is designedly omitted; their follows an incontrovertible *ἐγώ εἰμι*, evident both to their sense and to their understanding. He

¹ His word of peace was scarcely heard by them before the sudden beholding of His form. This in a measure justifies Luther's application (in the Table-talk) as to the virtue of the human word against fanaticism: “They thought, *before He spoke to them*, that He was a spirit or apparition; but when He spoke to them, their fears were stilled.”

convinces them by the very tone and substance of the well-known and gracious appeal, ver. 38, before in ver. 39 He directs them to the visible and palpable corporeity of His manifested presence. It is as if (opposing the mildest repose to their excitement) He should begin—Children, do ye not then know Me again? (at the same time, as if the death which had intervened came not into consideration! As if He had entered and was speaking to them, just as in earlier times!) He terms their amazement and fear merely a *disquietude*, a *confusion* of the heart; and applies His instructing conviction at once to their erroneous *thoughts*. I *know* well what ye now think—What follows shows us this meaning in His question, for He goes on to refute their delusion about “spirit.” *Διαλογισμοί* are not here simply *cogitationes*, as the Vulg. translates, but *critical questionings*, doubting and contradictory thoughts, as in ch. ix. 46; Phil. ii. 14; 1 Tim. ii. 8. These *arise* out of the hidden ground of nature, contemplated by the Lord in its depths, *in the hearts* of the disciples—a most distinctive expression!¹ Not *εἰς τὰς καρδίας* (as the Vulg. reads), as if they came from without. And He at once contradicts these *reasonings*; He condescends to the need of humanity, not otherwise to be supplied in these Apostles at first, by offering Himself to *external, sensible experience*. Though this is not the absolutely decisive evidence, for we may be deceived not only by sight, but also by the (supposed) touch; but the subsequent testimony of the Spirit inbreathed must be first prepared for by a seeing and touching, in the case of these disciples and for all mankind. Yea, as *united* with this internal testimony, even the testimony of *sense* has its abiding reality and importance.

In the middle stands the decisive *αὐτὸς ἐγὼ εἰμι*—not merely *I am He Myself*, but it absolutely connects His new life with His previous well-known life; I am indeed *the same* who was with you before death, it is My whole human personality, and not merely as a spirit. This *humanity* rose and continued in the resurrection; it remains in and after the ascension.² At

¹ Or still strongly marked in Lachmann's reading *ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ*.

² Not therefore, as Greg. Nyss. maintained against Apollinarius, that the *ἀνθρώπινα ἰδιώματα*, the “human peculiarities” were done away, there being no longer *flesh*, but His human nature being changed into the *ἀσώματος* and *ἀσχημάτιστον*—“bodiless and formless.”

first He challenges them, in His closer approximating transition, to *behold*; that is, to the calm, unaffrighted, and unconfused contemplation of His hands and feet: *His* hands which He, the well-known and not-to-be-mistaken, stretches out to them in kindness—*His* feet, on which He now stands before them! What was specifically to be beheld in Him, we already plainly mark—He will presently *show* it to them! Not till after the *It is I* (for this strong encouragement might at first have only increased their terror), He will also be *felt* and *touched*. (And it is carefully expressed—Handle *Me*, when ye touch these hands and feet as *Mine*!) Hereupon there is a *second* “Behold,” which is obviously not a mere repetition of the first,¹ but passes over into the meaning—*Behold Me* so as to know! For the convincing demonstration immediately follows, to silence their thoughts concerning the “spirit.” *Discern* ye (*ἴδτε*) that I am not a spirit, but that it is I Myself, with flesh and bones, as ye *see Me* sensibly (*θεωπεῖτε*).

Very important is this asserted and demonstrated fact of the Risen Lord’s “possessing flesh and bones;”² but there are two qualifications which must be carefully observed. First that this *tangible* corporeity does not contradict the sudden appearance and vanishing, the coming through a closed door: He *could* make Himself palpable, condensing His body (so to speak) into tangibility by His will; but He could also assuredly withdraw Himself when He would from the feeling as well as from sight. Secondly, it is very natural that for the *ψηλαφᾶν*, the touching, the *bones* should be mentioned which are to be felt in the flesh, instead of the *blood* usually connected with it; but there are other reasons why blood might not be ascribed to the Risen Lord—reasons not indeed exhibited here but at least confirmed.³

¹ As many inexactly translate: van Ess, *Feel and mark*; Seiler, *Touch and look at Me*; Stolz, *Handle and observe Me*!

² Which Marcion perverted—As ye see that I have not! Tertull. Adv. M. iv. 43.

³ See what we have remarked in Vol. v. on Jno. vi., against the strange protest of our critic Münchmeyer. We maintain that he sets himself in opposition to all scriptural, and especially christological anthropology, according to which, on the one hand, the blood essentially belongs to the life of the entire man, and, on the other, flesh and blood inseparably are spoken of only in a condition of mortality. Can we admit then a resurrection of

The Lord finally enters with condescending conviction into the thoughts of the disciples concerning the *spirit*—just so far as they had in them a basis of truth, and no further. A spirit, that is, a dead man, not yet partaken of a risen corporeity (for this is in the disciples' thoughts—but the same holds good of an angel, or other extraordinary being) may indeed be *seen*, but not *felt or handled*; cannot be subjected, like the body of a man, to the calm and collected test of the sense. It may possess a certain relatively so-called corporeity and medium of individual existence (concerning which, as to angels and the dead, nothing specific is now to be said), but by no means tangible like the flesh and bone of man. If ever there was a time for the annihilation of man's notions about the appearance of bodiless spirits—supposing those opinions groundless, and mere superstition—this was the time, when the Risen Lord brings from the other world sure intelligence and certainty! But He does not rebuke the imagination in itself; He does not say by any means—“There are no such πνεύματα”—but He admits, He undeniably confirms their existence and visibility, when He thus makes “spirit” the subject of His sentence, and speaks of what it “has not.”¹ For to assume here anything like the silent reservation—“as ye falsely suppose”—would be to attribute to our Lord an accommodation to a prevalent error, when a single word would have sufficed to root it out for all future time.

If we now turn to St John, he says in ver. 20 merely that He showed them His hands and His side—while St Luke says, ver. 40, His hands and His feet; and with the (probably genuine) addition of the stronger ἐπέδειξεν. Instead of deducing from a comparison of St John's words with his ch. xix. 34, that the wounds of Jesus on the cross were here in question, and that therefore St Luke's additional reference to the feet establishes the wounds on His feet, some have set aside St Luke's words altogether, and pressed St John's into an argument that the feet were not nailed to the cross. Herder, referring to the Memora-

the flesh and blood? That would be unscriptural and untrue. Even in Ezek. xxxvii., there is no mention of blood. On the other hand, in Christ there is a resurrection of the flesh and the blood, as a *mysterium singulare*.

¹ Just as the line of Homer, quoted by Grotius: *Ὁ γὰρ ἐν σώματι τε καὶ δόξῃσι τοῖς ὅμοιοις*.

bilia of Paulus, thought that the plain intimation of St John made it a matter beyond question that the feet remained unwounded; for he spoke of the hands and the feet "to point out distinctly the effects of His crucifixion." But how can we be so certain of that? Might he not have omitted the mention of the feet because they were presupposed in connection with the hands, and because it was his purpose to refer expressly to the side? And how shall we, without breaking the Scripture, despatch the *equally plain declaration of St Luke*? The omission in the former is certainly more easily to be accounted for than the addition in the latter. The showing of the *feet*, if St Luke also (vers. 39 and 40) reports the truth, can have had no other than the same reason; especially as according to St John the side also was shown. Stolz and Paulus explain ridiculously that "He showed merely the parts of His body which were not covered with clothing, to show that He had actually flesh and bone." This might apply to the hands, the arms, the breast or side, but certainly not to the *feet*!¹ The controversy which has been carried on concerning the independent question of the feet has been abundantly decided;² we will not enter into antiquarian researches upon it, but maintain as the duty of the expositor the authority of St Luke's testimony. Here the Lord incontrovertibly shows also upon His feet "signs of His crucifixion," as Lange simply says; we see further from ver. 39, that it was in evidence that it was *αὐτὸς ἐγώ*; that is, that it was Himself, the same who *died* upon the cross, and therefore, according to their thoughts, could come back again only as a "spirit." Whatever may be thought of v. Gerlach's remark, "there was in the feet something more convincing and touching than in the hands, on account of the wonder that one who had been so grievously wounded could move"—it is presupposed thereby that the *prints of the nails* were what the Lord presented to their

¹ Notwithstanding Luthardt's objection, I must hold that the exhibition of the feet would be altogether superfluous and unsuitable for the assurance of the reality of His body. As if the Lord might not rather in His dignity have removed the clothing which concealed His limbs! When He showed His feet to the disciples, it was to show something visible upon them, as well as upon the hands.

² See Friedlieb's *Archæol. der Leidensgeschichte*, S. 144.

touch. To the mere feeling that He "had flesh and bones," the hands and "easily uncovered arms" would have been enough.

But there is one thing more! The Lord showed His wounds not merely as the tokens of His crucifixion for the identity of His body; but evidently also as the tokens of victory, the proofs of His triumph over death, and therefore also—and this is its deepest meaning, as pertaining to His introductory greeting!—as the peace-tokens of His sacrificial death, of His accomplished atonement. This had reference, indeed, rather to the future understanding of the disciples (which soon followed in the opening of Scripture), in the symbolical meaning of this His revelation for His whole future Church; yet we may, as Diez says, expound it as historically true, that "they began to have a presentiment of the mysterious connection between this peace and the wounds of Jesus." And Luther also preaches, how Christ presents to us, when He reveals Himself to us, His death of crucifixion through the word. He adds, "this is the true token, by which He comforts the terrified conscience and heart." Yes, verily! The Lord Himself here justifies the Church's celebration of His sacred wounds, though not its unworthy trifling with them. That He retained in the resurrection these marks of His wounds on the body which was to be exalted to heaven (marks which otherwise as the concomitant of death might or should have been abolished), and that He retains them till now and for eternity, as the glorious tokens of His victory and atonement, is of great and blessed significance for our faith.¹ It is assuredly the Lord's will, as we see, to appear Himself to His disciples as "the Crucified," as the angels in the empty sepulchre termed Him; and *thereby* to manifest His *glory*, *thereby* to seal His *peace*. To this referred that suggestive legend of Satan's appearance in the form of the glorified Saviour, when St Martin repelled him by asking for the prints of the wounds. No *φάντασμα* could counterfeit these wounds, for these were chosen and

¹ Augustine de Civ. lib. 22. cap. 19 deduces from this with a "perhaps we shall see" the same with respect to the wounds of the martyrs. Be it as it may, we hold with the "current view" against Delitzsch, who (Prop. Theol. S. 222) would give up, with Hunnius and Krüger, the marks of the wounds of the glorified Lord. This matter has more significance and weight than is often thought!

sanctified by the Lord of Glory as the tokens and marks by which He would be known.¹

Did the disciples actually touch? As it regards Thomas afterwards, we shall see that it is *not* to be assumed; and here, too, v. Gerlach thinks that the disciples declined it, and that this was the basis of Thomas' doubting. We think on the contrary that Thomas wanted also *himself* to touch, as they had reported themselves to have done; 1 Jno. i. 1 leads us also to this conclusion. "If He patiently allowed Himself to be handled by His murderers, why not by them who loved Him?" This thought, according to Pfenninger, gave them courage to do so.² And in, during, and after such palpable conviction, we must suppose the *rebuke* of their previous unbelief mentioned by St Mark—Are ye now convinced? Thus—Not before? Wherefore were your hearts so hard as not to believe? We might be almost tempted to say—*Herein*, in the circumstances mentioned Lu. vers. 38-40, consisted this rebuke; as B.-Crusius remarks, "the matter is thus *explained* by St Mark." But the expression is too specific for that—they had not believed those who had seen Him after His rising from the dead. This seems to us to be equal to an indirect, though not verbal, intimation of another *word of Jesus*, in which the external testimony for faith of the second degree is established in its place and prerogative. Thus it was fit in respect to those who were to be sent into the world to demand everywhere faith in their own having seen. He says nothing about their fleeing, being offended, and falling; He speaks *only* of their unbelief in the message of peace and of joy! But it was scarcely the first thing, before Lu. ver. 38 (as Lange supposes); we think that since it is love which rebukes them with most gracious earnestness, that rebuke was not administered until after the abundant evidence was given for their conviction. Else it remains true that the reproof of unbelief is an indispensable preparative for

¹ Meyer (Bl. für höh. Wahrh. iv. 475) writes: "It is obvious that the Risen Lord *might* have appeared in another form than with the wounds of the cross." That is not stated with precision, at furthest it is only abstractly true; for He would not, then or ever, appear otherwise, and therefore that was actually *His form*.

² But he makes the touching follow immediately upon the challenge, so that the "as ye see Me" refers directly to that which is contrary to ver. 40.

the enjoyment of the peace of faith; and we may interpret this rebuke, at the first appearance of the Risen Lord in the greater circle of His disciples, which represents His Church, as the Berl. Bible does: "We must not suppose that our Lord's dealing was so complacent and gentle that no sin was regarded by Him. When Christ came to their hearts, and searched out their thoughts with His light, as a glorified, pure, and mighty Being, His reproof could not spare anything evil. Let us therefore prepare for, and rightly understand the rebuke of our Lord."¹ But the ground of all evil is the unbelief of the hard heart, and that is always best seized and condemned in its last manifestation. There is, however, a distinction between the unbelief which the Lord can reprove and take away, and the unbelief which hastens to utter condemnation; yet even the former goes never unproved in any man, so long as it exists in his soul. Thus the Lord during the Forty Days begins the convincing function of the Holy Ghost, predicted in Jno. xvi. 9; and begins it first in His Apostles! With every advance to a higher degree of the life of faith, the reproof of previous unbelief recurs; only at the end in its final established maturity do we hear the pure and perfect praise of God.

Then were the disciples *glad* that they saw the Lord, ἐχάρησαν οὖν—ιδόντες. By this St John notes the fulfilment of His promise in ch. xvi. 22; and how must the remembrance of that hour have stirred in his heart when in old age he thus wrote of it! He hastens away, in his pure and deep remembrance of the peace and joy, from the other individual circumstances; but St Luke, on the other hand, records them all with exact minuteness. The disciples had beheld, touched, and gladly received their rebuke—but there is again a "wondering" among them, before the final, clear, and tranquil assurance fills their hearts. As before through fear, so now through astonished joy, they cannot altogether and fully believe!² A record this

¹ Beck derives from this a very excellent word against the delusion and demand of the world, that the preachers of the gospel of peace should not chide: Christ here on the glad festival of His resurrection rebuked even His Apostles with purifying and sanctifying love.

² Lachmann's text very appropriately puts καὶ θαυμάζοντες before ἀπορῶντες—*as also the Vulg.*

which approves its own profound psychological truth. Ps. cxxvi. 1 has been unsuitably compared—for it has a different meaning. In this *joy* at having the Lord again there is an actual faith—and yet it does not reach to *peace and joy* combined in their fulness. And wherefore so? Because their joy itself has in its first vehemence and disquietude too little peace. Assuredly, there is a violent joy in which, notwithstanding its semblance of overpowering feeling, a deep and firm faith can scarcely fix its roots. Therefore the wise and patient Master gradually brings them to the peace of faith: the first sign of His wounds had been a rather *exciting* appeal; He now follows it by a second, and one more composing. He takes them back, at least for a short space, into the peaceful communion of their former relation restored; and puts an end to all mere ecstasy by the indescribably confidential, though perfectly unexpected question—*Have ye here anything to eat?* Their evening meal might have been over, and yet they sat according to St Mark still at the table. What condescension! Like so much else in these manifestations, this eating was an expression of the *love* which entered into and would satisfy the need of their weakness. As in the case of the daughter of Jairus, the eating was at once the surest sign of perfectly restored life; so here there is an apparent resemblance, though with a very great difference. Assuredly, *need* of nourishment had nothing to do with this act of our Lord. But that He *could* eat, if He *would*, is proved here by the fact: He did eat, though certainly without “organic necessity” of His body—a supposition which, with all its consequences, must be earnestly repelled.¹ But yet there is no *δωκῆσις*, no mere docetic semblance (as Lücke supposes in this case); no “deception” as Hasse says. If we must assume that in Gen. xviii. 8, xix. 3, there was a reality in the miraculous eating of the angels, and of the appearing Lord Himself, how much more was the eating of the same

¹ Alas, Hasse speaks in the same tone, that “the receptive and digestive organs of bodily life were not abolished, the resurrection body *assimilated* matter—precisely as our present body, and the human-earthly body of Jesus before!” This is one of the individual blemishes of an excellent book. Assuredly there was great difference between His present and His former condition.

Lord, in His present actual body, a reality—however distinguished from our own. That He asks them to eat, and eats before them “in order the more fully to assure them that He had not merely the appearance and form, but the *inward reality* of the human body” (as Schmieder says), we would scarcely affirm, at least in such easily misunderstood words; but He did assuredly intend to give proof of His actual bodiliness against every docetic conceit. Let the reader refer back to what we have said upon Luke xxii. 16, 18, Matt. xxvi. 29, concerning eating and drinking in the kingdom of glory. Let not the words of C. K  pplinger be despised: “The tangibility of His members was no longer an attribute of His earthly body, but the result of the Divine energy of His supreme will, exerted upon His heavenly body. So, that which He partook of after His resurrection was a sacrifice of His heart’s love to His disciples; but the nourishment of the system of the body could no longer be created within the body. He *consumed* that which He received in the fire-energy of His life, as a holy sacrifice in love, to the honour of the Father!”¹

In ver. 42 *καὶ ἀπὸ μελισσίου κηρίου* is wanting in many MSS.; if it is genuine, we must supplement *καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ* or *καὶ μέρος*, and understand the exact description with the redundant *μελισσίου* (for *κηρίου* itself points to no other than the honey of bees) as intimating that the wonderful incident was to be described with precision—and this would be in favour of its genuineness. And taking it, He did eat (it) before them.² Thus after the greeting He gave them advancing demonstration of His life: by His gracious word, by their seeing and feeling, by the rebuke of their unbelief, and finally by His *taking* and partaking this *βρώσιμον*, which would reduce to peace the yet half-unbelieving joy of faith. He did not desire to *drink*; we nowhere read that He drank.³ Bengel on this

¹ Schmieder speaks of the spirituality of the body consisting in this, that it had no matter in it foreign to the spirit and the soul; that the predominance of the power which appropriates all to itself *transubstantiated all matter*, like burning fire. (Hohepr. Gebet, S. 40.)

² Vulg.: Et cum manducasset coram eis, sumens reliquias dedit eis. This clause, found also in the Arab. and Armen. versions, may be apocryphal, having probably originated in a false view of Acts x. 41.

³ Although we find in L  cke (as in many others) the unscrupulous

passage says:—He eats spontaneously, without any need, and *therefore* He does not also drink. If this is not enough, may we not connect it with hidden propriety of His now bloodless body? But about this we will contend with no man. Only this much we assert, that according to the account of Lu. and Joh. the Lord by no means *sat down* with His disciples to speak with them still further; nor did the Apostles eat with Him any more. The little morsel of fish and honey was enough for the design of His eating. That He did not terminate this revelation by thus eating, but continued to speak, though not the words which now follow in Lu., is established by Stein, in his commentary. We know from Joh. xx. 21-23 what He went on to say; but for *this*, any sitting as at a meal seems to be inappropriate; and further it appears contrary to the propriety of this first revelation to His Apostles to separate Joh. xx. 20, 21, from Lu. xxiv. 37-43 by any intervening sitting conversation. That which St Luke further records belonged, as we shall see, not to the same evening; he lets it follow in *his own* order of the whole, in order to show that the sensible demonstration which they had had, required to be followed by instruction out of the Scripture. For, the preaching of the Apostles concerning the Risen Lord had for its foundation their assured conviction first, by no means the external experience of their sense; secondly, their insight into the counsel of God through the opening of the Scripture; and, finally, the power from on high experienced within themselves: it is this which St Luke would teach at the end of his Gospel, in the summary account which is his transition to the Acts of the Apostles. But St John brings forward this necessary supplement to the experience of sense in a more precise historical manner; for He records the *mission* which was accompanied by the *breathing* on the very first evening.

words: "Jesus comes and goes like other men, and *eats and drinks*." But Acts. x. 41 does not prove this, as we have already said. *Not* after His resurrection, but before, they were His companions, eating and drinking, and therefore perfectly knowing Him. This alone correct construction is established too by Knapp's text. Hasse is here wrong once more; the weak side of his theologically important work is in its special exegesis.

This evening manifestation had reference to the *Apostles* especially, though, according to Lu., ver. 43, others were present and enjoyed it with them. The same St Luke in his continuous *αὐτοῖς, αἰνῶν*, vers. 44–46, and *ὑμεῖς*, ver. 48, does not go beyond the before-chosen witnesses. St John has used the word “disciples” according to his prevalent phraseology (only once, chap. xiii. 16, has he mentioned the name *ἀπόστολος* in the general sense); yet we observe even in his account also, as in vers. 24, 25, so already in vers. 21–23, that there is a special reference to the Twelve. Thus the strongest conviction which we have yet considered was especially for *them*; and for *them* the solemn confirmation and sealing of the *mission*, to which we now come. At once on this day of the resurrection, the great day of the Lord, we meet with the first, preliminary institution of the New-Testament *preaching office* which the Spirit records. (The second and perfect one follows in the Synoptics.) Nothing could be more appropriate than that, as the Berleb. Bible says: “By virtue of the resurrection is the office of preaching living with the life of Christ. Preaching is a benefaction of the resurrection, for it is nothing else but awakening.”

Once more must the Lord say—Peace be with you! it is repeated until it thoroughly enters and is established.¹ There is literal and actual truth in this observation, in as far as the first greeting of our Lord was scarcely heard or received by the affrighted disciples. But the repetition has a deeper significance than this. Certainly it was not (as Tholuck says) at the close of a meal, and as the conclusion of a long colloquy, that the Lord repeated His greeting;² and yet we say that its repetition is rather a farewell in relation to the first, which was an

¹ This should satisfy Olshausen's scruple, who would prefer to place this repeated consecration and renewal of the Apostles' commission (which it was not, however, exclusively) at the end of the Forty Days, as a matter of final import: and therefore was almost inclined to assume that St John abbreviated and anticipated here. But this last is opposed by the *τάλις*, ver. 21, and the definite statement of vers. 24, 26.

² To repeat once more: He did not sit down again to eat and drink with them, nor did He thus at the table expound the Scripture (Lu. ver. 44)—nor did He, after the meal and discourse, breathe upon them for their mission. The solemnity of this breathing of the Risen Lord permits to our

introductory greeting. For the *sending* them, through the Spirit in His name, with authority in His stead over sin into the world, is itself another *farewell-word* of His departure. Yea, still more! All the Lord's enterings and comings during these Forty Days were but one great farewell before the ascension; they leave behind His final words and farewell blessing on His going back to the Father. Hence Schmieder rightly preaches: "The greeting here (on this first occasion) is, as it respects the present appearance of Jesus, a welcome of entrance; as it respects His whole presence with the disciples, a word of farewell. For all the appearances of the Risen Lord collectively are to be regarded as the return of one who had been absent, who looks round for those whom He is about to leave behind, saying repeatedly Farewell! Farewell! adding to each farewell yet a few words of love and exhortation."¹ (Comp. ch. xvi. 33.) As it regards this evening Appearance itself with its *redoubled* "peace," the distinction between the entrance and the departure may justify Dräseke's arrangement for his sermon: "The Lord had the twofold design, to make the disciples glad in what had taken place, and to consecrate them for what was to come." Thus the first greeting, with the *showing* which accompanied it, spoke of the past: I have overcome the world, have brought life to light—I was dead, and behold I live! But the second greeting, with the accompanying *breathing*, speaks for the future: And I so send you! So that we may finally say that the first Peace was rather for the disciples themselves, to assure them and gladden their hearts; while the second was through them to pass on to all others:—although the second was obviously only the establishing confirmation of the first.

To the *sending* of the ambassadors of Jesus belongs the *peace*, in which they have their own preparation, and on which their own feet stand firm. (Eph. vi. 15, *ἐτοιμασία*, מְכִיזָה.) The

feeling no such representation; but we think generally that He no more in any such confidential way continued sitting long with them.

¹ Luthardt does not seem to have understood this excellent representation of the matter, in its large comprehension of the forty days, when he confines it to this single Appearance, and speaks of "an intolerably quick interchange" of greeting and farewell.

sons of peace are not to retain it for themselves; its possession makes them also *messengers* of peace. This is the deepest ground, the inmost might and power of the evangelical office and preaching; the mission and equipment has this universal meaning here, and although it refers preeminently to the Apostles properly so called, yet it holds good *not of them alone*, but all others participate in it:—as we find the words spoken, Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, Mark xvi. 15, to a larger assembly of the disciples in common. On this point it is remarkable and should be carefully noted, that throughout the gospels the strongest authorisation and promises, which afterwards are referred in their fullest prerogative and degree, and in a certain sense exclusively, to the apostolical office, are uttered in their most comprehensive universality, and leave it open to every disciple, as it were, to press into an apostolical position.

According to St John the Lord had spoken, ch. xiii. 16, 20, and specially ch. xvii. 18, with the same comprehensiveness; and He seems to refer back to these sayings when fulfilling them. The Apostles, indeed, had been specifically sent already, and had more than once been pointed out as those who were to be sent preeminently and beyond all others; but the proper mission, now once more confirmed, was yet in the future, and thus *πέμπω* in ver. 21 is no other than a promissory *future*, pointing onwards to another time, as we intimated when explaining the breathing of ver. 22.¹ “*Πέμπω* is in the Pres., like the *ἀναβαίνω* to Magdalene. But He does not send them at once, any more than He then at once ascended.” (Luthardt.)

The Son of the Father, indeed, Himself the first and highest Apostle (Heb. iii. 1), stands as Mediator between the Father and all sub-delegated Apostles: the Father sent Him alone by a mission which is sole and incomparable; thence and there-

¹ Bengel's note seems plausible at the first glance, seeking to establish a subtle distinction between the *ἀποσταλῆς* *με* and *πέμπω ὑμᾶς*: “in *ἀποτίλλω* is regarded the will of the sender and the sent; in *πέμπω* the will of the sender, apart from that of the sent.” If it had only grammatical ground! But *πέμπω* is used by St John of the Father and the Son (ch. iv. 34, v. 23, 24, 30, vi. 38, 44, vii. 16, etc.); *ἀποστέλλειν* is used, Matt. ii. 16, of Herod's servants, Acts v. 21, x. 8, xiii. 15, of official servants, and Matt. x. 16 of the Apostles themselves. In Jno. xvii. 18, *ἀποστέλλειν* is both times used.

fore He sends all others. But He sends them *as* the Father had sent Him: in this *καθώς* (which we already had in Lu. xxii. 29 and Jno. xvii. 18) very much is involved. First of all, it shows that the Son is a Sender in equal authority with the Father. Then, as to the commission: I send you to *bear witness*, and that concerning Me, through the manifestation that I am and that I live in you, *as* the Father sent Me to testify and make manifest that He is in Me. See, further, Jno. xiv. 24, viii. 26, 28, 29, and all similar passages. Yea, it contains a reference to the entire example and type of His own life—that they were to live, to teach, to act, and to suffer even as He had in this world. Thus, as Luther says: “He first takes away the carnal notion which the disciples still retained, after His resurrection, that He would rule like a worldly king with external and physical authority. Therefore He says—*Ye have now seen* what kind of office I have sustained upon earth, that it was a spiritual kingdom which I should establish. I send you *in the same manner*, to be My messengers; not encompassed with earthly trappings, but exercising the same office which I have hitherto executed, that of *preaching the word* which ye have heard and received of Me—an office by which those are to be saved from their *sins* and from death, who feel their sin and death and desire to be saved.”

Christ was sent to preach glad tidings to the miserable, to heal broken hearts, and to comfort all who mourn. But as He was anointed thereunto with the Spirit (Isa. lxi. 1, 2), so the disciples need the same anointing for the performance of their functions; only in the power of the Holy Ghost received from the Lord can they go forth with success. Thus ver. 22 belongs necessarily to ver. 21, to obviate the anomaly of His saying—*You poor sinners, ignorant Galileans, insignificant fishermen etc., I send into the world!* Have they for themselves and in themselves peace, it is the Spirit who seals, preserves, defends it, and distributes it with power. Braune: “So far as we are sinful, Christ is sent from the Father unto us; but so far as we are redeemed, we are sent as His witnesses to others.” I would say more plainly—So far, that is, as we are partakers of His Spirit and of His life.

But now for the much contested question—How is this *Receive the Holy Spirit* from the lips of Jesus on the day of resurrection related to the outpouring which did not take place until the day of Pentecost? We must not proceed recklessly and say that Jesus here already communicated the Holy Ghost:—thus opposing the rest of Scripture, throwing doubt upon the miracle of the Pentecost, and deducing with Kinkel an ascension already accomplished. All this is plain enough for thoughtful people at the outset. It is the Gospel of St John which makes the coming of the Comforter dependent upon the going to the Father, and the outpouring of the Spirit upon the ascension and glorification; but since, as we have earlier seen, an ascension cannot be regarded as having taken place, what St John here records must have another reference. When we take the rest of Scripture into account, we find that in Lu. xxiv. 49, Acts i. 5, 8, the Lord even at the ascension promises the Holy Spirit to His disciples as a gift not to be received until some days had passed. This must be taken in its simple truth. But it is not necessary, on that account, to make this Present *λάβετε* simply equivalent to a Future *λήψεσθε*—as many are content to do, *e.g.* Lücke in the first edition, and Tholuck, following Chyrs., Theod. Mopsu., and other Fathers. For even if there be no “exegetical arbitrariness” (as Kinkel complains) in making this Imperative a promising Future, there must yet be some adequate reason for it. And can we not find that reason in the entire connection? The *mission* itself, which was then the subject of discourse, was as yet in the future: that is one reason. The ascension to the Father, to which the Lord had before so plainly pointed as the condition of the sending of the Spirit (see only ch. xvi. 7), was *after the message by Magdalene* likewise still in the future:¹ that is a second reason. Finally, the circumstance that Jesus connects an *external sign*, His breathing, with this *Receive ye!*—a circumstance which Kinkel strangely assumes to be undeniably in favour of his view—permits us to regard the whole

¹ Still future even now, according to the plain meaning of St John. For should he not *then* have recorded something more concerning it than this *ἀναβαίνα*, which had been spoken in connection with an *ὄρα ἀναβήσκηνα*?

as *prophetical* and *symbolical*, and therefore as making the future present, and giving in this form a most absolute promise. Why should not the Lord, who had *spoken* so often and so much in the sanctified style of the prophets, not continue now at the last to act in this manner? Why should He not present His promise to His disciples in a form so appropriate to the occasion as that of a symbolical action? We are firmly convinced, and believe that every one may soon convince himself, that here, *first of all*, "the promise of the Paraclete is symbolically renewed." (As B.-Crus. without much argument decidedly expresses it.) Let the reader receive with unbiassed mind, that according to St John's own representation of this act of Christ, it could be no other than symbolical; and that no Christian reader, who was acquainted with the event of Pentecost, could have understood it otherwise from the beginning. The propriety and proof of the realising in the present what was to take place a few days afterwards, rests upon that hasting unto the ascension which we have discerned in the Lord's spirit from the day of resurrection, and which expressed itself in the *ἀναβάνω* of ver. 17: in the same disposition of mind which thus looks forward,¹ He now speaks this "Receive ye," and would thereby elevate the disciples preparatorily into the same sentiment and feeling. Finally, we have—to our apprehension at least—in the "Take, eat" of the sacramental institution a most perfect parallel of this mystical-symbolical *anticipation*. As the body of our Lord given to death, and His poured-out blood, could not then have been actually received, and yet were promised in such terms as if they were actually received,—so here. Both events mutually explain and confirm each other.

And what a significant, pregnant *sign*, which accompanies the promise as a preliminary pledge, as for symbolical interpretation! That in the Gentile world also spiritual communication of energy and influence was regarded as *afflatus numinis*, *ἐνέπνοια*, etc., is only a most general and distant illustration of the matter. Spirit, breath, wind, breathes or blows—Ezek. xxxvii. 9. The

¹ We may be permitted still humanly to speak of our Lord's disposition of mind, but not that He "felt Himself excited toward anything"—as some one expresses it.

quickening, energizing Spirit of God (whether in natural or spiritual things) is called in the Old Scripture רוּחַ יְהוָה, Job. xxxiii. 4—רוּחַ יְהוָה, Ps. xxxiii. 7—רוּחַ יְהוָה, Isa. xi. 4. Thus when the Son of God with the breath of His mouth breathes out the Holy Spirit, this is in its Divine majesty altogether parallel with that first record concerning the creation, when the Lord God breathed into man the breath of life (Gen. ii. 7)—after which passage, let it be well observed, such a breathing, as imparting spirit or life, never again occurs in Scripture as *the act of man*.¹ (Ezek. xxxvii. 9 is the one *only* parallel between the Creator and the Redeemer; comp. in Isa. xl. 7, the counterpart, and in Ecclus. vii. 25, ἀντὶς τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως.) That which at the original creation is recorded of God, with all its profound reality yet in anthropomorphic style, that He in-breathed life with His breath,² has in the case of the incarnate Son of God, as it respects His glorified humanity, penetrated with Divine life (not consummately so yet, but soon to be so)—its literal, perfect, historical reality. To testify this, the Lord performs this act now preliminarily, in symbolical truth as by a true symbol. Hence Cyrill. Jerus. (Catech. xvii. 12), finds the restoration of the Divine life after the Fall in this “δεύτερον ἐμφύσημα,” *second inbreathing* of Jesus; and so Augustine de Civ. xiii. 24 combines profoundly both. Hence St John has used the same expression ἐνεφύσησε with the Sept. in Gen. ii. 7. It is not merely that in the former (as 1 Cor. xv. 45 might be incorrectly interpreted) the natural, animal life was inbreathed, while here it was the spiritual and pneumatic. There it was also the immortal breath of the Almighty, the communion of the human spirit with the Spirit of God; here the restoration, and more than the restoration, of that which was lost in the Fall.³

The Lord in His majesty does not bestow the *kiss*; but His

¹ For in 1 Kings xvii. 21 רוּחַ יְהוָה is arbitrarily translated by the Sept. ἐνεφύσησε.

² Philo: “The ἐνεφύσησε is equivalent to ἐνέπνευσε, or the informing the soulless with a soul. But we must not think so unbecomingly of God as that He used the mouth or physical organs in this breathing, etc.

³ Although, according to Augustine’s remark, there is a reason for πνεῦμα and not πνῆμα being used in Gen. ii., because in the Hebrew it is רוּחַ.

sacred breath, mightily felt far off as well as near, is more than that would have been. But with all the majesty of this breathing there is a certain cordial familiarity in the symbol of this secret influence passing from His inmost life into their inmost life. "Like the *breath of a friend* on the cheek, so graciously and confidentially should the Spirit of God come upon the spirit of man"—says Braune, probably following Dräseke, in whom we read somewhat differently, "Gently like the breath of a friend, would He signify that the fulness of the Spirit would follow." Assuredly, as Lange has observed, this breathing is *primarily* "the last, and most loving sign of the *corporeity* of His new life"—as proof that there dwelt sensible and energetic power in this body which they had seen and felt.¹ But He immediately goes on to term this breath of His mouth the *Holy Spirit*, in prophetic promise to typify and show that now when He was exalted power would go forth from Him otherwise than ever before. The breath of His *mouth* refers also to the *word*, the medium of the Spirit: "It is a pure and holy Spirit who will henceforth speak through your lips, as hitherto through Mine." (Hess.) So Weiss: "The same Spirit by whom I have always spoken to you, and proclaimed to you the glad tidings of the kingdom of God." But this is far from being all its meaning; for the breath of Christ promised much more than even the words of Jesus could give before the ascension. It was not merely a "symbolical description of the breathing *from heaven*" (Neander), but intimated that the Spirit would thenceforward actually and essentially come from the inmost life of the glorified Son of God and Son of man; and so far as *proceeding from the Son*. He breathed upon them—"in order to impart unto them with His breath His life and His love, His inmost, His all." (G. K. Rieger.) Yea, that which had at this time its initial truth, was perfect reality after the ascension:—the heavenly-bodily breath of the Lord's life is itself Spirit and Divine energy. It is in vain that Münchmeyer contradicts our

¹ Lange: "He gives them to feel the warm breath of His new life," but we should take exception to such a representation, as coming too near the breath of a mortal. Pfenniger says, "it came upon them like a strongly invigorating air."—But he erroneously regards the ten Apostles as alone breathed on. He certainly breathed on them altogether and at once.

exposition of Jno. vi. and vii. 37, 38, denying altogether that the *κοιλία* of Jesus is the *ὄχετός* of the *πνεῦμα*, that is, that the Spirit comes from His inmost corporeity to us; for, not to mention other passages, this very *breathing*, whether viewed as symbolically prophetic for the future, or as actually influential at the time, affords the proof which has been found wanting for this scriptural doctrine. C. H. Rieger touches the point when he says: "Jesus establishes here the true meaning of His *humanity*. Not only was it during His life upon earth His appropriate pilgrim-garment; not only the *flesh* in which He should suffer; but it was after His resurrection (more correctly, from His resurrection onwards, but perfectly in His ascension) so pervaded by His life-giving Spirit, *that it should be for all eternity our way to God, and the medium through which God's gracious communications should be made to us.*"

Having gone so far toward the understanding of the profound symbol, we must now attempt to define the medium between the two extremes; one of which attributes to it the impartation of all power and truth, while the other empties it of them altogether. Jesus was not yet fully glorified, but He had begun His glorification: this is the simple foundation of our middle view. It is certain that the disciples did not receive the whole full Pentecostal Spirit; but "they had a preparatory *pledge* of the Holy Ghost,"¹ before its richer outpouring, as in a wider sense (2 Cor. i. 22). Their weakness and ignorance yet remained in part; and when Kinkel alleges "the mighty word and act of Peter at the choice of an Apostle before the day of Pentecost," he overlooks (with most others) that this uncalled for and unratified choice was a final example of his presumption and misunderstanding.² On the other hand, it is equally certain, as Meyer says: "Jesus stood now in the Spirit, 1 Tim.

¹ Meyer. This probably was intended to be meant by *πνεῦμα ὄχιον* without the article. Hofmann (Schriftb. II. i. 376) lays emphasis upon the fact that *breathing upon* is not *breathing into*; and in general he is right, while he maintains that they received something. But when he intimates that the breath did not enter into them, we know not how he can really mean that they received aught. What they received was a breathing upon their *inner* man.

² See what is said upon this in my *Reden der Apostel* i. S. 18-21, a view which I am unable to retract.

iii. 16," that is in a sense which harmonizes with Acts ii. 23 ; consequently His breathing was not altogether empty or inefficient, it was no mere token of a promise, but carried with it as the pledge of a future fulness the beginnings and the first-fruits of the gift.¹ " Christ completes the assurance of the resurrection in their hearts, when He breathed upon them. But this consummation is the fulfilment of the preparation of their inner life for the reception of the Spirit, and the beginning itself of the communication of that Spirit. As soon as the life of the Christ stands consummate before their souls, it begins as Spirit to come upon themselves." So far we accord with Lange ; but when Olshausen would teach us that the communication of the Spirit to the disciples must generally be "viewed as in *progressive increase*," we cannot appropriate this unhappy expression, but must leave the great fact of Pentecost all its full significance, and say more cautiously with Neander that the Divine influence connected with this breathing is "an important *mediating member* between the first promise and its fulfilment." This also is Lange's meaning, when he speaks of a "previous condition and point of connection for the coming miracle of Pentecost." Thus we have in this partly prophetic, partly already influential *ἐμφύσημα*, recorded by the esoteric gospel, which includes all the more mysterious beginnings, nothing but a concentrated expression for the whole influence of the Forty Days, as it was a necessary middle term before the Pentecost, assuring, comforting, and preparing their hearts. If this was what Hofmann meant by his somewhat inadequate expression, that "this preliminary impartation served for the strengthening of their *personal* faith, and the Pentecostal gift made them capable of their great testimony"—we agree with him. But Braune has most appropriately spoken of this : "If the day of Pentecost was the birthday of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of the disciples, this

¹ Meanwhile we cannot scripturally speak of *earlier* first-fruits of the New-Testament πνεῦμα ἁγίου, not even at the mission of Matt. x. ; for the power of miracles is not the power of the Spirit, and so *vice versa*. Glassius was wrong when he said : " This is to be received of the *increase* of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, for they had already received the first-fruits. When He used a new symbol, He speaks as if they then first received it."

was the time of His conception within them.”¹ For, although in fact the power *from on high* came upon them *at once*, the susceptibility for it must have been gradually prepared in the depths of their hearts; and in this sense Braune is right: “That which *suddenly* comes is always *gradually* prepared for.” But this is not one and the same with progressive advancement; as according to 2 Cor. i. 22, the consummate gift of the Spirit after the day of Pentecost was itself only a *pledge* of future fulness, so analogously the quickening which the disciples experienced from the Risen Lord, was only the pledge of the Pentecostal gift.

We have said that the inbreathing *Receive* must be viewed first of all only as symbolical, this being intended with reference to the perfect Pentecostal reception; that being the case it is no contradiction when we now, on the other hand, maintain that it bestowed a preparatory power and experience. The disciples received in the breath of Jesus the “Holy Ghost,” not, however, the promised Spirit, the Paraclete, but something mediating between the word of Jesus upon earth and the Spirit of Pentecost, an *ἀπαρχή* and so far an anticipation of the promise. In this view Luthardt is sound.

On the other hand, inasmuch as the Apostles were not assembled alone, and consequently were not alone breathed upon and further addressed, the exclusive reference of this gift to the Apostles alone which has been common from the earliest times, is altogether inappropriate. Von Gerlach very positively advocates that view, however: “This first impartation of the Holy Spirit has regard to the apostolical *office*, to the founding and government of the Church immediately; and the Lord here communicates the *apostolical official gift*.” Here again a distinction has been made, as by Chrys., Cyrill. and others: to wit, that now at first the power and gift was bestowed for the forgiveness of sins with reference to the internal, spiritual government of the church; while the day of Pentecost added the spi-

¹ This is more accurate than the two loose expressions of Steinmeyer's otherwise beautiful sermon (ii. 114): “Supposing that the receivers themselves did not use the treasure, that they scarcely felt it as a living gift, and that it lay unsealed in their hearts—yet had they *received* it in fact and truth.

ritual endowments which worked *outwardly*, the power of miracles, the gift of tongues, etc. But we are not permitted to understand by the "Holy Spirit" here solely the former, nor at the day of Pentecost solely the latter; and such a division is generally untenable (as Lücke rightly says); nor does it at all appear why that one portion of the gift should have been bestowed upon the Apostles before the foundation of the Church. We think that our exposition has left no room for these erroneous thoughts.

The *Holy Spirit*, by which He living before their eyes, not a "spirit" appearing as they had thought, who had been dead and was alive again, whose body and wounds they had touched, now breathes *sensibly* upon them—is no spirit of deception, no doubtful matter for future *διαλογισμούς*, but the most assured *experience*! This also is typified by the symbol for the future, as it is also sealed to them already in the present. And so also it is typified, that the influence of the Holy Ghost must be *received* by an independent *recéptivity*, going out to meet it. But this last less in the symbol of the breath which came upon them, than in the explanatory and accompanying word—*Receive*, which is to be understood just as we understood the same word at the Lord's Supper as pointing to that truth.¹ Yea in this *Receive ye* we may perceive the true interpretation of the whole once more confirmed, as if it should say—Be ye, become ye, from this time forward, through this demonstration of My living before you, *susceptible* for the promised Holy Spirit!

This brings us to ver. 23, the words of which describe the future demonstration of the power of the Spirit in themselves:—not, however, by the detailed exhibition of prerogatives, but by showing their kernel and centre, around which a periphery of various, and otherwise evident, demonstrations would revolve. For if the true *peace*, which He utters and gives to them, is in its ground the same with the grace of God, the *forgiveness of sins*, so the really highest authority of the messengers and bringers of this peace is no other than the impartation of this forgiveness. This was to be the Spirit's authority in them over hearts, the gift of higher power for the gathering, the consolidation, the

¹ "The Spirit is a gift, My gift. Ye can only receive; I alone impart. But receive, and neglect not; for ye need it!" Dräseke.

furthering of the Church ; but since in the world, and not only so but also in the Church, the power of *sin* would continue its opposition, and all would not be capable of or prepared for forgiveness, the correlative authority to deny grace and retain sin must necessarily be added. Thus Christ Himself had in the world, as also in the apostolical company, done both ; and thus henceforward His disciples were to act in His place. (The *ἄν* coming first, like *ἦν*, contracted of *ἐάν*, which is Lachmann's reading.) It might appear that *ἀφένται* (Pret. instead of *ἀφένται*, as in Acts *ἀφένκα*, see Winer § xiv. 3) should be preferred, according to Lachmann, because then it would run parallel with *κεκράτηνται*. Lücke thinks that the Perfects are absolutely necessary, because the meaning was to be—What ye remit or retain, remains thereby remitted or retained before God. But there may be involved a *progress* in the strength of the expression : first, What ye retain *is* retained ; then, stronger still, What ye remit *is already* remitted. The sense, however, is clear, and the same in both.¹ *Κρατεῖν*, to hold fast or hold back, corresponds to the Heb. *קָרַץ*, which the Sept. expresses now by *κρατεῖν*, now by *δεεῖν* ; and as the *opposite* is perfectly plain. Thus much for the words ; and now for the matter itself, in which two all-comprehending questions arise : *To whom* is this authority committed ? and, *How* is it exercised ?

As to the first, there is not the slightest intimation in the text that this authority was to be an exclusive prerogative of the *Apostles* ; the reference back to Matt. xvi. 19, xviii. 18 (where according to the connection the forgiving or the retaining of sins must be included), shows very plainly that those who were here present received it as the representatives of the whole, and also as the representatives of the future Church of Christ. That afterwards, in fact, the specific gift of the discernment of spirits (which however, according to 1 Cor. xii. 10, was not their exclusive prerogative), placed the Apostles especially in a condition to act, as it respects the retaining of the sins of individuals more particularly, with self-evidencing authority in the government of the Church, is a matter apart, and not lying in *these* words, any more than they speak of the Apostles' miracu-

¹ Only the *remittentur* of the Vulg. is incorrect, as if the *remitters* of the disciples was the *preceding* cause of the Divine remission !

lous authority to decree punishment and doom. Consequently the passage knows nothing of a priesthood of successors of the Apostles elevated above the Church, such as the Romanist exposition finds in it,¹ and also too many Lutherans are fast coming to find. It is easy enough to confute the consequence drawn from it (see in Sepp) that the institution of ecclesiastical *confession* and penance must be presupposed, since "without this the authority imparted by Christ would be incapable of realisation." For, first, how is it said by this ἐάν and τίνων that to any individual member of the Church either remission or retention of sin *must* be declared? The authority, indeed, rather extends beyond the limits of the Church into the world without also. He who has received the Spirit will assuredly remit or retain the sin in each individual case only according to the truth of God's Spirit, only when he is rendered capable of doing so either by confession received by word or witnessed in the life, or, as in the case of the Apostles, through a supernatural insight into hearts; but when he has no such certainty the Holy Spirit will teach him to withhold himself from any individual application.² We must not rend the passage from its essential connection with ver. 22, which makes ver. 23 mean—If ye, after ye have received the Spirit, through My Spirit and in My place forgive the sins of any, etc. It is not, therefore, the office or position which acts, but the possession of the Spirit. That which had never before been ascribed to any prophet throughout the Scripture is now given to every disciple of Jesus according to the measure of his participation in the Spirit of Jesus. "The Redeemer commits the forgiveness of sins to *sanctified personalities*." This excellent word of Braune strikes at the root

¹ In the Conc. Trident. Sess. xiv. cap. 3, the institution of the sacrament of penance is established by the passage, "as declaring in plain words that this authority was given to the Apostles and their legitimate successors." The appeal made to the *universorum consensus Patrum* has no force for us, and moreover it is baseless.

² Oetinger (in the Wörterb. S. 251) appropriates the binding and loosing to the Church, and says: "The chief thing here is a *sure judgment*; that we know, without swelling words of vanity (Jude 16), without youthful precipitance, that as we judge here it is judged in heaven. But to this essentially belongs deep experience in the fear of God and the gravity of age. Children and youths should not dare to hazard such judgments."

of the unscriptural and most irrelevant assertion of Klee: "It cannot be said that this authority is in any sense conditioned by the life of the successors of the Apostles, or by the manifestation of the Spirit in themselves; for the Spirit works by them and lives in their dispensation of the mysteries, though He may not be in their general life. As this holds good of baptism, so must it hold good of the sacrament of absolution!" There is absolutely no evidence whatever for any such "sacrament" as committed to any such "successors."¹ As every Christian should look upon himself as sent by Christ into the world to bear witness to His truth, and carry His message of peace, if and as far as he is a partaker of His Spirit, so he has likewise his portion in the prerogative attached to that privilege, of uttering the forgiveness of sins or pronouncing his repelling testimony. Where there is forgiveness of sins there is also the breathing of the Holy Spirit; and where He is there is always, though in diverse degrees, the authority, power, insight, and experience which are requisite in order to declare forgiveness of sins to others in the name of the Lord. The sure knowledge of men and of the human heart, derived from deep inward experience of our own heart, and the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit, alone qualifies us for this priesthood. He who has *that* is as much a "spiritual" man as any other, and when he assumes the prerogative which is here bestowed upon him, the Lord will confirm it, however much it may appear to be a *nudum ministerium*, as opposed to the hierarchy. Any of the least of those who believe on Jesus might apply to me the consolation of grace with more spiritual power than one of the greatest of unbeliev-

¹ In this way Lutz (Bibl. Dogm. S. 448) speaks well on this matter: "The Apostles are conceived of as filled with the Holy Spirit, *under which condition* it is quite true. All these representations have on the one side the actual in view, the sin of individual persons; on the other side, they regard the ideal (a condition which should be) in the *Church* and the bearers of the declaration of the word, the Apostles. The idea of the Church is throughout kept before our eyes, and it cannot therefore be rightly regarded as an external ordinance. We shall not enter more largely into the conflicting theories of our new Lutherans touching the ministry and its prerogatives; but simply refer for all essentials to the treatises of Krahner in the 'Deutsch. Zeitsch.;'—that concerning the office generally (1852 and 1854), that concerning absolution in particular (1851. Nr. 49-51)."

ing priests in his official garments. For *so-called* spiritual men, who are puffed out with the spirit of the world, can breathe out only the spirit of the world again—as Gossner says. Most evil it is that the authority of the keys should be committed with their ordination to such men; and far better than such usurpation, that those who are personally incapable of it, because unsanctified, should go even to the opposite extreme, and,¹ renouncing the solemn commission of Christ, leave whatever power it may involve to the Apostles themselves—thinking it with Hezel “most *unbecoming* that this passage should be referred to our present ministers.”

All this has led us slightly to anticipate the answer to the second of the questions before mentioned, and to show that we certainly acknowledge the *special application* of the judgment concerning forgiven or retained sins to individual and definite persons. The Council of Trent has, indeed, imposed its anathema upon any man who shall say that these words are not to be understood of the “sacrament of penance”—“but shall pervert them, contrary to the institution of this sacrament, into the mere *authority to preach the gospel*.” But this does not terrify us, and we say, with exegetical conscientiousness, in Calvin’s words: “nor is this power of remitting sins to be separated from that office of teaching with which it is united in the context”—that is in the *sending* of ver. 21, which primarily meant their *testimony*. Further, does not its application to the person presuppose the general testimony of preaching, according to the norm of which this prerogative is now used? Do not this general testimony which precedes, and this specific declaration which follows, coincide and become one in the office of the Spirit? To take away the preaching, and assert the office of the keys, can lead only to unspiritual and blind caprice. And what is *absolution* now but “the Gospel, spoken to an individual man?”¹ Thus we may and we must certainly at first understand

¹ As Luther says, W. xvi. S. 2174. This single kernel-word disposes of all the attempts made by “Lutherans” to elevate absolution into a specific prerogative of office. Münchmeyer holds to such a prerogative, and laments that I deny it to the sacred office. He may charge me with being un-Lutheran if he will, but “unscriptural” I must decline to admit: 2 Cor. v. 18, and Eph. iv. 11, speak of the ministry of the *word* generally, but no-

it as if it ran: *Qualibus*—to whomsoever in general we announce the remission of sins, etc. For the testimony in the preaching—Those who thus and thus believe and live have forgiveness, but none else—is the necessary first exercise of the spiritual authority here intrusted, without any application as yet to individuals, for they must appropriate it for themselves to their own consciences.¹ But then it is not right to go no further than this; he who *only* thus understands the word of Christ does not yield it its full rights. The direct appeal—Thou art the man! must not be wanting; it is that which completes the power of preaching to the individual heart. Thus it is also: *Quibus*, to those to whom ye remit, or retain, etc., in the specifically so termed power of the keys. That the application to individuals which follows upon the universal preaching is plainly involved in the *τὸν*, and indeed made prominent, we have already acknowledged in Matt. xvi. But let this be well understood! The Divine forgiveness or retaining of sins is not made so altogether dependent upon human mediation and witness, that it might be said—*Only* those whom ye forgive are forgiven, etc. But *if* one who is truly authorised in the Spirit testifies to *any man* his forgiveness, that word shall be valid though ten thousand liars condemn him; *if* such an one retains his sin, it shall be retained, though ten thousand liars should acquit him. And this is a prerogative of the spirit of Truth which our Lord has imparted to His *disciples*—a prerogative as elevated as it is self-approving through all ages of time. But that which belongs to the whole discipleship and Church together, and to every believer and possessor of the Spirit, is indeed to be exercised, as a rule, in the ministry of an office. But whatever may be said of that, the authority is so earnestly and solemnly intended that the Lord calls the testimony of the disciples themselves an *actual forgiving and retaining*, the validity of which is thus as it were self-understood: ἐὰν ἀφῆτε, ἀφίενται

thing of any sacrament of *absolution* resting upon a specific prerogative of office.

¹ “The office is instituted that it may announce by Divine commission what brings salvation, and delivers and makes the soul happy; what also leads to perdition, and retains the soul in bondage and misery.” Bunsen, Church of the Future.

(or with the reading ἀφέωνται which makes the full parallel) —ἐὰν κρατῆτε, κεκράτηνται.¹ For it is indeed Himself who by the Spirit in and from them testifies and effects this.

Finally, in this is included as a final *consequence* that which many have strangely made the *sole* exposition:—the right and authority of the Apostles first, and then of all rulers and officials, in the Church's name and the Lord's, to receive into the Church by the declaration of God's grace; or, by the denial of it (never of course unconditionally absolute) to exclude from the fellowship of the Communion, and to refuse that fellowship in baptism.² But it appears further from this that the words do not speak of any one-sided *government* with its excommunications, and without the assembling of the Church; as also that for such a case as is recorded in 1 Cor. xi. 29 the distributor himself is not to be always regarded as responsible.

Thus we trust that we have, with as much conciseness as possible, done enough in the exposition of this most important word of our Lord for the further development of His meaning by His devout people. It was a Spirit-word, speaking of the authority and power of the Holy Spirit to be received in the future; and as it were a continuous breathing forth of aspiration toward the future spiritual dominion of the Holy Ghost over *the sin* which opposes the kingdom of God in the world. And with this word concerning *the Spirit*—He vanishes, He withdraws His bodily appearance into invisibility again. It is thus that we understand and interpret the sudden breaking off of St John, for that which follows in St Mark and St Luke was not spoken at the first Appearance; we shall find that it is only their summary report of what was spoken afterwards.

¹ There is no ground for Lampe's attempt to soften the words by distinguishing between "*remissio præparatoria*" and "*remissio peremptoria*." Hollaz more correctly spoke of "*potestas αὐτοκρατορική* and *διακονική*," so that even the latter really *forgives* sins ὁρυσινῶς.

² For without the sanctions of the power of the keys the Sacrament could not be administered—as Nitzsch says in his Practical Theology.

SECOND APPEARANCE TO THE APOSTLES,
THOMAS BEING PRESENT.

(John xx. 26-29.)

Thomas, one of the Twelve, to whom the mission in the consecration of the Spirit assuredly pertained, received it not yet, and appears to be excluded ! For he was not with them when Jesus came. This is St John's simple statement ; he leaves to our own thoughts the investigation of the reason. But may we at once say (with many) that he was "accidentally" absent, or (with Grotius) that he was "occupied with some imaginable business ?" That would tempt us to speak further in the spirit of the Berlen. Bibel of "the misfortune for him that he was not present," and by thus lamenting the unhappy accident derange the proper point of view for the whole narrative. But it is by no means imaginable that on this day, when the disciples were driven together by all events in the intensest suspense and expectation, any kind of business would detain one of the Twelve from this most important assembly ; or, if we can suppose this to have been the case for a few moments, that the Lord would strangely come at that very time when one was wanting. On the other hand it is highly natural, and St John's concise words seem to regard it as self-evident, that the cause of this absence, which deserved this exclusion, should be sought in the personal disposition and tone of feeling of Thomas himself. Even the repetition of ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος (which was otherwise needless) seems to point back to the first characterisation of this one among the Twelve in ch. xi. 16. The three passages in which Thomas appears (ch. xi. 16, xiv. 5, and this one) exhibit to us, in connection with the most internal love to Jesus, a certain specific tendency to morbid feeling which takes thought for the worst contingency, and (as the ground or concomitant of this) a harsh and critical zeal of investigation and doubt in things which concern the faith of the feeling. His inward feeling was not a filial one, we must say ; his desire to know was too rationalising ; his profound emotion of love was mingled with melancholy doubt ; and with all this combination

Thomas was a highly energetic character, holding fast his peculiarities, whose way in all things was the hard and troubled way. Accordingly it is probable almost to certainty that on the day of resurrection he least of all believed the intelligence; that he isolated himself in the sorrow of death with strong and wilful decision of woe; and consequently that by his own fault he lost the first word of Peace and the breathing which followed it.¹ Thus it was that the same man who once would die with Jesus continues resolutely in the same mind, and, as much as in him lies, will not rise again with Jesus. Thus the spirit of doubt, of dismay, and of despondency had isolated and distracted this soul so far that Thomas went comfortless his own way—as Lange says, and as the Berl. Bible hints—“Distraction of mind and wilful separation finds little blessing.” But, finally, this caprice and self-will of the disciple was subject to that higher guidance which subordinates every individual thing to the good of each and of all; we must say also (with Gregory the Great) that all this both in its beginning and issue was not fortuitous, but took place according to a Divine and overruling Providence: “Supreme mercy so wonderfully ordered it, that that doubting disciple, when he touched the wounds of his Master’s body, healed in us the wounds of unbelief; for the incredulity of Thomas has been more profitable to our faith than the faith of the believing disciples.”²

That his *unbelief*, which he holds fast against the unanimous

¹ But not as Augustin, Bede, and others assumed, wrongly pressing the *Eleven* of Lu. xxiv. 33, that after the Emmaus-intelligence he went away almost in scorn because of these deceptions: this is not conceivable in itself, nor is it to be reconciled with the connection in Luke. Nor does the *supra* of Luke relate, as Lampe supposes, that Thomas had been earlier with them, but was no longer there when the disciples came from Emmaus! But least of all can we tolerate the notion of B.-Crusius that the isolating incredulity of the morbid doubter amounted to an absolute abandonment of the cause of Christ: “He regarded himself after the death of Jesus as sundered from the company of the disciples: *their society had no longer any meaning for him!!*”

² As Dräseke points in his beautiful sermon to “the traces of this overruling guidance.” But he can at the same time excellently paint the other side of the question; that Thomas, whose happiness was now a heap of ashes, because he could not apprehend the idea of a suffering Messiah, fled from men—how foreign to his feeling was the rumour of the resurrection

testimony of all, was not a malignant and damnable unbelief, is proved by all that is elsewhere recorded of him; and especially by the immediate sequel, in which the Lord graciously shames him, and yet shows him compassion. His was, as Tholuck says, "a critical nature—one of those prudent and incredulous spirits which must always feel the ground upon which they are called to walk, and who dare to make no spring over the pit which they have not first exactly measured." Yet we must not, with Olshausen, find *this* critical nature merely in a "preponderance of the reflecting reason," but also and equally in the strong and deep feeling which bursts forth in the apostrophe of the convinced doubter. Dräseke: "Thomas was a man of power, with a decision bordering on self-will; just as much heart as head."

How may we suppose him to have been surrounded by all the disciples, who pierced him with the joy of their faith! St John simply expresses it by his "they said unto him;" but we must expand this, and by no means limit ourselves to the single, once-uttered, "we have seen." Whether (as Bengel thinks with less probability) he had come to them not long afterwards, or whether they had sought him out (as Hess represents it) in order to tell him, is not settled in the text; but we prefer to assume the latter, which is slightly intimated by the contrast of *ἔλεγον* with *οὐκ ᾔνουν μετ' αὐτῶν*. They say again merely "we have *seen*"—as corresponding with the higher character of the *Appearance* or *revelation*, but they include in St John's meaning every report of His words, and their own handling which had not been declined. Thomas, therefore, could not have doubtfully asked (as in Pfenninger): "Have ye seen aright in the evening and the uncertain lamplight? Did ye touch Him and handle Him? His side, too, pierced so certainly with deadly wounds?" For to all this they have given the most confident answer (see John ver. 20). Nevertheless Thomas cannot and will not believe; he has questionings and doubts in abundance remaining. "Why did He not come before, and longer remain? How long did the manifestation continue? Where then is He now? And above all, the great—how that, having had enough of scorn, he would separate himself from the company of men who were so fearfully deceived.

doubt of his heart, conscious of love and fidelity, was this :— Why did He not show Himself *to me*? Should I alone of the Eleven have been excluded from the mission with the Holy Ghost? Should he who denied¹ receive the authority to remit sins from Him—and His faithful Thomas, whose heart He knows, not receive the same, not receive a special consolation, like Peter? Wherefore should this be! I do not discern the Lord, my Lord, in what ye relate?” This last gives proof and illustration, that the contradiction of his understanding, as it were, sought and found its reason in the adherence of his heart to the Lord. Thus while the other disciples were *glad* because they had seen the Lord, Thomas remained sorrowful; and was still more sorrowful, because he already in anticipation would feel in his soul the impending disenchantment of his credulous brethren.

St John gives us only the strongest and most decisive expression of his contradiction and unbelieving asseveration; probably also the last, cutting short all further remark. We see that the sight of the Lord's death had sunk too deep into Thomas' heart for anything to remove it but a perfectly corresponding testimony of his sense; the fixed idea and image had fastened too securely upon his doubting reason and his morbid feeling: *If Jesus, though the raiser of Lazarus, was—and it was but too certain—put to death*, then all that had gone before went for nothing, all was a dark riddle, the powers of the world and death and hell had conquered Him! Out of this morbid sadness—a feeling to which we are too apt to attribute now-a-days much rejection of plain testimonies for Jesus—out of this gloomy grief, which has swallowed up all his other feelings, he utters his intense and exaggerated word. He says nothing about seeing *Jesus Himself*, but must see in His hand the print of the nails. But then seeing is no longer enough; he must touch with *his fingers*, and be as certain as that he feels this *his finger*! Finally, he goes on to surpass even this :—“ And I must put my whole hand into the broad and deep wound in His side, which I too plainly saw: Have ye all done this?

¹ That Peter was partaker of this consecration before his re-establishment in ch. xxi. 15-17, appears further to prove that it was not the apostolical vocation merely which was here involved.

Ye may have been deceived in your touching.”¹ That he does not expressly say this is to be explained by the tenderness of his love to them; and, moreover, this silence, this pausing at the mere assertion—“I must also myself touch, like yourselves at least, and more certainly”—seems an involuntary admission after all of the *possibility* of this. Yet he consciously and designedly abstains from saying it, again, as Bengel has finely and truly remarked: “Nor does he say—If I shall see, I will believe; but only—Unless I shall see, I will not believe. Nor does he think that he will see, though others said that they had seen.” He closes all by an absolutely expressed *οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω*.² This is a “professed incredulity,” infinitely more, but at the same time also less than if he had shared the resurrection-feast of the Church, and yet had entertained in silence these perverse thoughts. For this asserted and strongly confronting avowal of his unbelief approves the integrity of his character.

May it then be said that it appears at last to have been an almost praiseworthy and beautiful unbelief of a sincere character, driven by the excess of love, conjoined with a keen and anxious reason, to fly with impetuosity from the most dismal of all possible deceptions? O no, it is not this! With all his

¹ It is foolish to demand that Thomas should have here mentioned the feet also. The Hands lead his feeling at once to the Side; but that feeling would not permit the painful detail to go down to the very Feet. Another question is suggested by the reading which has *τόπος* instead of *τύπος* in the second instance; as the Vulg. translates first *fixuram* (*figuram*) then *locum*. Grotius thought this probably correct: “*τύπος* is seen, *τόπος* is occupied.” The expression would then advance: to look at the form of the wound—to place the finger in the place where the nails passed through. But *τύπος* is also “occupied;” and the variation in the expression is not so natural as the repetition would be. We therefore with Lücke regard the *τόπος* as an error of transcription, notwithstanding Tischendorf’s Palimpsest. As to the latter’s “internal reasons,” we should like to hear them, before we accept the reading.

² Not believe *what*? Certainly that the Lord had *risen* indeed! (Mark xvi. 11, 14; Lu. xxiv. 11.) This seems so perfectly plain that we cannot understand how the shortsighted Hasse can maintain: “Thomas did not doubt of the resurrection of Jesus, but could not reconcile his idea of a resurrection-life with an *appearance* of the Risen One!” On the contrary, his conclusion was: If He is risen, He will and He must appear also to me.

earnestness and zeal there is united a *self-will*, sinful and to be rejected; there is the exaggerated assertion of the individual and personal against the united testimony of the whole believing brotherhood, when he looks upon them and says—Unless I myself see and feel—! This is and must ever be a great error and wrong—to will to touch all with the hands of *self*, and even, for it comes to this, to determine to *understand* all by his own self-sufficient understanding, and to *receive no testimony* apart from that. Even the *Spirit*, to the investigation of which the report of the Emmaus-disciples had so expressly pointed, avails now nothing with Thomas. And just as little the unanimous assurance of all who had seen the Lord. His ten fingers shall be more decisive to him than the ten other Apostles.¹ “He does not distrust their honesty, but he distrusts their understanding. He will be more *wise* than they, more prudent, and more unprejudiced.” So says Dräseke, and terms this conduct, in which he “sets all the outgoings of his feeling against faith as against an enemy,” very properly his “prejudice, which he thought candour.” Bengel similarly: “Without doubt he thought he was thinking and speaking very judiciously; but incredulity, while it is imputing defect of judgment to others, itself often nourishes and betrays hardness and slowness of mind.” And Lavater, with all his tolerant mildness, says: “Nathanael and Thomas were two extremes among the good and believing. He who said, Unless I put my hand into the print, etc., may indeed have been a very sincere soul, but he cannot have been an absolutely simple, artless, collected, innocent, and Nathanaelite soul as such; for he had before him many unimpeachable witnesses whom he could not hold to be deceivers, and to whom he could not deny the possession of sound senses and some spiritual sense of truth.”² Nor can we regard the unbelief of Thomas as a denial or doubt springing merely from *love to Jesus*: the humble love of such as John would not have thought of making such a demand of

¹ As with ingenious simplicity Valerius Herberger says, whose incomparably profound sermon on Thomas, uniting the most searching application with the simplest expression, we would recommend to all readers who can get access to his *Herzpostille*.

² Nathanael, S. 27.

the Master for itself. It is true that there is a certain softening of his requirement in the fact, generally unconsidered, that he demanded to see and to handle, *only like the rest*; but even this demand was too much, and we must say with Lange that "the worst was his venturing to impose specific conditions on the Lord Himself!" And we behold in this a warning type of all such *making conditions* as preachers constantly denounce. Thus it was not as a "lover" of the Lord that he demanded this evidence, but with the "wilfulness and self-will of a sad lover" (as Braune says) who will have this evidence in the *death-signs* upon the Risen One. "They gave him his anguish, they alone can take it away." As the other disciples for joy, so Thomas *for grief* could not and would not believe: but we cannot proceed with Braune—"Love to the Lord was the sole ground of that joy and of this grief." For the holding fast his grief, in spite of the testimonies which appealed so strongly to his love, was in his case, as in the case of many others, *self-will*.

Luther's Germ. translation gives this its more than full emphasis: If I see not—I *will* not believe! But something of this "will" was certainly expressed in the *οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω*.¹ On the other hand, the ground of his heart is better than what he thinks and says. Many say plainly—I *will* not believe! whose words are estimated by the Lord's grace as meaning in many instances that they *cannot*. Thousands of others, alas, lyingly say that they *cannot*—but the Searcher of hearts knows that they *will* not.

Eight long days is the unhappy Thomas punished by himself, and punished by his Lord. The others may have been obliged to give up appealing to him; but still they pray for him. And for what does he himself pray? Possibly, in his blindness—"O God, help these unhappy men out of their blind deception!" as Pfenninger imagines. And the unbelief of their fellow would be a test even to the Ten; for they might think—Will our testimony in the world be no better treated than this? At the same time it is a requital of their own unbelief,

¹ Niemeyer has no foundation for making Thomas cry, "full of joyful uncertainty"—"Ah, I see Him not, so *can* I not believe!" This opposes the inmost meaning of the narrative.

as Lampe says: "By that in which the Apostles sinned they are punished." The wisdom and the love of the Lord waits with superabounding grace until the *right hour* has come for Thomas, broken down in his grief, perhaps also slightly repenting of his self-will, and certainly foreprepared by the internal work of the Spirit. Then he who was still unclean by reason of the dead body of Jesus, and afar off by reason of his sadness, kept his joyful after-passover unto the Lord! (Deut. ix. 10, 11.) Olshausen would translate this Appearance into Galilee, as did Rupert before him; but we agree with Lücke that there is no trace of a Galilæan locality, and that the *ἔσω* indicates the accustomed place of meeting, the same place therefore as that in which they had met eight days before. If this word elsewhere stands for *ἐν οἴκῳ* (comp. Acts v. 23; Matt. xxvi. 58; Mark xv. 16, xiv. 54, and the Sept. Gen. xxxix. 11; Ezek. xliv. 17; 2 Chron. xxix. 16, 18), yet the *πάλιν* is decisive here, especially with the repetition in other respects of the whole former scene, on which the emphasis lies. The feast which the disciples attended in Jerusalem was indeed ended by the Sabbath; but they delayed their journey to Galilee, they were not in haste to sever themselves from the city which the death and resurrection of Jesus had sanctified anew; and the weak in faith whom they would leave behind were another argument for waiting. We think that Thomas especially was the object of their hope, and that they expected a favourable result in his case. Indeed, the Lord had promised to show Himself in Galilee; but if He had already anticipated that fulfilment, having appeared five times on the first day,—might He not, would He not, come back once more to justify them to Thomas before they must set forth? This was their hope, not confident, but enough. Finally, as Grotius supposed, a feeling of which they were half conscious might have prevented them from journeying on the new Sabbath, the day of the Lord, on which they would celebrate His resurrection. But it is more correct to say that the Lord, by His returning on that day, directed them and us to sanctify its recurrence.

During the whole intermediate week He appeared not; this follows from the enumeration, ch. xxi. 14. *Possibly* Thomas may have been asking his cutting question—Are ye so sure of

your account? But we cannot feel positive about this; he may have been silent, and all the more eagerly solicitous; and this we prefer to think. So much is true, that in this whole time "they are serviceable to each other: he to confirm their faith, they to shame his incredulity." And the Lord lets them so long wait together: *for* (Krafft) "He does not urge His people too fast." Certainly, the fact that at this assembling Thomas is present, shows a softening of his wilfulness, an approximation towards faith. *They* had not rejected the unbeliever—and it may be well to remind some ecclesiastic zealots of that, in passing. They had earnestly prayed him to return, and not renounce his connection with their fellowship altogether! And in the fact that Thomas (probably now with a slender wish, the germ of a hope of being convinced) unites himself with them, we see that he did belong inwardly to the believers, and therefore that so far he submitted *to the rule* of Christ, though he had made so irregular a demand. Then does the good Shepherd seek and find His refractory sheep in the fold, and soon is he won. For the sake of one soul He appears and shows His wounds—a tenderness which Chrysostom points out and expatiates upon. Thus may Thomas with his special experience of the goodness of Christ be an example and encouragement for our faith in all ages; just as Peter was elsewhere, though in a different way. For the demonstrations of His grace are ever inexhaustibly new; but at the same time they conform to strict and revealed rules. Thomas had sinned against the testimony of the brotherhood; he had wilfully separated himself from their communion; therefore the Lord does not appear to him alone, but justifies and asserts the duty of union with His believers. Peter received at first for himself the general authority, which he then almost forfeited; Thomas appears at first to be excluded, but is soon added to the rest.

The Lord enters altogether as on the previous occasion, eight days before: this of itself was a most decisive confirmation of the testimony which they had given, and which they would probably utter again, in living remembrance of the same hour a week previous—Thus did He then come! Thus did we see

Him!—and at the same time the most humbling demonstration to the doubter. In order to mark the repetition of the scene St John mentions the door being shut; but he does not now add—for fear of the Jews.¹ A third time the same—Peace be unto you! This confirming repetition says everything at once, for it includes Thomas, then present, in the Peace. The gracious Lord comes even to the unbeliever among the faithful, not that He may cast him out in judgment, but that He may bless him with the same peace which his companions had received. We may suppose a brief pause after this greeting at His entrance. What a sea of feeling swelled in all hearts! What a glance of the Saviour upon Thomas, and what an instantaneous melting followed it! But long time is not allowed him; his profound shame and confusion are cut short in grace; and the Lord presently (*εἰτα*) proceeded to His *milder* and reconciling humiliation. He gives him back his words, for He knows everything! It is most unthinking folly to suppose that the disciples had told Him these words; but at the same time we must not think of immediate Divine omniscience as yet before the ascension. But as the Lord in His lower estate knew through the Father's revelation Nathanael's prayer of faith and longing under the fig-tree, so now the Lord had actually heard the words of Thomas' unbelief:—may we not suppose that during the interval He “invisibly hovered around” the disciples! To point this out to them all, and especially to Thomas, He thus speaks: Behold I was around thee and with thee, when thou deniedst My being alive! He gives him back his words almost literally, only in His sacred dignity and gentle tenderness He says nothing expressly concerning the *τύπος τῶν ἡλων*—it was enough to offer these *hands* with these tokens to the *finger*. “Reach *hither* thy finger”—thus the Living One in dignified silence refers to the all-holy signs of His suffering and death, which the bold word of the doubter had as it were desecrated. (And *φέρειν* is at first somewhat more gentle than the too confident *βάλλειν*, the repetition of which, however, in the second clause is not spared to him who had dared to say it.) “And *behold* My hands:”—

¹ Bengel: “They had not yet ceased to fear.” But we doubt this, and would rather assume that the motive for shutting the doors was now the exclusion of every unpleasant interruption.

this is in part like Lu. xxiv. 39, spoken in the general sense according to which *seeing* is equivalent to investigating, and making oneself sensibly sure of anything ; while in part it rests upon the supposition that Thomas will nevertheless be satisfied with looking. What humiliation to Thomas ! First of all, in the necessary, solemn requital before the face of all : “in the presence of the disciples he had spoken the words, in their presence he must blush for them, and solemnly retract them” (Dräseke). Yet, how gentle too ; for this demand that he should do according to the word of his unbelief, in order to his believing, says at the same time : I know thy heart, I punish thee no otherwise, I reject thee not ! Bengel : “If a Pharisee had demanded this, he would have obtained nothing ; but to a *disciple already tested* nothing is denied.” Even the *side* with the deep death-wound therein the Lord vouchsafes once more expressly—Himself to show and to mention ; for *this* mysterious sign is hallowed in the word of prophecy ; see Zech. xii. 10 ; Jno. xix. 37 ; Rev. i. 7. Not merely —“to the prints of the nails, to the side”—in the words of Thomas and the Lord. The *τῶποι* referred to much more than “scars” or “cicatrizized wounds,” as we often hear them called ; and the *εἰς*, concerning the hand in the side, indicates a wide and deep opening.

But the whole, with all the corporeal reality of the narrative itself, is at the same time a *symbol* for future doubters, who are pointed to the right contemplation of the *Crucified* in the proof of His resurrection. And so far Thomas unconsciously prophesied in his arbitrary words of the true sign which Christ would give to the world, and which He continues still to give. Moll writes upon this with significant force, that there are so many unprofitable investigations, so many criticisms on the life of Jesus, and recensions of the scriptural canon, which are driven away by the winds—“because they will not set out with Thomas’ criticism on the identity of the Risen and the Crucified Lord.” Yes, indeed, if there is to be a criticism which shall lead to the true end : Ah that there were among our doubters men with the heart of Thomas, who would sink in low sorrow into the death of Jesus in order to be convinced by grace and become lovingly conscious of the identity of Him who liveth in the spirit with Him who thus died :—that so they might even (as Lange further says) in the *body of the Church*, which is the

body of Christ, feel the heavenly life in its marks of suffering and great heart-wounds!¹

And be not unbelieving, but believing! "Thus the Lord (to quote Lange once more) changes the hard and presumptuous demand of Thomas into a confession of his poverty and helplessness"—since He permits him to use his finger and hand that he may attain to the peace of faith. For this unbeliever has experienced for eight days, among the believing disciples, all the disquietude and pain of unbelief; and so bitter has been the experience that he heartily welcomes deliverance from it. "Ἀπιστος and πιστός do not define merely the not believing and the believing as it regards the resurrection; but here as always refer to the condition of mind generally, the habit of faith or unbelief (according to Nonnus: καὶ τὸν ἥθος ἀπιστον ἀνάλωο). Gal. iii. 9 may be adduced as further proof. The Lord's words fully contradict the foolish defence of Thomas, which some, after the manner of Niemeyer,² have set up; for there is as much rebuke as encouragement in His requiring him to remain no longer *unbelieving*, and not to become more so. Ficker has fallen into the same strange aberration from the word of Christ: "The occurrence here narrated has given needless occasion for the name of *unbelieving Thomas*." He even so far forgets himself in his apologetical zeal, as to preach: "The other disciples had seen the Lord; why should he not also desire to convince himself in the same way of the truth of His resurrection? Why might he not long for such a *handle* for faith to lay hold of? His whole bearing before and after his doubting testifies that he already believed with half his heart, and that the grace and faithfulness of the Redeemer was shown to one well able to profit by it."³ This is evidently dealing too tenderly with Thomas. Why then did the grace and faithfulness of the Redeemer leave him longing (as his wilful demand is called) for eight long days, and then at the end call him one who had been hitherto *un-*

¹ Conversely, the Lord also knows His disciples by the marks of suffering:—a saying of Pascal, if we remember rightly.

² In the Charakteristik S. 74, we read: "We shall lose nothing if, after ages have been preaching about unbelieving Thomas, we begin now to preach about the faithful and inwardly believing Thomas!"

³ Ficker, "The Doubters of the New Testament."

believing? We must interpret the saying much more rigorously, and say that one who was believing with half his heart would, through persistent unbelief in the *resurrection* of the Lord, the great essential point (1 Cor. xv. 14), either prove himself an *unbeliever*, or be in very great danger of *becoming* one. Let us diminish nothing of Thomas' sin, that we may do full honour to the grace of Christ. Ἀπιστος has in the Saviour's lips its full rebuking and hortatory significance; γίνου means for "unbelieving" and "believing" rather the *becoming* than the being. *Be or become believing!* would be a precious Imperative indeed, if it brought with it its own fulfilment, as a word of Christ's absolute authority, like His "Woman, be loosed from thine infirmity," and the like. Then would unbelievers be easily won; then, indeed, since Jesus would not fail to have compassion upon all, there could be unbelievers no more. But it is not so; and G. K. Rieger, who at first spoke in that style, afterwards restricted thus the word of authority: Be believing, thou canst *if thou wilt!* Therefore we may say, in better terms, that the becoming not faithless but believing is *matter of command*. Grotius: "Incredulity has in it something voluntary"—nay, is altogether matter of the will. But, on the other hand, as the Lord's word here shows: One may even see and touch Christ, have the most convincing demonstration and experiences, and yet not become believing! On which point we may compare Acts xxvi. 19 with Gal. i. 16—and ponder it.

Did Thomas actually thrust his finger into the print of the nails, and his hand into His side? If the Lord *commanded* it, he must of course have obeyed. Pfenninger (in this agreeing with Nonnus) represents the matter as if the Lord, while He was speaking, took the finger and hand of the amazed Thomas, and placed them upon the wounds. But the simple λέγειν Φέρε—βάλε—records nothing of the sort, but rather excludes it; and in ver. 28 we read nothing of it. We confidently maintain that the word of Jesus was not properly a *command*; for that would have been far too harsh a condemnation, pressing to its utmost consequences his foolish word. In its tone and meaning it was merely a permission: *Thou mayest* do so—if thou still wilt—see I am ready! Augustine: Although it may be said that the disciple dared not touch Him, when He presented Him—

self to be touched; for it is not written—And Thomas touched Him.¹ For our own part, we regard an actual touching and handling as altogether irreconcilable with the feeling which changed the unbeliever into a believer, and cried *My Lord and My God*. We say with Tholuck: “At this point, when the test was in his power, all test and proof is forgotten, and the *might of faith maintains its right*. What needs he to lay hold with his hands? His heart feels it all!” And with Drüseke: “What does he now? Nothing of all that which he had himself specified as a condition. *He believes*; his faith came to his aid on the spot. His heart overcomes his reasoning; therefore he uses not his hand and his fingers.” It is to be observed that partly the *seeing*, as our Lord says, ver. 29, yet not this alone (for then all Israel would have needed only to see, in order to be able or to be obliged to believe), transformed Thomas into a believer; it was especially the heart-reproving, heart-winning *love* of Jesus, in which Thomas finds Him again and spiritually sees Him, which overcame his unbelief. *This* is the truth of his faith, which our Lord acknowledges; and this, as Lange says, “was made manifest in his *not* taking the last step, and making the manual experiment upon the body of Jesus.”

His responding exclamation in ver. 28 has been in all ages perverted, in spite of its clear self-evidencing truth, so as to evade his calling Jesus his Lord and his God. Theod. Mops. referred his words to the Father, whom Thomas glorified for the resurrection of Christ—*ὕμνήσας τὸν θεὸν ἐγέλπατα*. This is at least more imaginable than the subsequent artifice of the Socinians, of Crellius (under the name Artemonius) and others, who either refer the double exclamation to Jesus *and the Father* (who was now altogether in Jesus!), or make it the cry of utmost amazement—Ah, my Lord and my God, can this be possible! But Socinus himself confuted this easily refutable shift, which therefore does not appear in the Catech. Racov. Could Thomas at this momentous crisis have turned away from *the person of Jesus* in an exclamation to God above, as one distinct

¹ After having explained the word, ver. 29—Because thou hast *seen*—after ver. 27, as referring to sensible experience through other senses than the sight. But we think that “seen *Me*” is not the same as ver. 27, and plainly excludes all touching.

from this Jesus? Further, it cannot be proved, yea it is false rather, that the Jews had our wicked habit of crying out in amazement—*My God!* Therefore we must at least understand it as Theodore does above. But neither will that endure examination: for the *κύριος* in connection with the *θεός*, as in ver. 25 and always in the gospels, meant in the disciples' lips Jesus; and the *εἶπεν αὐτῷ*—*said unto Him*—is most absolute evidence, for which reason Socinian writers have always been anxious, in spite of the fullest authority of manuscripts, to expunge it.—Thus Thomas utters his exclamation in adoring reverence (probably sinking before the Lord), with the most profound and mighty feeling, which was also at the same time the victorious outburst of the clearest perception, when he addressed Jesus and said—*My Lord and My God!*¹ He calls Him not merely *κύριος*, like Magdalene, and as the disciples at last spoke of Him, but he calls Him *God*, in perfect harmony with the transcendent influence of the overpowering crisis. It is not so much the omniscience discerned in the echoing of his own words that moves him to this (for comp. Jno. i. 49), as the awful and at the same time vivid impression which the open, bloodless wounds² make upon him, showing him One who was as it were *Dead* and yet *Living*—instantaneously confounding the unbelief which had clung to the certainty of His death, and consequently exhibiting instantaneously to His faith the *death-destroying Divine power and Godhead* which livingly dwelt in this person of Jesus. Thus he is, as Zinzendorf said, “the first divine who ever concluded from the wounds of Jesus that He was God.” This is the immediate link in the interpreta-

¹ Lampe, indeed, regarded the Vocative as doubtful, and preferred artificially to supply—*Thou art my Lord and my God!* But such a phraseology was common among the Greeks, and also in the New Testament, as may be seen in Winer. In particular we have *κύριος* and *θεός* thus in the Sept., e. g. Ps. xxxv. 24, Ps. xxii. 3, comp. Mark xv. 34. It is of no significance to the contrary that Jesus is elsewhere in the New Testament addressed by *κύριε*, for here in connection with the *θεός* the Old-Testament and solemn formula is used.

² According to the natural course of things the blood again circulating would have issued anew from the wounds, as G. Müller observes. Thus these open wounds are at the same time testimony to the bloodlessness of the resurrection-body.

tion; but more must appear in it when we consider that he can utter *such* a word (contrasting and yet harmonious with Jesus' own word to Mary, ver. 17): all those earlier sayings and testimonies of Jesus which pointed to the unity of the Son with the Father, which such a deep-thinking spirit as his had apprehended and revolved from the first, now all seem to combine into clearness, and he beholds at once externally and internally their perfect truth.¹ The doubter overcome now believes, as is often the case, all the more swiftly, readily, deeply, because of his having long doubted. What no Apostle had hitherto said, what the Lord Himself had never said directly, he utters as the first witness of the last truth; and St John can close his gospel with *his* confession of faith, going back as it does to the Prologue in the beginning! Whether in the excitement of the moment, he "uttered prematurely more than his calm, dispassionate reflection would have dictated" (as Tholuck thinks), we very much doubt; for at *such* moments the might of the Spirit goes far beyond all mere human passion and excitement, affording the clearest and the surest perceptions of truth. We must rather observe that the "*Lord*" here connected with the "*God*" means more than all the disciples had ever intended when they so termed Jesus; it *here* really takes the place, as laying the foundation of the permanent New-Testament phrase, of Jehovah or Adonai; the combination of the two words is essentially parallel with the exclamation of the people, when the fire fell from heaven—*The Lord He is God!* (1 Kings. xviii. 39), only so to speak, in an inverted deduction of reasoning from below upward, as there it was from above downward. But inasmuch as no man without the Holy Ghost can call *Jesus* in such a sense Lord, and know

¹ This is infinitely more than Hofmann's assumption that *θεός* here is only to be understood as it might have applied to a man—The Lord had now become *God* to him, and therefore he gave Him this predicate! By no means, but he seeks and recognises *God in Christ* in the unity of nature, in conformity with Jno. xiv. 7-10. We lament to have Schmieder also (Hohepriesterl. Gebet S. 14) to contradict, who finds in the exclamation of Thomas "no avowal of the Divinity of Christ," and degrades *θεός*, by the side of *κύριος*, into a mere "relative term"—instead, conversely, of giving *κύριος*, by the side of *θεός*, a higher meaning than before. The Old-Testament phrase, which is said to apply here, was no longer current among the Jews, as we plainly see in Jno. x. 33.

Him to be God the Lord, Adonai-Elohim (1 Cor. xii. 3)—we see that Thomas in the same great crisis has abundantly received the *Spirit*, opening his eyes. Hence it is foolish to assume that the Lord at the close of this manifestation breathed also upon Thomas supplementarily, and said—All that I have spoken to the Ten applies also to the Eleven! There needed no repetition of the breathing, no repeated “I send thee also!” All this was internally and really accomplished in Thomas without symbol and word. But, finally, the most gracious and touching thing in his word, which the power of the Lord’s love put into his heart and upon his lips, is the twofold internal “*My Lord! My God!*” This was wanting to the cry of the people upon Carmel; this is wanting to many who sound with the trumpet—The Lord is God. This discloses the *kernel* of his appropriating and self-consecrating faith. He would cry in the fulness of his heart—“How have I sinned against Thee, be merciful to me”—but grace has anticipated him. He would testify—“Yea, I believe, love, adore, am Thine henceforth for ever;”—but all this is merged in one, and is poured forth in the only address of which his feeling is capable.

The Lord accepts the *God* added to the *Lord* from the mouth of Thomas: this gives the saying its dogmatic demonstrative force, for it shows that the Spirit of Truth had spoken by Thomas.¹ “Christ termed this exclamation of Thomas, who in amazement and ecstasy (rather in *adoration!*) had called Him Lord and God, *faith* simply, the first thing and the last which He required from man; and pronounced His benediction upon those who should possess this faith, though they saw Him not with their eyes.” (Kleuker.) Yes, verily, as we have already seen in the *faithless* and *believing* of ver. 27, it is now—*Thou hast believed*, thou hast become believing, thou *believest* from this time. Not merely—Thou doubttest My resurrection no more! but it has the great all-comprising meaning which the Evangelist connects with it in ver. 31. Thomas did not simply say—Thou hast verily risen again! but at once deduces everything from it

¹ B.-Crusius seems confident that it ought to be very plain that it is only a historical passage, or word of Thomas reproduced by the Evangelist; that this word was not used in any dogmatical sense, but only as it occurs in the O. T. concerning angels, etc., regarding Christ as a *Theophany*.

to which it must lead. The Lord also embraces in the confirmation and sanction which He gave to this avowal all that was included in it:—Thou believest that I am the Son of God, and Myself God; yea more—Thou dost altogether yield Thyself up to Me in this adoring and loving faith, thou becomest Mine, while thou callest Me thine;—thus all is included that πιστεύειν involves in its fullest meaning when used by Jesus, by His Evangelist John, and in the Scripture thenceforward. To put a note of interrogation here (with Lachmann and others, and the Vulg. also) is as perverse as to put it in ch. i. 50 (in the Greek ver. 51) or xvi. 31; see what was said especially upon the latter passage. If the faith of Thomas was in any sense made matter of question, the πιστεύσαντες in the subsequent parallel clause would altogether fail to correspond; and Thomas, whom we may suppose happy in his faith though not expressly pronounced blessed by the Lord, would after all, contrary to the gracious character of the whole manifestation, and as if that manifestation had altogether failed of its gracious object, be sharply rebuked and rigidly condemned to the last. Such doubt thrown by our Lord upon the genuineness and purity of the faith which uttered its exclamation in ver. 28, must so to speak have plunged him again into new and deeper doubt—and the Lord's immeasurable grace would have been utterly in vain! Who that thinks it out can conceive this to have been so? O no, but, as Lange says, "Jesus acknowledged the truth of his faith, and thereby the blessedness of his believing is also expressed." Thou *believest*—that remains true and firm, although with it there is blended a gentle reproof still—because thou hast *seen* Me:¹ The *seeing*, the seeing *Himself*, is all that the Lord refers to; He says nothing further about the touching with finger and hand, as Thomas himself wanted nothing more of that kind. One might be wellnigh tempted to receive this as a keen and almost reproachful *oxymoron*:—Is it actually *believing*, if one is convinced by *seeing*? But such severity of allusion would pass beyond the truth; the Lord knew better, and testifies even

¹ The personal address with *Θαυμά* (which is wanting also in ver. 27, when it would have been more in place) is hardly genuine, and Griesbach rejected it. It would in this passage mark too emphatically his being one example, whereas he represented a class.

by this that seeing still leaves room for believing. We have only to remember that even the other ten Apostles (as they themselves admitted by their "we have seen," ver. 25) believed after they had seen, thus taking no higher place than Thomas,¹ in order to understand that the Lord certainly does not hereby deny to them all the reality of their believing. There are here gradations of feeling and position, which, while they are referred to by like expressions, must be carefully distinguished. When the daring mockers under the cross, Mark xv. 32, would see in order to believe, their case is quite different; for they are altogether ignorant what believing is, while they thus speak, and no seeing would have brought them to faith. When the Lord, John iv. 48, condemns the Galilæans who must see signs and wonders before they would believe, He nevertheless recognises by this word the faith itself which would follow and which would receive those miracles as *signs*: moreover our Evangelist tells us presently afterwards in ver. 31 that the signs are designed to assist the faith of all, even as merely recorded. Finally, in the first creation and establishment of the faith in the Divine-human miraculous person of the Lord Jesus, which was itself the wonder of all wonders, in the resurrection and exaltation of Him who had been crucified in disgrace, the *seeing* was indispensable to all, especially to the Apostles whose testimony concerning their having seen Him was in future to be believed by others:—first, the seeing of His glory in His previous life full of the works of God (hence John vi. 40); and then the bodily seeing of the Risen Jesus. The Lord is consequently very far from singling out Thomas for blame in the first clause of ver. 29 (the addition of "Thomas" has sprung from such a misconception); He includes him with the rest, with all those who *hitherto* had been able to believe only in consequence of seeing; the special hardness of his character is merged into the common attributes of that class in opposition to which our Lord now places an entirely different class, composed of those who in future would believe through the word and the Spirit (ch. xvii. 20). And it will appear significant that He does not praise and bless this believing confessor, and all the others with him, as He had

¹ They were superior to Thomas in nothing but that they believed earlier, because they earlier saw the Lord. Niemeyer.

once pronounced Simon, the son of Jona, blessed, whose faith in a lower stage had attained the word of his confession—Thou art the Son of God! from the word and life of Jesus. For the Lord now looks much higher, and looks far beyond! For the present, all those who still needed the evidence of sight must be reminded of their own weakness and hardness of heart, in order that they might all the more humbly look forward to the future faith of many in the word of their mission.

But now there is an altogether new *pronunciation of blessing* for the new and great futurity! A final benediction, sealing the first with which the Sermon on the Mount had commenced; one that embraces all that was there set forth as the individual conditions of blessing, in that one principle, which was even there presupposed in them all—Blessed are *those who believe!* A sentence this which remarkably returns to that first testimony of the Spirit at the commencement of the New Testament, that word of Elizabeth to Mary, through whose faith alone, as prepared from the Old Testament, Christ could be born—*Μακαρία ἡ πιστεύουσα!* But *what* then is the spirit and substance of the faith here pronounced blessed and magnified at the close of St John's gospel? What but the person of the Lord, our Lord and our God, in whom all revelations of God addressed to our faith are blended and consummated into one? And that too His manifestation *in the flesh*, in the flesh of true humanity, which, even in the resurrection and glorification of this personal life, is and abides a real and tangible body. It is consequently by nothing but the most wilful and blind perversion of this passage, in which the historical corporeal person of Jesus is so distinctively presented to faith, that Baur can make St John testify here, "that a faith resting simply upon *externals* must bring its own confusion after it, for all this seeing and touching demonstrated nothing; and therefore that St John quotes the Lord's word concerning *not seeing* in order to bring back his readers' thoughts to the faith in the *λόγος σαρκος* with which he began his gospel!" This miserable folly has been already amply refuted by others. As if the former clause had not established the *seeing* as firmly as the faith which was to spring from it alone, in order thereby to proceed to *faith* in the Risen Lord who had been *seen!*

It is well known that other and still more malicious mockers in Christendom have in another way perverted this sublime saying—Blessed are they who not seeing will believe! commending in their ridicule all unreasonable credulity in earthly things, and placing on the same level a supposed irrational faith in the word of God. But it may be remarked that this saying was by no means given as a rule for earthly things, in which there may be every prudent inquiry before faith; but for the kingdom of God, and Divine things, and the way of salvation. There is indeed a certain undeniable truth in its application even to the lower domain of earthly life; for how would a man fare on the principle that he would believe nothing which he saw not with his eyes? But its essential meaning refers to the supersensible world. And in this the saying is so universally true, that it actually includes (as we shall see on a nearer contemplation of its meaning) in some degree those also who are believers through seeing, and speaks of the universal and most internal nature of all true *faith*. Therefore the Lord does not speak of “those who see not Me and yet believe in Me;” but He continues the general *πιστορευκας* in a yet more general form. Hence the Aorist form (signifying “wont”) of both these verbs, as Lücke rightly mentions, in order to embrace the *past* under the comprehending rule: Blessed are all who have not seen and yet have been believing.¹ But these are not at first opposed merely to Thomas, but to all who have seen Jesus in order to faith; then again those who see are themselves, in as far as they actually at last *believe*, embraced under the same rule. For, according to Heb. xi. 1, a not seeing belongs to the nature of all true faith, where the *seeing* stands for the testimony of sensible experience generally² (as above, ver. 27). If this has always held good, it has its fullest truth in the New-Testament economy, which begins with the

¹ Luthardt thinks it needless to resort to this “improved meaning of habit and wont,” and says that they are viewed as such as *have* not seen and yet *have* believed! There is no essential difference: but my view, which is grammatically defensible, lays more stress upon the universal rule (even before Christ).

² In the Scripture *πιστων* stands, e.g., concerning hearing, Ex. xx. 18; Jer. ii. 31; concerning smelling, Gen. xxvii. 27—tasting, Ps. xxxiv. 9, etc.

withdrawal of the visible appearance of Jesus in the ascension, and continues to commit to the faith¹ which overcometh the world the contest with the whole mighty power of a world lying under God's patience in wickedness, yea, finally, clothed in antichristian strength. And during this period the believing have to cry more and more loudly—But now we *see not yet* that all things are put under our exalted Lord—though they themselves are subject to Him in the Thomas-word of faith! They even *see* too in the mirror of the word, and in history which accords with it, that it is Jesus, who through the suffering of death was crowned with glory and honour. (Heb. ii. 8, 9.)

And what is the *promise* connected with this last Benediction, beyond which nothing further is given even in Mar. xvi. 16? There is no specific expression of promise connected with it; for as believing includes everything, so all is already said in the *Blessed*. They go onward and believe towards eternal blessedness, when all will be fulfilled that has been spoken of by the Lord. But they have already in faith, and as far as they believe, the pledged and uttered *peace* of victory over the world; and this they retain and approve through the continuance of faith. The believer says: I know in *whom* I believe—whom and what I possess in my faith! Even his Lord Himself cannot declare to him in terms how and wherein he is so blessed; but he knows it by experience and utters it in the adoring, responding cry—Yea, Thou art My Lord and God, Thou makest me *blessed*!

This deeper view of the transcendent saying will help us to understand, and reply to, the questions which various exposition has endeavoured to solve—Whether they who believe because they have seen are not blessed, and how far those who have not seen are *more blessed*. It is *faith* which brings blessedness always and everywhere: that is most certain at the outset. In as far as those who saw retained not their privilege of seeing in continuance (as these Apostles only saw the Lord a short time, and then permanently believed) this seeing had only led them to faith, and thus they were happy: thus the second clause

¹ 1 John v. 4. It is a most profound selection which has made this pericope the Epistle for *Quasimodo* Sunday.

removes the contradiction which seems to be in the first, ascribing as it does a believing to him who sees.

He again who would believe only where, because, and as long as he sees,—would never have thus attained faith; but the Lord speaks of a *πεπλότευκας*—*having believed*—which is no other than the having become believing after the having seen. Moreover, as Lange says very truly on this question, even in the moment of external seeing every man must (like Thomas here, hence *γίνου πιστός*) “at last come to the leap of faith,” inasmuch as no man can ever behold the essential glory of Christ with the eyes, or handle it with hands. Is it therefore altogether without significance that the Lord pronounces His *Blessed* upon those alone who see not, thus as it were strongly contrasting them in this, almost as if with “but?” Fikenscher gives it this turn—They shall be equally happy with thyself in thy present faith; but that is manifestly against the feeling which must apprehend here at least a relative contrast. Niemeyer, on the other hand, makes a comparative out of the solemn *μακαρίοι*—“It is still more blessed, not to see and yet to believe”—as Grotius: They are to be preferred!¹ for which he groundlessly compares Lu. xi. 27. But this, so nakedly stated, does not correspond with the specific and delicate intimations of the whole. Certainly, an earlier and relatively greater blessedness was enjoyed by those Emmaus-disciples (the only men at that time who already, even beyond the Apostles, could now look beyond into the economy of the future) while their hearts were burning through only hearing the words of Scripture which were spoken to them. On the other hand, those who *will* see beforehand (like Thomas, and that is the warning of the first clause!) have *no* promise, and are not really yet before us as a type. It is grace *superabounding*, and having special regard to human infirmity, which leads these through seeing to faith, and makes them blessed: so Dräseke preaches, “was not Thomas very near forfeiting the blessedness of faith altogether?” Thus our Lord’s word declares the rule and order. “Thou, O Thomas, with all who like thee will require first to see Me, art an exception to the rule which has ever held

¹ So Nonnus: *καίνοι μᾶλλον ἔσσι μακαρτέροι, οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες μετίζονα πάντιν ἔχουσι, καὶ οὐ χατέουσιν ὅταν πῆς.*

good, and will be now more fully established : yea, so much as ye all become blessed in faith, it is not the result of your seeing, but of your believing." This prerogative of faith, as the law, is confirmed by the exception, which is partly a real exception, but partly only an apparent one.¹ Through faith alone is the salvation, peace, and blessedness of man restored.² But, on the other side, nothing is wanting to the blessedness of those believers who first required to see, if they hold fast and reach perfection in faith. "Not that those who first see and then believe are *less* blessed ; St Paul came thus to faith, but who was ever more blest in faith than he ?" (Lange.)

Richter's Family Bible suggestively requires us on these words to distinguish those who, 1, see and believe ; 2, who see not and yet believe ; 3, who see not and believe not ; 4, who see and do not believe. Let this be well pondered ! Not only is condemnation denounced upon those who even see and still do not believe (and on the contrary, exceptional grace provided for those whose seeing is alone wanting in order to their believing), but as a hidden contrast, 5, the *unblessed* are all those who at last will be obliged to see the Lord with terror, without being able for ever to believe in Him as a Saviour !

Further, a *future* seeing is not by any means denied to those who believe now without seeing ; rather (as St Peter has said, with plain allusion to this word, 1 Pet. i. 8) that seeing is held out as the goal and recompense of believing, and as consummate blessedness. *Through faith to sight*—is the scriptural law of progression. Therefore the desire to see, which is inseparable from the love and longing of faith, is neither forbidden nor in any degree blamed—provided only it remains within the limits of faith, and becomes not a condition of that faith. We may lawfully, with Augustine, wish to have seen Christ in the flesh. We may adopt the strain of the song with which Dräseke closes

¹ "Here one might say : How gladly would I believe and adore my Lord and my God if He showed me such love as He showed Thomas, and would appear to me in His own person ! *The Lord sees this from afar, and therefore provides for such a suggestion, by saying—Because thou, etc.*" So Val. Herberger.

² According to the well-known simile of Hess : If we are to be trained on the Island of Test, it must have no *bridge*.

his sermon, and envy Thomas' happiness which we would go a thousand miles to share; provided only we leave faith its high prerogative, and say with the same hymn, "If mine earthly eyes Thou bind, Thee my unbound heart shall find!" Yea, the heart can *feel after and find* Jesus (Acts xvii. 27); it can hear His voice in His word and Spirit, even taste His love and His life, when He invisibly comes in His ordinances, or breaks the bread to us in His supper. "Ah, Lord Jesus, Thy being near filleth my soul with joy; Thou canst make Thyself most surely felt, though Thou be not seen!" Nevertheless, our Lord's normal word concerning the pre-eminence of faith alone has an important meaning as a protest against all such Moravian feeling as too vehemently longs for the revelation of the "Prince with the bloody side" to the feelings of His people: for its meaning is as if it had further said—Blessed are they who feel not and yet believe!¹ Hence we do best to adopt the more temperate strains which hold fast the word of Christ in the Spirit of Christ, and say with Speratus: "Thus let the devout Christian study well the true lineaments of faith! Nothing more than—My blessed Lord, Thy death shall be my life!" *This is the true experience of the salvation which has come to us through the wounds of Jesus. Thus also we understand that the word to Thomas—a word for the commencement of the establishment of His kingdom—expresses, in connection with this specific example of the Lord's condescension to the demand to see and handle, nothing but the general truth that all the manifestations of the Forty Days were designed to form a transition to the believing without seeing at all.* This was said in express opposition to the notions of all the Apostles (John alone, it may be, excepted), who might have expected and hoped for a new form of seeing the glorified Lord abiding in His established kingdom. It pointed once more to the ascension and the descent of the Spirit, but gave also to Thomas with them, and to them all with Thomas, the *promise*:—Ye

¹ So Zinzendorf writes with reference to the seeing wished for: "Would we then see Him as John saw Him, when he fell down as a dead man? What would be the result, if every man who would hold communion with Christ every day fell as dead! We should have *convulsionaries* and no Church, a nest of enthusiasts."

shall find faith, the faith which bringeth salvation, *in the world*, when I send you into it!

The Evangelist himself expounds to us most fully in his concluding saying, vers. 30, 31,¹ the *last* great word with which as a word of our Lord's own he would include—the word *believe*:² for he testifies of the ground, the substance, and the power of the Christian's faith. On what basis is it grounded, or *why* do we believe? Not, because we have seen the Lord ourselves; that would not be pure faith; and although the first witnesses must see Him in order to the establishment of faith in them, it was not so meant as if that must necessarily continue. We receive the testimony of men, of these sincere though slowly believing Apostles, and receive therein the testimony of God. The history has become a *word*, even a *written* word. But all is not written; and that which is written is designedly, in order to leave room for *faith*, written “in such a form as to give occasion for manifold doubts to the understanding which inquires independently of the religious consciousness and sense of need” (Neander). In and in addition to this word the Living Lord Himself comes, though now unseen, in the water and in the blood of the Sacraments, but in all these with the testimony of His Spirit. Thus what is the *substance* of our faith, or *what* do we believe? Not anything in doctrine, dogma, or formula of truth, but *Himself personally*, to whom all the signs which go forth from Him point back—is the object and great matter of faith: thus Jesus—in His humanity the Christ who was the promised of the Old Testament and whose coming is its fulfilment, anointed by the Holy Ghost—in His Divinity the *Son of God*, who Himself is called and is God. Here again St John does not say *θεός*, as he has just recorded from Thomas' lips, but *ὁὐδὲ τοῦ θεοῦ*: for he well knew that the former ascription was appropriate only to the very highest moments of adoration, and that the giving absolute

¹ Where, according to our conviction, he includes the *τεκμήρια* of the Risen Lord among the *σημεῖα* generally; and thus makes the miraculous facts the basis of his whole gospel.

² “The last word of Christ, like the last word of the Evangelist, speaks not of *γινώσκειν*, but of *πιστεύειν*.” So Luthardt against the overvaluation of *γνώσις*, and against the progression of *πίστις* into *γνώσις* as the supposed tendency of St John's Gospel.

prominence to this *word* would lead to the jeopardising and the partial forgetfulness of the true humanity of Jesus. But we understand from ver. 28 how ver. 31 is to be interpreted. We must, like the Apostles, believe ourselves up to that knowledge; as it here, by a wonderful exception, breaks upon Thomas instantaneously with his new faith. He came down and became man that we going up *might find the Godhead in His humanity*. Even the Apostles did not find this until the last; the whole Church long struggled towards it, and our *knowledge* is still spelling out the word of Thomas—My Lord and My God! After a long period of onesided, partial, and unintelligent marvelling merely at the Divinity, it is now the great question rightly to understand the humanity of the Son of God, which has gone up to heaven glorified with the marks of His wounds. But now comes the great question—For what do we believe? what is the power and fruit of faith? That we may have *life—in His name!* The mere name indeed avails not before Him, and saves us not; but this name alone secures our life, when apprehended and invoked in faith. Many so-called believers are unbelieving, because their hearts say not in living truth—*My Lord and My God!* He who can in all earnestness say, Thou art mine with all Thy life and all Thy love! says also in the same word—I am Thine! He loveth Christ and liveth to Him. This is to live, and to have this life is to have Himself. We have it thenceforward in proportion as we believe; but the faith and the life are far from being at once perfect. It still remains written for testimony and exhortation—in order that ye may believe! Who is he that overcometh the world but he who believeth that Jesus is the Son of God? So conversely: Who fully *believeth* this but he who perfectly overcometh the world, within and without himself?

But in connection with the history of Thomas, this demand of *faith* becomes at the same time an exhortation to patience with those who believe not. See to it that *ye* believe! But know as it regards others that there are two kinds of unbelief, having the same ground indeed in the sinful nature of man, but only one of which has damnation for its issue. They whose office was to preach—He that believeth not shall be

damned! had been themselves again and again rebuked for their unbelief. And how many among the enemies of our Lord, to whom He showed not Himself, afterwards believed the preaching without having seen—some earlier, some later! Yea, a Saul persecutes the church of God; yet he is dealt with in the greatest compassion, so that he himself can term his unbelief an ignorance which was in some sense excused. Assuredly, when the Lord appears and speaks, no man can be guiltless who rejects Him. When He says: "Be not faithless, but believing!"—and does He not say this in His word loud enough to us all?—we learn that unbelief is essentially and internally a matter of the will at last. But there is a "not able" which in the estimate of mercy is clearly distinguished from that wicked "not willing"—though the line of distinction is not easily discerned by man. Our own experience teaches us how subtle is the intermingling of the two, and bids us confidently leave to the Searcher of hearts the final abandonment of the sinner—*Thou wouldst not!*¹ We must do the duty of our office, that for which He sends us: testify urgently, rebuke with authority, and threaten faithfully—but all with the prudence and patience of love, waiting to know what the Lord may finally do. Every Thomas within the Church, and every soul without it, has his hour—after eight days or years—and the last may be first. It is nowhere written that if Thomas or Saul should die before that hour, and pass into the other world as Thomas and Saul, the living Lord is not there the Lord of the dead even as He is here the Lord of the living.

¹ "Is Jesus and is His doctrine tolerant? Can the word, He that believeth not shall be damned—be reconciled with perfect patience? Passing by a thousand things which might be said upon this subject, Lu. x. 30, Jno. xiv. 1, and so on, let us dwell upon that which we have just read. One of the elected disciples of Jesus had heard His predictions, and had heard from ten to thirteen eye-witnesses declaring His resurrection, and yet swears—*Except I shall put my finger*, etc. This man eight days afterwards is met by his merciful Master with the words, *Reach hither*, etc. Now let any man say whether the question about our Lord's tolerance is not quite superfluous. Is not Thomas a pledge to all who like him are slow to believe that every severe word spoken to unbelief refers only to those who will not believe. As to this *not able* and *not willing*, God must judge." Pfenniger. Whence we may further see that the "retaining of sin" is not at once a *damnation* of the unbelieving and impenitent.

But as to thee, whom *the Lord's* words through the Spirit of testimony should penetrate and convince more effectually than any palpable evidence, whose rebuking appeal should touch your heart with more than the Emmaus-burning—*Be not faithless!* consult not with flesh and blood, make no tarrying to obey. For be assured that no man abides long in his present state: the unbelieving *becomes* ever *more* unbelieving even down to utter hardening. For him there is no throne of grace, where Thomas' benediction or Saul's conversion may be obtained.

THE EARLY MEAL AT THE SEA-SHORE.

(Jno. xxi. 5, 6, 10, 12.)

Among the *ten* Appearances of the Risen Lord which are certainly recorded in Scripture,¹ the *seventh* in itself, the *third* to the collective disciples, is now recorded by the same Evangelist John who has recorded *three* miracles of the Lord in Galilee and *three* in Judæa. For although we perceive in Jno. xx. 30, 31, an evident first conclusion of the Gospel, this does not prevent our holding the following chapter to be genuine, and most firmly regarding it as a necessary supplement to the whole. We know the objections of the critics, but we know also the refutations of these objections; and hope to increase and strengthen the latter by our exposition of the profound and self-asserting words of this final section. Its opponents and its defenders are, at least the most important of them, mentioned in Lücke and Guericke: the former have been recently reinforced by Schweizer, Wieseler, and Reuss, though with no new arguments of any force. All the manuscripts and versions have the chapter; Clemens and Origen refer to it; the accidental silence of Irenæus, in the writings which we possess, is no argument against it, as even Lücke, its most decided rejector, admits. No one in the whole

¹ That to James in part, 1 Cor. xv. 7, included. Whether there were two distinct appearances in Lu. xxiv. we must leave undecided, as we shall see.

Church doubted of its genuineness until Grotius ; ver. 25 alone is sometimes wanting, or marked as an addition. Even Credner admits that there is not the slightest external evidence against this chapter, and that it exhibits almost all the peculiarities of St John's style—a point which Guericke has lately established most fully. Indeed, its contents, as well as the manner of presenting them, have been appreciated in all their pathos by all modern preachers with one consent ; and the narrative of the former part of the chapter, with the discourses of the Lord which followed it, have been in a thousand forms applied, reproduced, and elaborated even into legends and poems. But, on the other hand, there have been opposite views as to the integrity of the chapter which we feel ourselves bound to allude to briefly, in order that every reader may be put in possession of the certain ground on which our faith in it rests.

Grotius with his first *arbitror* gave little other reason for his rejection than the superficial and premature argument from the conclusion with which ch. xx. ends. As in the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, so here *after St John's death* the postscript was added by the Ephesian church, and for the exclusive reason that it might refute the saying referred to in ver. 23 by the authentic word of the Lord concerning this disciple's remaining till He came. All else he violently explains as "added to show the time, place, and occasion of this oracular saying ;" save that he draws a similar hasty conclusion from the *οἶδαμεν* of ver. 24 that the whole chapter was drawn up by those who thus say "*we know.*" This first attack was of no great moment ; but G. Voss soon trode in his steps, and referred first to the Presbyter John, supposing that he in the name of the Church added the supplement which he had heard from the Apostle, or which had been privately written by him. Clericus followed, then Pfaff, and the long series of critical opponents, seeking with more and more boldness their arguments in the contents of the chapter, which they would not apprehend in the spirit of faith, but subjected to the licentious criticism of unhallowed minds. Paulus was the most notorious example of these : and his notion was that some well-meaning personage intended the postscript to show that the death of the Apostle before the coming of Christ ought not to occasion any doubt or unbelief. Lücke, finally,

who is the highest authority with many, entered the lists with his wonted confidence against this "strange composition" which sets forth "the strangest of all manifestations of the Lord," and declares with those who went before (though we see not why) that the authenticity of the whole chapter stands or falls with the genuineness and authority of the two last verses. But we are sorry to be obliged to say of a man so renowned and esteemed as this commentator, that with all his excellencies he was utterly deficient in perception of that which is specifically Johannæan in St John,—we mean the *symbolical-mystical element* of his gospel. He plainly reveals this want throughout the present chapter, and then much more glaringly throughout the entire Apocalypse. From one who can find here a "debased John," and a plain bias toward apocryphal hyperbole and adventure, we must turn away, and with a very different spirit and taste unite ourselves with the greatest part of Christendom.

The *subscription*, ver. 24, is a powerful argument against any invention of the narrative :—whether the Apostle himself speaks in the *οἱ δαμειν* (as he uses the plural in the Epistles, see especially 3 John 12), in the name of the apostolical company, as in chap. i. 14—*or*, as we ourselves prefer to interpret, the *Church* speaks. For, such a solemn attestation would not have been so early and so firmly attached to an invented or even a disfigured account ; and the Divine providence which watched over the canon could never have permitted such a deception to be appended to the greatest of all the gospels, or the whole early Church to remain in blindness concerning it ! And where are those plain reasons which are said absolutely to demand an assumption which would be based upon a far greater wonder than any attributed to the narrative ? To us, all appears perfectly consistent with the phraseology of St John ; the specific objections are easily refutable, as many very great names admit. Such defenders of the genuineness of the chapter as R. Simon, Michaelis, Eichhorn, and Wegscheider were not biassed by any dogmatic prejudice ; but on this point were perfectly sincere. The *specialissima* of the most minute circumstantialia are so plainly and simply exhibited, that even Lücke is once or twice constrained to say—This has the *semblance* of authenticity.

Why might not then St John have, after ch. xx. 30, written

in his book yet one more of the many *signs*?¹ We will not assume, because a conclusion now stands between, that "by accident certain things were moved out of their place, or that St John himself must be thought not to have accurately preserved the order of his gospel,"—but reject both suppositions, with Lampe. R. Simon spoke with confidence of St John's slender adherence to order—but I think that we may with equal confidence assert the contrary. Lücke says, indeed, that if St John had himself written the supplement, he would have more intelligently retracted the conclusion already written; but we have a very different notion of the intelligence of St John, and think that there may have been many reasons not lying on the surface which might induce him to add this chapter as a supplement, *after* the profound colloquy between Thomas and our Lord which presented itself to him as a glorious conclusion. We cannot agree with Hug, who ascribes the whole of ver. 24 to the Apostle, and makes it prove the prudence of St John, who took this method of obviating scruple concerning this appendage; for if the Evangelist wrote down what the Holy Spirit had suggested to him, we must suppose him to have been elevated above any such anxiety to repel, in any such manner at least, the attacks of future lying criticism upon his details. He knew well that his testimony would be received; but the Church, in its somewhat lower position and relations, appended this assurance of its own knowledge and faith. We cannot bring ourselves to think that St John took up his pen again at a later time *only* on account of his own and Peter's personality, to obviate a false depreciation of the denier and a false exaltation of the disciple who it was thought was not to die; for any *such* relative appreciation of the apostolical personalities² as it is the fashion to ascribe to this earliest period of the Church's history, was altogether beneath the sublime standing-point of St John's gospel, in which Christ's person, word,

¹ The reckoning, chap. xxi. 14, with the undoubted *#d*, is very plainly Johannsean (comp. chap. iv. 54), whether the little word means—this *present* miracle, or as better suiting chap. xx. 30—*now already the third time*. (Understand—Afterwards still oftener!)

² Quite otherwise than our Lord speaks in this same chapter of the persons of His witnesses and followers!

and life are all in all. The last chapter is in no sense, as B.-Crusius thinks, "a personal supplement, which would record something specific concerning John the Apostle, after the author had hitherto so studiously kept his own personality in the background;" for *this* author writes, down to the last, neither from nor concerning his own personality. Nor can we on this point agree with Weitzel, who thinks that the Apostle is brought by this glance over the histories of the Twelve to speak finally of himself as the last, and to give his final reference to himself as the reporter in this gospel. If his last word concerning John was the main point in this postscript, why is the whole preceding narrative so diffusely introduced?¹ Nor can we adopt the suggestion of Lampe, that this final chapter was added "that the authority of the Evangelist himself might be demonstrated." God did, indeed, order it so that this supplement evoked the witness of the Church in the subscription, ver. 24; but St John had not that in view, nor did the Spirit in him make that the main design! As he had begun with the *Λόγος*, so he cannot, either the first or the second time, conclude with himself; during the course of it he had more and more openly and plainly referred to himself as the writer. That was enough for him; this final conclusion cannot possibly refer to his person alone, for *Peter* has rather the prominent part in it, while he introduces himself modestly, ver. 2, only as one of the sons of Zebedee.

After all this, we are prepared to assent to the clear view of Lange, and proceed with it to the further development of our exposition. The chapter does not now record another manifestation which, in the same sense as those which had preceded, *should evoke faith*: hence the previous conclusion, which was not so much introduced by St John according to any particular plan of his own, as marked by the Lord Himself in His word to Thomas. The appearances *after* this first consummation of *faith* in the Apostles, even the most slow to believe, have in

¹ Or was Peter the chief personage in it? The Catholic Allioli asks, "How could the record of Christ's work upon earth better end than by the institution of His representative?—St Matthew ended with the institution of the church!" Bellarmine finds even in the first—I go a fishing! the pre-eminence of this ruler of the church. The sincere and unblinded eyes of Protestants need no argument against this.

themselves another meaning: St John has no designed plan according to which he introduces this explanatory supplement, but he only discloses by what he writes that which the history itself furnished in conformity with a higher plan and purpose than his own—as we have often had to maintain throughout his entire gospel. The first six Appearances of the Lord (two especially to the Apostles, two to the women, one in preparatory grace to Peter personally, and one pointing to faith in the word) had a predominant *backward* reference, and would say—*I was dead and am alive*; must I not have thus suffered, and thus enter into My glory? Enough was now done for this; and now comes more clearly forward another significance in them (a significance, indeed, which to us appears already involved in the former, and the background of all of them), to wit, as pointing forward to the *future*, to pledge and *foreshadow the future spiritual presence and working* of the Lord from the time of His ascension onwards to give directions and promises for the preaching of His disciples in order that men might believe. It is true that there is interpolated in the penultimate place the gracious conviction of James, as it were a second Thomas;¹ yet that which St John in chap. xxi., and the Synoptics at the close (Matt. ver. 18–20; Mark ver. 15–18; Lu. ver. 44–49) still record, points most assuredly (though in Luke with one more glance backwards) to the future of the called and consecrated witnesses. All declare unanimously—*I send you; go ye forth* (when the Spirit shall have come); *I am with you*; and co-operate with you! Thus we establish from the history itself that which Lange prefers to regard as St John's plan, and with reference to which he terms this supposed supplementary chapter an *Epilogue* corresponding to the *Prologue*: "The Prologue intended to exhibit the eternal life of Christ as it preceded His manifestation in the world; the Epilogue appears to have this for its scope, to exhibit *His spiritual sway in the world, as it would continue after His return to the Father.*"² This is indeed

¹ At least if we allow any truth to the displaced apocryphal narrative. St Paul distinguishes, 1 Cor. xv. 7, this brother of the Lord from all the Apostles; but, on the other hand, in ver. 5, he opposes to Cephas only the Twelve.

² In the third book Lange grows bolder, and terms the Prologue and

the great antithesis to that "institution of His *representatives*" which the Papists force upon the text, expounded assuredly in conformity with the Johannæan mind of Christ.¹ This of itself gives us the foundation for the *figurative* interpretation of the early meal on the shore; and this amply satisfies Lücke's demand at the close of his rejecting decision, showing us in reality the "peculiar transition of St John's representation into the region of universal ideas." Would that Lücke's eye had been capable of beholding this under the veil of the externalities of this chapter! Even in the colloquy with Peter we shall contemplate "the entering into individual relations as at the same time a prophetic-symbolical setting forth of such universal ideas."

And now for the details. But we cannot at once begin with the first word of Jesus, ver. 5. He showed *Himself*—this is at the outset a very significant description of the whole following narrative as pre-eminently testifying concerning the Lord Himself. First, in as far as the *ἐφανερώσεν ἑαυτὸν* has the same meaning as *ἐφάνη*, *ἐφανερώθη*, there is involved in it—not, indeed, the now habitual, natural invisibility of the *σῶμα ἀφθαρτον*, as only to be exhibited *διὰ συγκατάθεσιν* (according to Chrys., Euthym., Theoph.)—but the characteristic of these Appearances generally as dependent upon the will of Jesus. Then, there is truth in what Bengel says: "It has a grander tone than *ἐφάνη*:" that is, the *ἑαυτὸν*—He showed *Himself*—points to His inmost personality and operation; and thus the *φανεροῦν ἑαυτὸν* (certainly a Johannæan phrase, though not occurring literally, comp. also Mark xvi. 12, 14) is the complement and consummation of the *φανεροῦν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ*, ch.

Epilogue the two wings of the eagle. He tells all who would take away the twenty-first chapter that they will in the end find that it is *easier* to wrench off a wing from a dead lark than from a living eagle.

¹ So also Rudelbach: "John recorded the last and the first miracle of our Lord, and in both of them, with apparent insignificance of detail, there is the profoundest significance. In this manifestation there is the reflection of a higher world; no individual, isolated sign, but a figure and symbol of the almighty and gracious government of Jesus Christ in His Church to the end." So Luthardt speaks of the glance here opened into the future of the vocation and work of the church, etc.

ii. 11, concerning the signs given before the resurrection. The *ἐφ' ἑτέρωθεν δὲ οὐρα* emphatically points, as Luthardt observes, to the significance of all that is to follow. The locality was *on the sea*, for certainly *ἐπὶ* is thus to be understood. What a contrast appears in this record, that they who had received the mission of ch. xx. 21-23 are now once more occupied with their nets! But it is perfectly natural; could it well be otherwise, as soon as they returned back to Galilee, according to the Lord's appointment? In fact this time must be spent, as Dräseke says, "in arranging their earthly affairs, and closing with the world;¹ but to do that they must for a short time return to it." Let us try to set plainly before our minds their position and state. It was certain to them that they must not as yet preach openly; though in perfect seclusion they might carry the resurrection tidings to many of the Galilæan disciples. Then they must wait upon events which would bring about the final development.² Christ had promised a manifestation in *Galilee*. He leaves them long waiting for this, as was necessary and salutary for them; and in this deep silence they had enough to do to arrange and firmly to establish the revolution which the resurrection had as it were effected in all their notions, feelings, and hopes. We can hardly think that after the lapse of another *eight days* the Lord appeared: if so St John would have stated it, as in ch. xx. 26, instead of saying only "after these things." The sacred narrative gives reason to assume an interval of more than eight days; although it would be most probably on another Sunday. He seeks them again in the scene of His acts and discourses, in the place of His most dear resort: "on that sea where everything reminded them immediately of Jesus; the smiling bank of which, and even its dark waves, had borne His holy footsteps." (Jakobi.) In confidential fellowship *together*:³ that is, probably in a house

¹ For it is not true—at least with regard to Peter—that they had given up their property and occupation on their first calling.

² For if nothing further had occurred, they might have gone back to their nets for ever.

³ *Ὁμοῦ*—which St John only of the Evangelists uses (see ch. iv. 36, xx. 4); it occurs again through the entire N. T. only in Acts ii. 1, xx. 18, among various readings.

at Capernaum, Bethsaida, or wherever else there might be *seven* disciples. It might have been on the bank itself, "half by concert, half accidentally" (as Pfenninger says) they were together; certainly they were habitually as much together as circumstances would allow. We cannot tell whether (as Lightfoot thinks) the two unnamed disciples were Andrew and Philip (who indeed seem necessarily connected with Peter and Nathanael), or two of the Seventy, belonging to the number of the Galilaean disciples. That St John does not mention their names is no proof that they were not Apostles; there may have been other reasons for the silence; and it certainly shows that the persons of the disciples themselves were not especially concerned in the history. The absent ones were, it may be, arranging their affairs elsewhere. But the manner in which the five names are introduced is remarkable. The highly favoured doubter Thomas comes forward by the side of Peter (now and ever the first); thus the two who had had severally such peculiar experiences are united lovingly together. To them is added Nathanael, who had been from the beginning without guile; whose home in Cana would suggest the first miracle. Finally, here and here only John mentions himself with his brother as *sons of Zebedee*; and, instead of condemning this by a very external criticism as un-Johannæan, we should observe that he thereby marks out *the fishers*, and reminds the reader of the already known synoptical account of Lu. v. 10.

We suppose that on the *Sabbath* they had been assembled till evening for pious conversation; and therefore that the morning of this manifestation was a *Sunday morning*. Peter would go a fishing; and the others are ready to go with him. Certainly not to pass the time away; as Klee, too readily following the Fathers, says, after Chrys. and Euthym.;—¹ and even still stronger, "out of weariness."² They have to provide for their sustenance; they must eat, and sell for their necessities; and Euthym. needed not to be anxious about the *φειλοκερδῶς*. But the main point is this: the narrative exhibits them

¹ The latter: "Having nothing to do, they would fish."

² According to Gossner Peter had thought and said: "The Lord has been so long without showing Himself, who knows what will come? I will betake myself to my calling." But such unbelief has no longer place

to us as actively engaged, thoughtful, and without any fanaticism or enthusiasm (as, in a sense, afterwards when they gazed into heaven, Acts. i. 11), applying to the business of their earthly relations. And *in this* is symbolically reflected the future; for this going to fish, as Rieger remarks, “comes under that farewell word of Jesus—Now, let him who has a purse take it.” Peter—“the beginner of the great Fishing”—only announces what was his own purpose, and the others are ready in their fellowship: *καὶ ἡμεῖς σὺν σοί*—the subsequent *εὐθὺς*, if genuine, only confirms their alert readiness for their business. Thus would the Lord find all His disciples, when He visits them!

In the evening they set out on their fishing, according to the custom of the craft; and *this* night they catch nothing. May we not almost confidently assume that they thought of that other night in Lu. v. 5? “Then when He called us first it was just so!” They remembered that occasion, and so was it intended. Pfenninger describes the fishermen as having come gradually through the fruitlessness of their labour back to the *spirit of their craft*; and that Nathanael, Thomas, and Philip began the *impatience* which then spread among and mastered the others:—but this is much too human for the Apostles *after* the resurrection. No, it was not thus that the Lord (who was the cause of their want of success) *prepared* them for His appearance; the penetrating Pfenninger goes unusually astray when he says: “Their souls lost all noble sentiment, weariness and vacuity took possession of their hearts, such as they had not known for years; the fishermen were absorbed in their fishing, and the others longing for the land, like the commonest souls!” The Evangelist records nothing of weariness or dejection of mind or degradation of spirit. He does not indeed mention reminiscences of their Lord, and converse about their expectations of Him; but only because all that was to be understood of itself. The Lord would thus connect His new revelation with that earthly business from which He had called them away; and at this final mission bring to mind that first call, when their fishing gave Him the significant figure:—see our observations in the first volume. Pfenninger’s remark on this is better; he makes Andrew say when they set out—“And we

must not forget that we are to be fishers of men!" His manifestation of Himself in connection with their fishing engagement put a conclusive end to the earthly and past of their history, by bringing it into direct comparison with their future and heavenly employment; and thus He most graciously *stilled* all the yet remaining hesitation and fear of their thoughts and feelings. This is the inmost characteristic of this Appearance, over which therefore there is diffused an inexpressible glow of profoundest peace, in the meeting of heaven and earth; and as far as this goes it is the luminous point of the Forty Days. The Lord "gives His final benediction to their earthly employment" (as Lange says); and this may pass as included, though not as the only meaning. Lange points out three critical points; the two latter being the re-establishment of Peter, and the glance forward into the Future of the Church through the future of Peter and John. But the first part of the narrative also has to do with the future; as being both an institution and a revelation.

The night is past—and *Jesus stood on the shore*.¹ But they know Him not, even when He spoke His first words, although they were only two hundred cubits from the land. This was not owing to the still remaining gloom, nor to the mist which lay on the sea; but their misapprehension was similar to that of Lu. xxiv. 16: it was not His *will* to be at once recognised. When they afterwards understood it, this beginning of His manifestation would appeal to them,—Thus am I every day with you, though unseen! After every night, when it is morning and the day breaks, He is found to be there, He stands on the shore on the other side of the sea on which we are sailing and living—but He speaks with us. Even Grotius thus allegorises, "signifying that He through His resurrection was already on land, while they were still upon the sea;" and gives us a hint not to be despised, which points to that distant futurity with which this typical meal corresponds, "so that He would not go upon the sea after the resurrection; comp. Rev. xxi. 1." At least it is a significant circumstance that He does

¹ He did not "travel" out of Galilee—that is in the *ιστην*. 'Επ' instead of *εἰς*, which marks the drawing near, is an unnecessary conjecture: see ch. xx. 19.

not now, as before, come to them in the night. Who could imagine a manifestation of the Risen Lord in the night, and upon the sea?

The disciples mark nothing, when the man upon the shore cried—*Children, have ye anything to eat?* It was nothing new that one should buy from them; and it only appeared that an early traveller wanted his early meal, and was waiting for the landing of the fishing-boat which he had seen. Προσφάγιον, the accompaniment of bread (Attic ὄψιον and προσόψημα), means of course, as spoken to fishermen, *fishes*, which might be prepared as ὀψάριον, ver. 9; but the Lord designedly uses the more general expression, which almost sounds like βρώσιμον, Luke xxiv. 41.¹ He speaks familiarly as it were (absit blasphemia verbo), to His still earthly brethren, when He alludes to that first scene in which He ate before them; and therefore He calls them παῖδια, for these appointed ambassadors of His kingdom are to Him who was conversant already with higher regions, like little children. But this παῖδια is designedly not the same as the τέκνα of ch. xiii. 33, or the τέκνα of Mark x. 24; but so expressed that it might be understood as the ordinary address of a stranger (to labouring men, as Euthym. says)—possibly also with a similarity which would remind them of Jesus, as Luthardt almost too precisely finds.² Hence in this place the use of the word (which, however, according to 1 Jno. ii. 13, 18, is not by any means foreign to St John's style). The disciples still mark nothing. The question with μή does not presuppose a negative answer (as we have seen before), which would give it thus—Is it not so, that ye have caught nothing? I will advise and help you! It sounds like mockery in the ears of the disciples that one should ask them in the morning for the produce of their fishing as a matter of course; but they will not complain—Alas, none; we have toiled all night for nothing, and are returning empty:—they answer characteristically, with as

¹ Hence the Pesch. מִדְּמָה לִלְבָּשׁ—the Vulg., on the contrary, the quite corresponding *pulmentarium* (like *pulmentum*). Whether προσφάγιον meant fish specially in ordinary speech, is a question.

² It is very questionable whether the Lord spoke this in Greek; in such delicacies of expression the great point is to catch the exact meaning of the Apostle, who gives the authentic sense.

much brevity as possible, an abrupt and bare *No*. Now probably they felt somewhat of a sense of vexation and weariness, in the awakened consciousness of their absolute poverty. And *that* the Lord would elicit, in order to the full significance of the whole scene. It was not, as Lange thinks, looking back only to the past, that they were once more to experience the night side of their employment and "find out that they were ruined for the fishermen's craft;" but the Lord who so ordered it will extract from all, especially from the fishers of men, the confession of their need before He gives His abundant blessing. This *No* (we have nothing, notwithstanding all our pains!) must first be confessed and declared.

The *second* word, almost like Lu. v. 4 (only they are not now to go out to the deep, but to cast the net at once, and that specifically, according to their direction, on the right side)—brings more strongly to their *remembrance* that former sign, of which they must certainly have thought during the night. Will the disciples observe or suspect *now* Who the man upon the shore is? It is easy enough for us who know to speak; but we should hardly perhaps have apprehended at once the unwonted and so condescending form which His manifestation assumed. It was praiseworthy in them that they could without delay or contradiction follow the counsel of a good adviser, or more skilful fisherman, and—although they had already thrown their nets both to the right and the left with all industry—yet be ready to throw them once more on the moment. Such is the true character of Christ's disciples, as He seeks to find them. The old man is almost dead within them already. Even if we say with Lampe, concerning this docility, "the power of the Lord was bending their minds," the matter remains the same. Their susceptibility for such influence exerted by the Lord under another form is the good thing in them. "Does not the Lord often use a voice which we do not at once know?" (Dräseke.)

Scarcely is it thrown out, when they cannot draw it in again through the multitude of the fishes; and the simple "ye shall find" has its superabundant accomplishment. Then finally does *John* mark—It is the Lord! The tenderest love has the first and surest instinct of the object beloved. It is not that he *sees*

with younger and keener eyes, or anything of that kind;¹ he already had a presentiment when the *βάλετε* "cast ye" was uttered, but now the wonderful blessing makes him sure, and he keeps silence no longer. Let him whose privilege it is to be first conscious of the Lord's so near neighbourhood, tell it to others in the true ministry of love! But let him tell it in the wisdom and tenderness of love to the right person, to him that is nearest. This was on the present occasion *Peter*, who is standing here once more in confidential nearness to John; to whom the beloved disciple still leaves his place of pre-eminence, after the denial has been forgiven; who as the first of the Apostles and the head of this fishing company ought to have been the first to observe; and who was most concerned in this remembrancer of the former vocation to be fishers of men, preparatory to his own restoration. This Peter is once more the first to act, as John had been the first to discern and know, the same as ever; yet not the same as when he cried—Depart from me, for I am a sinful man! He is not "precipitate," as if his act was blameworthy; but his fervent love to Him who had already forgiven his denial cannot wait until the ship can take them to the Lord; it is not *over* the waves, nor wading through them, but, as "casting himself into" can alone mean, he swam first toward the shore. Nevertheless, we must observe (with Dräseke) "the *reverence* which observes, even at such a moment of excited feeling, the petty proprieties of clothing."² And the *collectedness* of his excitement is observable—as proof of advancement in the spirit of Simon Peter. Still as in Matt. xiv. 28 he will and must be the first to reach the Lord; but all superfluity of curiosity is gone.

Among the other disciples (although John may have spoken softly to Peter) no man any longer doubts who the giver of

¹ Weitzel refers this to the general typical meaning of the whole: John is the thoughtful and penetrating eye, the light of the circle of disciples—Peter, the working and strong arm.

² Ἐπειδύτης, in the Sept. twice for ἔπειτα (where Symm. and Aquila have *εἰπὺνμα*, and which passed into the Heb. *הַיָּמָה*, is according to Suidas τὸ ὑπεράνω ἱμάτιον, as the word shows, possibly a fishing-frock (Nonnus: *πόρτιον ἀμφίβλημα*), such as was seen by Niebuhr (Reisebesch. i. S. 254 and Tafel 56). He was *naked*; that is, without an over-garment, and the *girding* of the garment, to be let down again on the land, was for the sake of swimming.

the great draught of fishes is.¹ But they can wait with John; they are not all like Peter. That they are all so calm and collected in the matter is proof of *their* advancement also, as Braune observes (though doing injustice to Peter). The net of benediction, which Peter had altogether forgotten in his zeal for the Giver, must however be preserved and brought to land; it was not far, and they came *soon*, which the parenthesis, ver. 8, with its *γὰρ* means to intimate. There is a *σύψεν* of their united power now, the *ἐλάλει* of ver. 6 was no longer enough. "It is *the Lord!*" That fills all with joy and peace—had they been able to say the same at the sepulchre and under the cross! Let it be noted that it is *the Lord* from now forwards; no longer *Master*, which Magdalene the first and last time uttered. *The Lord*—not my Lord, not our Lord—thus alone was it fit to say after the word of Thomas.

Well were it if the expositors would answer the question, who placed there the coals and the fish thereon and the bread, by the simple word of John—*It is the Lord!* But Chrysos. and Euthym. began by speaking definitely of a creation out of nothing—which Olshausen too sharply calls "adventurous;" on the other hand, we are told now-a-days that the fire had been made by other fishermen, the food left on it, and Jesus and His disciples came just at the right time to the place! Our excellent Lange (this time prosaically enough) says that it was easy enough for our Lord to make such provision on the banks of this sea, where a thousand fishers' hearts glowed at the sound of His name. Let those who can content themselves with thinking that Jesus revealed Himself first to some other of His fisher-dependents that they might prepare this fire and this food, and then depart again. Or did Peter at the Lord's request swiftly prepare it all, before the others (two hundred cubits off) came to land—or even the Lord Himself in the ordinary manner? Had Peter been so employed, the narrative otherwise so exact would have mentioned it; but whence without a miracle could

¹ Not as Jakobi preaches: "The other disciples, cool and slow, seem yet to doubt; they regard the draught as the result of following good counsel. Even when they saw the coals, with fish and bread, they might still doubt whether John was right. But when He said—Come and dine! they knew Him and asked no more." We shall otherwise understand ver. 12.

the Lord have so early procured fish and bread? If we must add anything to the simplicity of John's "they see," we would confidently say that the ministering angels provided the coal fire and its appendages—for they must be regarded as always ready for the service of Jesus. (So Nicephorus Hist. Eccl. i. 35.) Lampe's protest is both needless and incorrect, when he says—No, it was provided miraculously by the Lord Himself! As if it were not more decorous to introduce the service of the ever-ready angels! Whether and to what extent *creation from nothing* enters into the question, thus viewed, we know not, and must refrain from all idle curiosity. Better is it to fall back upon practical exposition, and say that the Lord cares not only for the great but also for the little things. To spread a table for His children after the toil of the night, according to the wont of His former Galilæan benevolence; to testify to them, by anticipating as of old their wants, that He can and that He will provide for their earthly necessities; and thus to symbolise, by a little circumstance, a very great one—all this is not beneath the thought of Jesus! For, certainly, it was not Himself, who needed food no longer, whom the angels had thus provided for (as it may be formerly in the desert); His eating is not mentioned throughout the narrative.

Ὀψάριον was explained by Grotius to be a "word of a singular form with a plural signification;" and most take it collectively. That may indeed be right, and Luther so translates it; yet we find in ver. 13 τὸν ἄρτον and τὸ Ὀψάριον together, and in ver. 10 the Plural ἀπὸ τῶν Ὀψαρίων, and moreover in ch. vi. 9 δύο Ὀψάρια.¹ Consequently, it must not be said that in ver. 13 the

¹ *Ὀψον*, originally prepared food, came to be used especially of fishes, according to Athenæus (Deipnos. vii. p. 276. sect. 4): ἐξενίκησεν ὁ ἰχθύς διὰ τὴν ἐξαιρετικὴν ἰδιότητα μόνος οὕτως καλεῖσθαι. Hence Numb. xi. 22, Sept. πᾶν τὸ ὄψος τῆς θαλάσσης. And ὀψοφαγίην or ὀψοφάγος was applied to lovers of fish. Athen. ix. 385, 386 plainly admits that the sing. and the plur. were differently applied. Phavor. is very decisive: "They afterwards limited the word (ὄψος) to fish alone—whence also Ὀψάριον." Suidas: Ὀψάριον, ἰχθύδιον. (Nonnus gives on our passage only ἰχθύς, although incorrectly afterwards, ver. 13, περιμήκετον.) This makes it plain that according to St John's phraseology our Lord terms even the great fishes Ὀψάρια, like that which lay upon the ἀνθρακιᾷ, just as in Matt. xv. 34 (comp. Mar. viii. 7) the disciples said only ἰχθύδια.

article simply serves to refer back. (Luthardt.) The fishes taken by the disciples were nothing but great ones; not so that which was already there, since *ὀψάριον* is first used concerning it. We doubt whether the disciples were required to bring forward their fishes in order that by comparison they might assure themselves of the equal reality of the miraculous provision;¹ for such an inquiry would never enter their thoughts, or both provisions would be to them equally miraculous. The Lord's word in ver. 10 has in the symbolism of the whole no other meaning than to typify the fellowship with Him in work and enjoyment upon which they were now to enter. When He now (for so may we almost think!) requites to them their recent entertainment, He speaks condescendingly of the gift which had come from His own hand as if it was their own—which *ye* have taken—and permits them to *add their part*. But, again, inasmuch as that word would suffice to show His meaning, and it would have been contrary to propriety that they should prepare the food in the Lord's presence in order that they might eat, He does not wait for that, but (as Gerhard, Bengel, and others rightly maintain) He satisfies His guests as their Host with the one loaf and the little fish. This is plainly intimated by the *τὸ ὀψάριον* ver. 13 as in ver. 9. Thus they do not partake of this feast of love with "their combined provisions" (as Roos says); nor does the Lord eat with them this double-meal (His own and theirs?), as Luthardt strangely says, assuming that their fishes were prepared also on the fire. That Peter should vigorously obey the Lord's "bring hither," is as characteristic as his previous conduct. As the master of the ship, and the leader of the little company, he now brings, of course with the assistance of all the rest, the draught of benediction to land.

And the graciously condescending Host invites them at once — *Come, and dine, ἀπιστήσατε.*² Bengel translates this of the

¹ Bengel: "Thus the disciples perceived that that fish was as really such as those which they brought."

² Athenæus (Deipnos. I. p. 11. Sect. 19) points out in Homer two passages which mention the *ἀριστον* as *ἀκράτισμα*: the former (erroneously quoted in Grotius), *ἐν τὴν οὐτόν ἀριστον ἄμ' ἡοί, καί μιν κῦρ* (Odys. xvi. ver. 2), and the other in the Iliad. He goes on to establish the meaning as *πρωτὸν ἡμεβρυμα* (as Appollonius also explains it), by quotations in which *ἀκραιζέσθαι* is parallel with *ἀριστᾶν*.

"mid-day meal," and in the Gnomon deduces from it that the manifestation had continued many hours since ver. 1: but that is not in the record. For although the phraseology had become indefinite (hence Sept. ἀριστᾶν simply for eating, strengthening one's self רעב 1 Kings xiii. 7)—yet Lücke is right in insisting upon the original signification of ἀριστᾶν and ἀριστον as the early meal, and the whole historical connection is in favour of that interpretation. V. Gerlach supposes that there was "something mysterious" in the form and appearance of the Lord in the eyes of those who are thus suddenly with Him;¹ but here in ver. 12 the Evangelist speaks of no doubting uncertainty,² he rather says decidedly "*knowing that it was the Lord.*" Either it was *reverence* which prevented them all from putting the question which in the joy of their supreme confidence sprang to their lips—Is it then actually Thyself? or ἐτόλμα may signify that no man was able to ask, being so fully convinced. Comp. Rom. v. 7. The question itself, which though it was presented to their minds was nevertheless suppressed, is reverently conceived—Who art Thou? instead of the urgent—Is it Thou, O Lord, who dost so condescendingly come to us this day?

Wherefore and to what end did the Lord thus act toward them? Without doubt there is a special significance in this, as in all the σημεῖα, and not only those which St John records; but especially, as we have already found, in the appearances of the Risen Lord. Maldonatus observes that the οὕτως ver. 1—*after this manner*—points at once to the mystery of the external procedure. First of all the Lord manifests His condescending love to His own in the most gracious aspect, by thus once more most affectionately entering into the reality of His former life with His disciples. Here is much more than the visit which Abraham received in Mamre! He abstains indeed—which might

¹ Hess speaks (though inappropriately) of a designed change in the voice or in the countenance during the several Appearances, as preparing for His invisible state; though this is strangely at variance with his general representation of the Risen Lord.

² Although Chrysos., Theoph., and others so understood it. Hence the Berl. Bible says, "We see how far the tendency to doubt may follow and molest men."

be needful to obviate misunderstanding—from Himself eating,¹ but He *comes* nevertheless at the last to place Himself by their side, to give them their sustenance, to afford them His society, just as of old. Hess carries this too far, however, when he imagines what is not in the text: “A joyous tone reigns over the whole, though not much is spoken during the meal.” So Reiger also is inexact: “There was no lack of profitable discourse at this repast.” And Dräseke: “How many precious words may have flowed from the lips of their Risen Master!” We think that nothing at all was spoken; ver. 12 implies that no man ventured to hazard a word; and the Lord kept silence also, that this feast might speak rightly for itself to all futurity.² In solemn silence, as vers. 12 and 13 describe, they eat what He gives them, though not for many minutes; they taste and see how gracious the Lord is, now altogether without amazement and terror; they might at last have forgotten that death and the resurrection lay betwixt Him and them, if in ver. 15 *solemn earnest* had not followed the *grace* of His dealing. Even if nothing more had been recorded than the fact of *such* a repast of the disciples in the presence of their condescending Lord, we could by no means put the dry question—*Is there nothing more?* Olshausen’s zeal carries him too far when he says that the narrative down to this point, if only externally considered, would have been “poor and meaningless;” for certainly the chief thing which it records is not a successful draught of fishes, but the most heart-touching and confidential approximation of the Risen Lord: and that is in itself nothing *external*. But it is most certain that this postscript of the *εὐαγγέλιον πνευματικόν* has a yet deeper significance. The second object of it, springing immediately from the first purely historical view, was the present-

¹ Many regard it as certain that He ate with them, but we must differ. He said only to them—“Dine;” and in ver. 13 “He gave to them,” does not mean that He shared with them! Hiller after Bengel says: “He serves even though glorified; yet shows the great difference there was between them, for He has no need to eat.”

² We may doubt, even, whether the *thanksgiving* for the benediction of the food (which Theod. Herac. forgets not to mention) is to be self-evident. The expression and solemn formula was not always and essentially requisite, when the spirit of the act was necessarily understood. Yet there may have been a prophetic reason for the omission.

ing a *type* of that nearness and fellowship to which the Lord would in future times condescend, in His invisible relations with His people. We must involuntarily ascribe such a significance to the Emmaus-narrative in St Luke; and can we not go so far with St John? But, thirdly, we hear in the narrative a specific promise to the disciples, and to us all, which has this force—Nothing shall ever be wanting to you in the service of the Lord! Specifically for their earthly need—I myself will and shall feed you, and take care of you! From the tender regard which at first, so to speak, provided at once for their morning refreshment after the labour of the night, before He said anything more to them, down to the abundant draught of fishes the produce of which would supply their need till they reached Jerusalem—what speaking prophecy and promise of *care*! Thus, as was appropriate and to be expected—though without this narrative it would be lacking—among the last manifestations of the grace of the Redeemer the whole *kingdom of nature* is embraced in, and made one with, the kingdom of *grace*. Or was not this necessary for these first disciples? Scarcely, indeed, were they at this time concerned about their temporal sustentation; but there came other and sterner times both for them and for believers following them, who are still comforted and encouraged by this meal at Tiberias. “Love to Jesus must arm us with contempt for all temporal things; but we must not press this truth so far as to think that neither good nor evil can accrue from the abundance or the withdrawal of earthly goods; else we should not feel the goodness of the liberality of God’s supply of our wants, and the lesson which the closing of His hand should teach would be lost.”

Nevertheless, when all this is admitted, we must as expositors ask—Is there nothing more? If this draught of fishes points back, and no one with a sound mind can deny it, to that of Lu. v., reminding them at the close of the beginning of their calling, the *promise* also to the *fishers of men* must be meant concerning another net than that which they used in their earthly calling, The “*singularis consensus*,” therefore, of the Fathers, as to this symbolical-prophetic meaning of the transaction, rests upon a good foundation.¹ If there have been many fanciful errors

¹ Weitzel’s remark is a good one, that, as the second half of this final

developed from the details, that does not impeach the correctness of our view of the whole. For instance, when Augustine refers the right side, on which the disciples were to cast the net, to the *elect*; ¹ gives his strange interpretation of the number *seven* of the disciples; and even finds in the broiled fish a symbol of Christ (*piscis assus Christus est passus*): we may leave all this to him. But we are willing to agree with him, not because he says it, but because it approves itself to our own mind, when he makes this draught of fishes, similar to the first, yet with so many differences, refer to the *final future of the kingdom*. That in the former the good and bad were taken together, while in this the good only, is not to be rejected, if it be profoundly interpreted; but that the Lord is not now in the ship but *on the shore*, that He expressly commands that the *net* be brought to land, that the net does not now break, and, finally, that the revelation of the *Risen Lord* of itself points to something beyond the former—all this is significant and most evidently true.² The *number* of the fishes, recorded with such striking precision, and which may be regarded as the reason of their counting,³ appears to us to shadow out some mystery. Apart from the marvellous interpretations which carry their own confutation with them,⁴ we cannot but think that it signifies the *number* which will be

chapter deals directly and specially with the destiny of the two chief disciples, so the first half points generally and indirectly to the discipleship as a whole, to the result of apostolical labour.

¹ Grotius, on the other hand, found in the abundant draught *near the shore*, where it was not to be expected, the blessing of the Apostles' preaching among the *heathen*. Weitzel sees in the fruitless toil of the night the first want of success among the Jews, in the casting the net on the *other side* the entering upon the mission to the Gentiles. All this we may leave undecided, though it is much more rational than de Wette's notion that the right side was mentioned as the *fortunate* one—according to popular superstition.

² See the passage in Olshausen, from Augustine.

³ Without the *ús* or *óusí*, which is usual in the reckoning of Scripture—even the three above the round sum not forgotten! Lücke speaks of the *hyperbolic* tone of this—but we have nothing to say to that.

⁴ The first and most celebrated was that of Jerome ad Ezech. cap. 47, that these were just so many species of fishes, as in Matt. xiii. 47, *ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς* (compared also by Bengel). The typical number of strangers in Israel, 2 Chron. ii. 17, has been referred to—and much else!

gathered in by the preaching of the Gospel, the *πλῆρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν*, Rom. xi. 25—a number known to the Lord, but not to be counted by us till the end. The net not breaking—a most evident note of distinction from the previous draught at their initiatory call (should not St John *on this account* record it?)—appears less a “presage of wonderful unity” for the whole Church’s history generally (Grotius), than as a prophecy, stretching forward to the future, of the last glorious *manifestation* of the net *nevertheless* not broken. Gossner: “That which men call the Lord’s net is alas much broken, but the Lord has His own net, which is not rent.” The former actual rending in its external manifestation was foreshadowed in Lu. v. 6; and it took place not because “men arbitrarily and by their own despotic will pull on the net, some to the right, some to the left”—it was so even in “apostolical hands,” according to 1 Cor. i. 11, xi. 19. But, “when Christ will be glorified in His glorious net, then at the second conversion of the Gentiles the net of the Church will be no longer broken.” Then, when the net will be drawn to the shore out of the sea of nations (Matt. xiii. 48)—the great Shepherd and Lord will be on that shore, waiting, receiving, entertaining; and the end will be a *feast* of most gracious fellowship with Him—but it will be the antitype of the Lord’s *supper* (*Abendmahl*), an *early-meal* (*Frühmahl*) of the great resurrection-morning which will be followed by a permanent eternal day of joy. (Rom. xi. 15.)¹ Not then the bread and wine as the body and blood of the Lord, but the *bread* of the renewed creation, prepared without seed-time, harvest, and making, will be the sanctified food of the righteous, no longer needing any special benediction for its sanctification; and in the bringing in of the great draught, the first fruits of which the Lord Himself had prepared as representing the whole, all the fishermen together and individually will spiritually enjoy the result of their toils with the joy of eternal life.

If this is regarded as too venturesome and farfetched, we will

¹ We do not mean this (as Luthardt’s objection misunderstands it) of the “time after death”—but of the historical concluding period of all prophetic perspective of the kingdom of God, the reference to which is surely appropriate here.

return back with the objector to the dawning and indistinct presentiment with which he would prefer to invest this typical meal on the shore of the *preaching-sea*. He must not, however, reject the history itself while dwelling on what it dimly shadows; he must not view it as a "little idyllic figure;" but must at least say with St John: *It is the Lord*—He must assuredly have *intended* something in this. Thus much, however, is clear to our view, that the Lord *begins anew*, in His ancient manner (Matt. xiii. 35) to speak in parable, to turn events into similitudes, and prophetically to pretypify the far-distant future. By this He not only demonstrated His abiding humanity, and its paternal, condescending power and love to bless;—but He points the first of His fishermen, in order that it might be recorded and transmitted to us, through this earthly type, to the great joy of His kingdom reserved for the end,¹ when all nature appears renewed around the pure produce of His great fishing, while He says—Come ye and feast!

RESTORATION OF PETER.

Jno. xxi. 15–22.

The immediate purport of this manifestation of our Lord—which in connection with its prophetic symbol pointed also far into the future—was a confirmation of the calling of the fishers of men, and a re-establishment of them all, in the persons of those who were present in their office—a more direct exhibition of ch. xx. 21. With this it is naturally connected that—according to the Lord's purpose from the beginning in this manifestation—He turns especially to Peter.² He receives after the figurative blessing the *word* of its interpretation, being still *as heretofore* the representative of all, and this involves in

¹ This draught of fishes was "not a special preparation" for any still remaining Jewish and impatient ideas about His kingdom.

² Although we may not say that all before ver. 18 (wherein the Evangelist sees the real *manifestation* itself) was related merely on account of what follows. It was no more *related*, than it *happened*, on that account.

itself the re-establishment of him who had fallen. But, in the next place, the words are spoken to him in a manner which points them directly to himself. The Lord had appeared to him in mercy already on the day of His resurrection; had recognised him in the two following appearances to the Apostles, including him in the general blessing; we cannot therefore suppose him to have been the subject of such profound sorrow as is sometimes attributed to him. Nevertheless, the deep impression made by the peculiar circumstances of his denial had not been effaced. We must, on the other hand, regard Peter therefore—for such deep heart-wounds are not soon healed—as retaining enough of that smitten feeling to prevent his experiencing his former joy in the Lord; and, on the other, we must remember that the offence which was given to all, and which corresponded with the public warning given before all, could be properly and fully forgiven only by a public word of reconciliation. Certainly it must have been Peter's *necessity* and *wish* that the Lord should refer to the matter before all and pronounce His forgiving peace—quite in opposition to that most unworthy notion which Niemeyer thus expressed: “He probably was *fearing* every moment that Jesus would speak to him about his fall, before the rest of the disciples!” Such a fear as that would have effectually prevented his receiving the consolation of grace, as it would have been inconsistent with true penitence in his soul. Thus it is the Lord's *love*, as we shall soon observe, which now turns thus to Peter, to do him favour; but the solemn earnestness of truth, ever inseparable from such love, completes in the presence of the most important of the disciples, who represented the whole, his perfect *re-establishment*; thus giving him opportunity to assume and exhibit a becoming humiliation, and to utter the amending confession. There was no proper *rebuke* uttered, for the matter was already forgiven; this asking about his love was at furthest a most gentle and affectionate reproof. But it was certainly a re-establishment of Peter after the fall which it thus touchingly brought to his remembrance; and was as solemn and formal as the denial had been.

It might be concluded, from vers. 19, 20 afterwards, that Jesus, leaving the others, walked along the shore in special

conversation with the two, Peter and John; but this is rather connected with the improbable supposition of certain omitted converse generally, and is almost excluded by the definite words of ver. 15—"When they had dined, He said." It is certain that Jesus after rising from the meal did not walk alone with these two along the bank; *all* must and ought to hear this conversation, for the reason just assigned. The matter had been already spoken of with Peter in secret; nor is the *πλείον* or *πλέον τούτων*¹—"than those"—in our Lord's question a reference to the rest of the disciples *at a distance*. If we try to throw ourselves into the circumstances of the case, nothing was more natural, after the manifestation of such confidential and condescending love on the part of Jesus, than that the general question should have been prepared for in the minds of all, as the opening of the conversation—Do ye not *all truly love Me*? Although this was not expressed, it is involved in the *πλείον τούτων*; and here we think we see the point of connection for the direct address to one of the number—*Lovest thou Me*? As Hess paraphrases: "Simon, son of Jona, thou seest that all love Me. Can I rely with equal—with more—confidence upon *thy* fidelity and love?" But that the Lord asks *three times*, as a remembrancer of the threefold denial which he had been so solemnly warned of, we shall not need to demonstrate; though there are not wanting expositors who strangely resist the clearest evidence of what lies before their eyes, and interpret it otherwise. De Wette's "*etwas spielend*," as if it were a mere passing allusion, is repugnant to every sound and heartfelt realisation of the whole.

*Simon Jona*²—as the Lord says "to Simon Peter (mark well!)"—was in no case "the usual manner in which the Lord addressed Peter" (Lücke). It was a return to that first word at the bestowment of his name of honour (ch. i. 43) which is not now indeed taken away from the forgiven disciple, but yet is placed intentionally in seeming question; so that, when he

¹ On the genuineness of which there is no contention, although it is wanting in a few manuscripts.

² The readings *Ἰωάννου*, *Ἰωάννου*—according to Erasmus also *Ἰωάννη*—ch. i. 43, and here (where Vulg. *Joannis*, yet also with the var. *Jona*) is of no significance for the matter in hand.

was thus addressed the second and the third time, he might naturally think—Is the name *Peter*, then, gone entirely? Comp. however, not merely Matt. xvi. 17 (where the “son of Jona” was named in suggestive parallel with “flesh and blood”), but in Lu. xxii. 31 especially the warning *Simon! Simon!* in order to perceive and understand the manifold remembrancers which this address would involve.¹ He would remind him of his entire past from birth upwards, of his natural humanity (just as afterwards in ver. 18), but especially of the lamentable fall which had originated in the Simon and not in the Peter. Nevertheless, in the gentlest tenderness there is no express mention of what was past and forgiven—only a *hint* of his earlier self-exaltation, as we shall presently hear. The first ἀγαπᾷς με—*lovest thou Me*—expresses only the tenderness of love which desires only to be loved, which prizes the return of love, and is satisfied with it, yea, asks for it not in doubt but with complacency. This gracious demand of his love, which honours Peter by the untroubled expression of the perfect love of his Lord, is not retracted, nor is that love withdrawn, when in the solemnity of earnest truth it is blended with the reproof of reconciling grace in the addition—*Lovest thou Me more than these?*

Πλεῖον τούτων (Vulg. *plus his*) is grammatically, and without the context, an ambiguous expression, inasmuch as τούτων may be referred either to the *objects which are loved* or the *subjects which love*; but the entire context, and especially that point of connection which has been referred to already, makes it evident that it must be understood as almost all Christendom has agreed to understand it (with the Pesh.):—*more than these, all My disciples and thy brethren, love Me.*² From the

¹ The address with Peter occurs indeed as if in irony, Lu. xxii. 34; but even as such presupposing the ordinary use of it. In the two passages in which, besides Lu. xxii. 31, *Simon* alone occurs, it is very significant (Matt. xvii. 25; Mark xiv. 37)—and not meaning the same as the full Simon Barjona.

² Lampe quotes from Bernard: *Amas me plus quam tua, plus quam tuos, plus quam te?* Whitby and Bolton after him have much worse interpreted—*Lovest thou Me more than these things?* (What a collocation!) That is, more than the fishes, and the fishing-apparatus, the nets, etc.: assuming that the disciples might have wished to go back to their fishing. This is

beginning, most expositors have seen in these words the gentle but sufficiently plain remembrancer of that self-exalting word of the disciple—And if all men should be offended, yet will not I! (Matt. xxvi. 33; Mark xiv. 29). Olshausen strangely follows a very few in denying this, and supposes the Lord here actually to admit that Peter in consequence of his spiritual pre-eminence in relation to power working externally—as if *love* consisted in *that*!—loved Him more *strongly* than all the others (*more* also than John?); and that this was the result or the cause of the Lord's making him the shepherd, although he may not be supposed to have said—No, I love Thee far less, for I was capable of denying Thee! If any of our readers think such an idea deserving of refutation, he will have found it already in what has been said as to the necessity for our Lord's once more publicly returning to the fact of the denial, and he will find it still further in the succeeding exposition. Lücke disputes this reference back to something unrecorded in St John's Gospel, and asks—Had the author of this chapter St Matthew's Gospel before him? We think that Jesus who thus spoke, according to the genuine record of the fourth Evangelist, very well knew the earlier words of Jesus; but the Spirit in the Evangelists reckons in many things, and in a sense everywhere, upon our own collating the several records. The thought, further, is not to be absolutely rejected, that this question as to a greater love than that of the others refers to the immediately preceding fact of Peter's springing first into the water, to come to Jesus. The distinct meaning of *τοῦτον*, as limited to those present, is in favour of this; as also the fact that afterwards in ver. 18 there is a similar allusion to what had just transpired, in the girding, etc.¹ Yet this is certainly only a concomitant meaning, and not (as Clericus supposed) the only one. Peter's swimming toward the Lord had just shown

not merely "improbable," as Hegel says coldly—or "almost ridiculous," as Lücke says more warmly—but is utterly irrational.

¹ Grotius, a little too strong: "*All things which our Lord here says have allusion (that is at the same time) to the facts which preceded;*" for in addition to the two things mentioned above he finds a reference of the *mandatum eximium apostolici muneris* to the circumstance *quod rete pertraxerat*.

that he now as formerly would anticipate the rest in his fervid zeal—after the most profound love of another had discerned the Lord. But there was nothing, on the present occasion, presumptuous or blameworthy in his act; and therefore the gentle reference to it, which might have been discerned in our Lord's words, was rather a mild softening of his vehemence; it was a recognition of the pure and the true in Peter's character, and in his "loving more,"—even at the same time that the expression of it is reproved and repelled, to such extent, that is, as this was merited. Then alone, when Peter would make himself faithful beyond the rest, in opposition to the warning of His Master, there lay in his comparison—I love thee *more*! a *false* strength, and something of taint in his love, such as Albertini thus preaches of: "Our many-formed and evil *self-love* is the alloy which debases the silver of our love." Thus the Lord would awaken the purer thought of Peter's mind, and fan within him the flame of his love, a love no longer now unreflecting and carnally measuring itself with others;¹ and therefore He asks him the well-understood question, gives him graciously the welcome opportunity to retract in pure simplicity his improper comparison, and to utter anew with purer confidence and joy his real and inward love. We heartily agree with Grotius here: "Wonderful is the wisdom of Christ, whose words are so ordered that Peter is satisfied after his threefold denial, and his colleagues are satisfied, over whom he had exalted himself: *and this example He gives for the discipline of His Church.*" An example this which has been too often neglected by the stern and unrelenting disciplinary enactments of the Church, which, making no difference, have often kept penitent Peters far too long waiting for the absolution of love.

The *answer* of the Apostle is in its kind as noteworthy as the Lord's question, and exhibits him to us now, as it exhibited him to the disciples then, in the most beautiful light of his new nature created by grace. It is impossible for any man to object anything to his perfect re-establishment, or to regard it for an instant as opposed by the strictest laws of the kingdom of grace. We may almost adopt Albertini's words: "Doubtless Peter

¹ Theodor. Heracl. well expresses it: "To raise him out of the dejection resulting from his denial, and inflame his love by the same means."

now loved the Lord more than all the rest, for he had more, much more, forgiven"—although the rule of Luke vii. 47 (like every rule, not without its exceptions) might be regarded as holding good rather on the side of the less loving, and moreover must not be applied merely according to the measure of actual and visible sins. Cyril, Bucer, and others, whom Lampe quotes approvingly, and Olshausen follows, take away all rebuking allusion to his former assertion that he loved more; but they think, however, that the more love which the Lord *demand*ed pointed to the sin which had been forgiven to him beyond all the others. What shall we say to this? Assuredly, that the Lord rather presupposes than demands that internal love, in a sense surpassing that of all the rest; He *knows* and recognises in the heart of the forgiven man that greater love which it was befitting that he should feel:—this seems evidently implied in his being singled out and questioned in these express terms. But the *more* as spoken in the presence of the others, could not be meant by Him as demanding from Peter that he should testify his own consciousness of a love beyond that of the others: that would be contrary to the truth and sincerity of love; as we must feel ourselves, when we think of our own comparing or magnifying beyond that of others the love of which we are conscious.¹ How sad to the rest, how dangerous to himself, would it have been for Peter to say—Yes, verily, O Lord, I love Thee more! The question demanded anything rather than *this*; his answer beautifully shows that he *understood* it as humbling him by reference to his former elevation of himself—and can we otherwise understand the Lord? He had designedly uttered no word which should make prominent the great change between formerly and now, that which had intervened; it is *not*—"Lovest thou Me *now* more than others?"²

¹ Olshausen goes too far, and uses very doubtful language when he says: True humility, poverty, and release from self does not consist in our saying that we have no love when we have it, but in regarding the operations of grace "as transitory gifts which the Lord who gave them may at any time withdraw if He will." But certainly in loving there is the personal decision on our own part, and a possession certainly not to be taken from us, of which we are surely conscious.

² And indeed not merely positive, as Gossner paraphrases: "Thou lovest Me still? I know well that thou hast some great evil—but thou lovest Me

although the whole question in itself, after the restoration of the fallen man, was no other than such an appeal—"Now, beloved Simon? How stands the love between us?" But Peter rightly understood all that the Lord had omitted to say; and himself likewise omitting it, gives assurance of his love without any side-glance, without any pre-eminent *I*. His humbled remembrance does not enter upon the question of the *more*; and his answer is thus at the same time an affecting *deprecation to the other disciples*, whom his former proud words had injured.

It is remarkable here that he does not answer the ἀγαπᾷς with ἀγαπῶ, but with φιλῶ, and that even the second time; in the third question the Lord takes up his word, and asks φιλεῖς με, to which change St John in the repetition, ver. 17, expressly gives prominence. This cannot possibly be altogether without significance, though Augustine (de Civ. xiv. 7) denied the distinction between *amas* and *diligis* here, and Grotius settled the point very quickly, "St John used the words ἀγαπᾷν and φιλεῖν promiscuously, just like βόσκειν and ποιμαίνειν.¹ And we must not make over-subtle distinctions here." But although the distinction may not have been preserved in ordinary phraseology, yet here where the change is designedly introduced it must have its significance, and point to the fundamental difference in the respective expressions. But what is the difference? We touched the question lightly upon Jno. v. 20, compared with iii. 35; but we must now enter upon it more closely. Casaubon (see Lampe) acknowledged that ἀγαπᾷν, *diligere*, was rather the *amor perfectus* which belongs to God, and therefore that throughout the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments not φιλεῖν but ἀγαπᾷν is used for love to God (so that even the Hellenists preserved the distinction). And from this it followed that Peter, deeply conscious of his infirmity, used designedly "a certain Syriac expression which would rather correspond with the Greek φιλεῖν." That might be the more *internal* ἔμψ, which the Syr.

after all? *And are we still then friends together?*" But the question as to the *πλῆθον* was a test whether and *how* Peter would now understand and answer this.

¹ We shall find with regard to these, as also the ἀπρία and πρόβατα, that St John did not thus merely vary the expression, but historically reported the words with accuracy.

used also in chap. v. 20. But as we are in ignorance about the *synonymous* relations of the language then used, we are referred rather to the Greek again, which the Evangelist undoubtedly used precisely in harmony with the distinction. We quite agree with Bengel that Peter's feeling could not have intended to answer the Lord's question by a word of strengthened emphasis: that would have been altogether alien to his humbled feeling. But when Bengel maintains that "*ἀγαπᾶν*, amare, est necessitudinis et affectus; *φιλεῖν*, diligere, *judicii*"—we must, according to our conviction, just invert his sentence. For it may be established, though we do not feel ourselves called upon to enter minutely upon the philological discussion, that *φιλεῖν*, *amare*, more nearly related to *ἔρω*s, issues rather from the natural human *feeling* (the love of kinship, and then of friendship); while *ἀγαπᾶν*, *diligere*, points to the love of the *will*, exhibiting at once the loftiest valuation and the profoundest subjection. It is not altogether, as Tholuck (on Jno. xii. 25) lays down the distinction too sharply—"the natural bias and the intelligent affection towards"—his meaning is fundamentally right, though it should be added that *ἀγάπη* may become interchangeably the natural-personal *φιλεῖν*, and the *φιλία* also be ennobled as it were into the *ἀγάπη*, and yet retain its own character. Consequently, the Lord does not here ask simply for the honouring, adoring love, but in that for the love of personal affection also, which *now* would be added to it in Peter's soul; and Peter does not testify *only* the personal love of friendship¹—though there is some truth in that. Assuredly, it was Peter's desire to *descend* from the perfect, ethico-religious meaning of the *ἀγαπᾶν*, the full weight of which he feels in the great question, to the personal *φιλία* of which at least his heart was certainly conscious.² As if he would say—Yes, verily, just as a man may humanly love his brother, or his friend, or his gracious Lord! (For *ἀγαπᾶν* and *φιλεῖν* might almost be distinguished in German as *lieben* and *liebhaben*.) But in this we proceed at once to observe a new element which qualifies the delicate relation of the two expressions. It is true that *φιλεῖν*, as the personal

¹ So briefly de Wette: "Jesus asks first for the love of reverence, Peter attests his personal love."

² The Berl. Bible: He uses a word of less emphasis.

affection of the natural inclination, is so far less than that love of the knowledge of the will with which God is to be loved, who is Himself love;—and yet, on the other hand, it is in a certain sense *more*, as being more *inward*. (Hence in Jno. v. 20 the Lord gives intensity to His saying by the *φιλεῖ*, for He will speak anthropomorphically concerning the Father and the Son; while the Baptist, not venturing on such an expression, adheres to the more becoming *ἀγαπᾷ* in ch. iii. 35.) And now first shall we thoroughly understand our text! The *anti-climax*, in which Peter's modesty speaks, is turned involuntarily into an intenser and more elevated affirmation: for what could a man who loves his Lord testify more than that the *ἀγάπη*, which contradicts the flesh, and is not a natural emotion even to a John, the *ἀγάπη* which the Lord seeks, has become in him a *φίλα*, a human-personal affection of the heart?

With this fundamentally agrees Fikenscher's remark: "The former (*amplecti*) signifies to receive gladly, to be inwardly satisfied with, to hold in highest regard. The other to embrace with desire (*amare*), to hang upon with friendship." If this does not altogether hit the point, what follows is better: "The former is, in all *Divine* things which are the objects of faith, *necessary* (the truth in Bengel's *necessitudo*!): but the latter presupposes an actual participation, a fidelity and dependence which is felt in every nerve. He who has the former will come to have the latter too." Although Peter, by his present *φιλεῖν* is only struggling upwards to the perfect *ἀγαπᾷν*, yet this *φιλεῖν* is in fact derived from and strengthened by his *ἀγαπᾷν*; it therefore pleases the Lord—as Cicero says, "*non diligere solum verum etiam amare*." God's commandment cannot at once run—Thou shalt *φιλεῖν* Me; but the *ἀγαπᾷν* is required. But then, the Divine must first be the object of the *ἀγαπᾷν* before it can be the object of the *φιλεῖν*; just as in the *natural* relation to man, conversely, the *φίλα* should be altered into the *ἀγάπη* towards God.

The blessed Apostle utters first a heartfelt and open *Ναὶ, κύριε*, without being so amazed or embarrassed by the sudden appeal to himself by name, as to be unable to answer and pour out his heart; it would almost appear as if the *yea* would at first affirm the *more*, in response to the supposition in the ques-

tion. But, because he has also well understood the *humbling* meaning of that question, he not only restrains himself from any comparison of self-exaltation, and corrects and restricts as it were the *yea* which had burst from his full heart by the simple, less impetuous, but still earnest *φιλῶ σε*, but also declines to testify even this as matter of his own knowledge, leaving it entirely to the Searcher of hearts! This "Thou knowest" immediately attached to the "Lord"¹ is incomparably tender, beautiful, and *true*. According to Lücke, "it appears as if the echo was—*Is there then still question of this?*" Notwithstanding, Peter rejoiced in his heart that the Lord did put the question, and give him both opportunity and permission to utter this long suppressed Yea. It has not therefore certainly any such stronger meaning as—"*Wherefore* then askest Thou of that about which Thou knowest best?" For Peter perfectly understands why and with what secret design the Lord put the question to *him*—else indeed he would have remarked nothing in it, which however is inconceivable, considering that he could not have approached the Lord without a profound sense of his late fall. Thus, "*Thou knowest it*" springs from the deep experience which he now had of the facility with which his own heart might deceive him, and of how little value is testimony concerning self, and the resolution or promise which springs from self. "Man himself cannot sound the depths of his own breast. Had not Peter found this out to his inexpressible shame?" (Dräseke.) Nevertheless—for thus must we turn round the diamond word, to see its brilliance—he could not possibly mean, with any uncertainty, "Thou knowest *whether* I love Thee!" He knows the Lord's knowledge of his love, and on that alone he rests:—what modesty and what confidence united, in this perfect solution of the apparent contradiction! As if he should say—"Thou hast known Me throughout and from the beginning as the son of Jona, hast called me Peter; hast drawn me toward Thee in patience, hast kindled love in my soul, hast warned my blindness, forgiven my foreseen fall, looked both before and since Thy death into my heart with eyes of grace—and how shouldst Thou not know all?" And thus

¹ So that we can hardly say whether *Κύρις* belongs rather to *Ναί* or to *οὐ*.

we say (better than Olshausen's words, before quoted), the true humility and modesty consists in this, that we should be more anxious to receive testimony to the reality of that deep love which we feel from the Lord Himself, than to bring it to Him. "What *I* know concerning my love is this, that I am far from loving Thee so much as I ought and Thou art worthy: but Thou, O Lord, knowest that with all my weakness and deficiencies I nevertheless love Thee. If I were left to the knowledge and testimony of my own feeling concerning it, I must for ever (mindful of my fall) doubt of my love; but Thou, who hast had mercy upon me, and received me into Thy favour, and counted me worthy of Thy manifestation—knowest that I love!" (Wagner.) This is the great, symbolical, best answer for ever to the earnest and deep question of our Lord, as Theremin prays in the spirit of this reply: "Am I to turn away from Thee to myself, from the Infinite to the finite, from the Lord of heaven to a poor, sinful man? Wherefore dost Thou ask this? Why is it for me to give answer for myself? Why may not the question be left undecided? Lord, Thou knowest all things, and this is my answer, like Thy servant Peter's. Thou askest what I should ask. Thou knowest whether Thou lovest Thyself in me. I cannot know myself." But this last goes too speculatively beyond the simple *yea* of Peter.

The Lord is perfectly contented with the answer, so perfectly that He admits the appeal without reply, not even confirming it by a word—*Verily, I do know it*; but the strongest confirmation follows by the commission given to the accepted love. It is the commission of the apostolical office generally; not however given alone to Peter and the Apostles absolutely, for every disciple in every age may in his degree take his part in it. But it has a particular significance for Peter; it solemnly reinstates him in his full honour as first of the Apostles. It was said before—Upon thee, on this man of rock, I will build My Church; but in this deeper crisis, and at this time of profounder feeling, that gentle and more penetrating figure is employed which the Lord's discourses had long ago taught the disciples to understand. Be thou henceforth, in thy first and most important place, the *shepherd* of My flock, *as I am Myself*! "He Himself is about to go from the world; and therefore

needs *under-shepherds*:" thus much is true as to the deputyship upon earth, which the Lord hastening to His ascension once again appoints. After He had already confirmed and blessed the office under the figure of the taking of fish, He significantly changes the figure, and makes the *pastoral* follow the *fishing* employment. Thus must it be: for it is not enough that souls be caught in the net; the kingdom will require that those who are won for Christ be pastured, taken care of, and defended, as sheep and lambs. What then is their pasture? Nothing else but the personal *love* of the great Shepherd Himself; yet as it respects the under-shepherds it is the preaching and teaching of that grace and love of the great Shepherd which they have themselves experienced, and which has entered into their lives: concerning that return of love in us which that makes us capable of offering, and constrains us to offer, from which everything else follows. Thus, altogether as in Lu. xxii. 32 (and referring to that) the Lord speaks: "Lead them back from their fall, as I have led thee; strengthen their weakness, as I have strengthened thine; so prove thy love to Me, to whom thou canst give nothing; and repair through My grace the evil which thou hast done."

Βόσκει τὰ ἀρνία μου—the Lord says the first time, changing it afterwards; and there is the same relation between the two words as between *ἀγαπᾶν* and *φιλεῖν*. Certainly they are not used promiscuously; and the literal repetition would have been more emphatic, if some distinction had not been here intended.¹ If only *πρόβατα* is St John's word elsewhere, *here* *ἀρνία* also is used, because there was something in our Lord's own expressions with which St John would make his own word correspond. We cannot admit that it is merely "a more affectionate expression" (de Wette and Meyer) in these sayings of the Risen Lord, which, while they are pervaded with deep feeling, are most profound and significant in every word. In Lu. x. 3 we found some meaning in the interchange of *ἀρνες* and *πρόβατα*. Even

¹ Lücke says that they are self-evidently synonymous, and that the view which would distinguish them carries with it its own refutation. But such dogmatic assertions have no terror for us; and the uncertainty of the readings proves only that, as the words are not understood by all now, so was it in early times.

the conjectural reading of Bellarmine for ver. 16, *προβαρία* (which is actually found in ver. 17, though probably inserted) deserves remark; as also that the Vulg. has twice *agnos*, and finally *oves*. It may be that the *πρόβατα*, having become the usual expression, was thrust into the place of the *προβαρία* of the second: while *this* again was incorrectly restored to the *third* place. And so we should hold fast the plainest progression of the *three* diverse words, *ἀρνία*, *προβαρία*, *πρόβατα*; in favour of which (with Bellarmine against Bengel, if that be permitted!) not only the literal Pesch. declares in its threefold *אַמְרִי*—*עֲרִבִי*—*נִקְחֹתִי*, but also and very remarkably the passage of Ambrose on Lu. xxiv., who has *agnos*, *ovículas*, and *oves*, as well as that of Maximus, who distinguishes *ovículas* and *oves* (probably after *προβάτια* had been lost). Did Lücke wilfully omit all this? Has Luthardt nothing more to say against the reading than his mere appeal (by no means decisive) to the Codd. Alexandrinus and Ephraemi? Finally, 1 Jno. ii. 13 gives us a not unimportant parallel, after we have found the beginning of such *trichotomy* in the gospel.¹ With this distinction further corresponds the interchange of *βόσκει* and *ποιμαίνει*,² concerning which therefore something must be said at once. Bengel is here too concise and indefinite: "*Βόσκειν* is part of the *ποιμαίνειν*;" for it may be asked at once—how? *Βόσκω*, related to *πάσμαι*, is certainly the proper *pasco* in the sense of *τρέφω*, and hence is thus metaphorically used; comp. also *βόσκεσθαι*, *to be nourished, to live*. On the other hand, *ποιμαίνω*, belonging definitely to *ποιμήν*, is rather parallel with *νέμω*, and used metaphorically of governing. And that is a distinction most appropriate to our passage, which the revised German Bible now gives by the terms *weiden* and *hüten*. Thus, first, the care of the lambs is intrusted to the Apostle; afterwards he is appointed to be the proper shepherd and guide of the sheep: thus not only for the care, but also for the guidance, of the flock. But that, in the third instance, *βόσκει τὰ πρόβατα* recurs, is capable of a very valid reason, if we are content to give up the idea of a vague

¹ For the co-ordinate reference, at least, of this passage to spiritual age we will not surrender. The words of Jesus and John's profound reference mutually illustrate each other.

² Which the Vulg. could not well express in the Latin.

general repetition, and seek for that deeper reason. The *ἀγρία* in the beginnings of the spiritual life (comp. Isa. xl. 11 the prophetic parallel, which makes the *distinguishing* expression more probable) need pre-eminently nourishment, that they may grow and prosper; the growing up *προβατρία*, on the other hand,¹ doubtless most need *care* and *guidance*; finally, the adults need to be nourished with strong meat (as becoming as necessary), and this may be regarded as the last stage, and the most important, in the shepherd's office (see 2 Pet. i. 12, 13, how solicitous the Apostle was in this). Yet it must be always borne in mind that they are not so much individual classes which are here designated in a threefold manner, as each Christian according to his threefold age: *in each* therefore *the whole flock* and church in this stage of its development. This justifies Dräseke's rendering of the first, "My little flock:"—comp. what was said upon Matt. xxvi. 31, 32 concerning the צִיִּים in Zechariah. Again, with Lange: First, only the office of caring for the juvenile church; then the office of leading the adult (more properly, the *becoming* adult); lastly, that of nourishing with spiritual food the whole bulk of the mature Church. Thus it is not, as Lightfoot interprets, that the lambs are the Church from *out of the Jews*, still in its youth;² although (according to Bengel) there may be reference on a large scale to three ecclesiastical *periods*, which were already represented during the life of Peter down to his martyr-death, and were then reproduced in wider history: in this, further, being included the three *stages* or *classes* of spiritual age co-existing in every period. There is no reference, as Gregory the Great and Bernard thought, to three stages of love corresponding to the former: there is but one uniform love which qualifies the shepherd to pasture, defend, and guide the lambs, or the mothers of the flock.

That the Lord, looking at the commencement and first state

¹ Or with Bengel, the *ἀγρία* given over to the *ποιμαίνουσιν*. The sense would be the same, only that on account of 1 Jno. ii. 13 we prefer three nouns.

² Or, with Sepp, who says: Both lambs and sheep, *i.e.*, young and old, *high and low*, believers, with their rulers and bishops, are all alike to be ruled by thy staff; and then (forgetting himself, as is very common with him): the *lambs* being the *proselytes*, as it were the lambs of the Jews!

of His flock, should *first* commit His tender lambs to be cared for, is very natural. They still are liable to fall, like Peter; and need first to be fed with love by him whom love had cared for and lifted up. He who had so much reason to humble himself should even on that account condescend to the little ones and the feeble: this is obviously the first point of connection. Although, again, spiritual age and the beginning of the Church is obviously first meant, yet we are justified in applying this text to children (for baptized children are really beginners in grace and the spiritual life), and in regarding it as showing that the school is a Church, the teacher an under-shepherd appointed by Christ and responsible to Him, and the office of catechist the first step toward the apostolical; and, moreover, as hinting that practice and exercise in the spiritual instruction of little ones is the best path to the pastoral office. For, with the same far-reaching glance onward to the *conversion of the nations* which we shall find in the words of Christ, Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, the *pædeutic* and *pædagogic* function of the pastor takes the place of the *fishing for souls*. Finally, it is not to be overlooked, for it has its manifold importance, that the Lord says definitely *My lambs, My young sheep, My sheep*. Thereby He testifies first His own authority and right as giving the vocation, when He appoints the shepherd over His own possession; then, "as He commits to Peter the most precious thing which cost His blood, He gives him and challenges from him at once the greatest *expression of love*." (v. Gerlach.) He sets before him, also (as in Acts xx. 28) that most weighty argument and impulse which must animate all pastors:—to love all that are *His* out of love to *Himself*; and to regard them with reverence as the Lord's inheritance. *My sheep, not thine!*¹

Ver. 16. Πάλιν δεύτερον is genuinely Johannæan, as in ch. iv. 54; but here with emphasis, like πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου, Matt. xxvi. 42. Olshausen has well refuted the supposition of Tholuck that there had been other discourses which are unrecorded: "This certainly rests upon a misunderstanding; for the immediate repetition of the questions one after another produced that deep impression which it was the Lord's purpose to produce." We

¹ How much better sounds in the Pulpit "Congregation of Christ!" than "My dear flock!"

think it in harmony neither with the text nor the nature of the case that more than one short pause should have intervened. The repetition was most impressive; its expression at once affectionate and piercing; de Wette's "*spielend*," however, is utterly repugnant to our feeling in this sublime colloquy. Assuredly, Peter was surprised at the unexpected repetition of the question, before he could rightly appropriate to himself the commission given to him; but he was not terrified or disturbed, because such a repetition might have a very gracious intention. In the omission of the "more than these" on our Lord's part we do not perceive, with Lange, a tone of increased doubt thrown into the question, as if the Lord would ask "whether he *loved* Him at all generally" (for such doubt thrown upon Peter's answer would have required the Lord to use His *φιλεῖς*); we regard it rather as an accepting confirmation of that answer. "Thou hast understood Me; thou hast abstained from any comparison of thyself with others, and this is well!" But yet it is the same *fundamental, central question asked once more*: and this, before we perceive in the third repetition the reference to the denial, has its inexhaustible meaning and importance. "All that the Saviour has for ever to ask of His own, all His dealings with their souls, come back at last to this word: this is the root-question, from which all others grow" (Albertini). Therefore also the Lord, as Dräseke says, "deferred this conversation until the meal was over, that it might form the concluding point of their intercourse;¹ and every disciple, deeply convinced that *it is the Lord who gives the blessing*, must come to the personal question, *Is His love in my heart?*" Whatever may have passed between thee and thy Lord, it must issue in this result; whatever dealings He may leave in store with thee, He sums all up in this one thing.

Peter, with all his surprise, can rejoice that the Lord thus affectionately pauses upon his love; but a *third time* somewhat alters the case! Dräseke says again quite rightly, "that the Lord in the *second* question, seizing the answer which Peter had given, points to the fulness of that which the answer affirmed—Dost thou indeed *love* Me?" He would say—

¹ For ver. 18 is immediately connected; but vers. 19-22 is somewhat further removed from the preceding, and spoken in specific confidence.

Understandest thou truly *all that this means*? But when Dräseke explains the meaning of the *third* question, "as asking whether his being was certainly and fully pervaded by that love, in the essential meaning of that great word—*Hast* thou such love to Me?" he seems to trifle simply with the German translation. But it only seems so; for, the thought is quite in harmony with the original, in which the *personal internal* affection of Peter is given back in the question by the use of his own *φιλεῖν*. The tenderly piercing word of our Lord could not have been intended to throw doubt upon his love, and thus trouble his soul; for it was designed rather to confirm his confidence and reinstate him fully in his office:—the *Βόσκε* and *Πόμαινε* are sufficient witnesses for this. Consequently Lange also is not correct: "He makes questionable the love of the disciple even in that more qualified sense, in which Peter had assured Him of it; as if He would ask him—Dost thou even generally regard Me so highly, *as thou sayest*?" But, although Peter had designed to qualify his expression the first and the second time (he could do no more than repeat the words the second time, for the Lord had done so)—yet the Lord intimates by His final *φιλεῖς με* that He would receive this internal *φιλεῖν* as an *intensifier* assurance: Art thou indeed so entirely Mine, and depending on Me as the branches on the vine? A *first* question with *φιλεῖς με*, without the foundation of Peter's assurance, would have been too much, and too anticipating.

Peter is by no means "hurt" (as Hug expresses it); it is not his feeling simply which is touched, but he is *sorrowful*—and the distinction must not be forgotten here. Dräseke remarks with keen psychological propriety, that it is "*a deep feeling of self*" in which he now answers with heightened emphasis—"for this basis of Peter's whole character could not and should not be altogether overturned." After the "proud presumption" with which he had overvalued himself, and again the "cowardly debasement" with which he had denied his Master, we see now the "modest firmness" which will not be led astray, but holds fast to the Lord's knowledge of his love. But his sorrow bears witness to both these feelings at once—the humility which remembers the fall, and the firm love which a consciousness of pardon produces. Nor is it as if he now

first marked generally that the Lord would remind him of his denial: Oh no, this had been in his mind throughout all, when the Lord thus singled him out before the rest; the allusion in the "more than these" he had perfectly well understood, as his answer showed. But this keener, and long-delaying direct exhibition of the *third* denial¹—is brought keenly to his mind by the *third* question; he now first *feels* with the deepest grief how severely the Lord deals, even after forgiveness and while reinstating him in his office, with the sin which was past, with the lack which he had formerly shown of devotion, love, and fidelity. We may indeed preach upon this, calling 1 Cor. xvi. 22 to mind—Let nothing give thee more trouble than if the Lord should call in question thy love to Him! . But Peter could not so regard it, not even when a third time his name of office and honour was denied to him; for the flock had been twice already given into his keeping. His grief therefore is not—Does not the Lord believe and trust me any longer? but his sorrow is that of a perfect contrition, awakened by the superabounding grace which nevertheless fails not to bring his fall to his mind; and so far this *ἐλπίρηθη* penetrates more deeply than the sorrow of the bitter tears in the beginning. But he also observes (as the Fathers beautifully remark) that the Lord's benignity gives him an opportunity to efface his triple denial by a triple confession; this gives him in the midst of his sorrow his joy again, and enables him with boldness to maintain once more the avowal of his love, and even to utter it in stronger words.² The twice commencing *Yea* he

¹ Ambrose: Some have said that the threefold question was put because his denial had been thrice uttered; that his thrice declared avowal of faith might obliterate his thrice deep fall (Enarr. in Ps. l. with which "some" he agrees *de Spirit.* S. ii. 11). Augustine: The triple confession follows the triple denial, that his tongue should not seem to serve love less heartily than it had served fear, etc. Isid. Pelusiota: The good physician cured the threefold denial by the threefold confession. So Apollin., Cyril., Chrys., Epiphan., and others of antiquity.

² So should it be! To this would the Lord bring us back after every fall. Mark here the perfection of penitence in the perfection of justification; mark, at the same time, the law of grace according to which there should be on our part a direct atonement for, and retraction of, the sin corresponding with its forgiveness, and responding to that grace.

now omits; but he strengthens the appeal to the Searcher of hearts, not only by *γινώσκεις* instead of *οἶδας*, but by adding further—*Thou knowest all things!* There is no promise—I will from this time faithfully pasture Thy sheep; no challenge to a test of love;¹ but simply and alone—*Thou knowest!* But by these words his whole, full, opened soul is laid at the Lord's feet, or, as it were, placed upon His heart. Woe to the man who cannot say this; who can only say—*I know*, I am convinced, I think of myself that I love Thee, instead of this sole decisive—*Thou, Lord, knowest it!* Did Peter in these words think literally and consciously of a *Divine omniscience* in the Risen Son of Man, about to ascend to heaven? Did "this confession of Christ's omniscience attest his faith in Christ's *Divinity?*" (v. Gerlach.) Lampe says: "Thus Peter was as surely persuaded of the true Divinity of the Saviour as Thomas was." We must affirm, in historical truth and dogmatic exactitude, although contrary to the ordinary theory of the human life of Jesus, that He who was from eternity God, and had been properly so called, even in His humbled humanity, became in His perfectly glorifying ascension omniscient, as He became omnipresent and almighty.² But, notwithstanding this, we may safely assume that Peter, not thinking and not knowing precisely the full bearing of his words, spoke in the warmth of his adoring feeling, like Thomas, *anticipatingly* of the actual omniscience of the Lord, who had now dealt with him as a heavenly being. The dogmatic and relative indistinctness of his word was abundantly compensated by the subjective truth of his faith, which only failed to distinguish accurately the stages by which Jesus proceeded to the full use and manifestation of every Divine attribute:—just as we now tolerate, and (more than that) as the Lord also allows, the thoughts of

¹ "The third question excites him out of his *calmness*. Aforetime he would have been full of the vehemence of protestations. Now we observe only the expression of calm sorrow." So writes Niemeyer, with some propriety; though we do not observe merely a calm sorrow, but a pure vehemence still, though of a different kind.

² Not, therefore, as Bengel (Harm. § 282) enumerates on this passage the proofs of the *omniscience* of Jesus from the beginning of the Gospel of St John, from ch. i. 43 to ch. xix. 28.

believing readers who cannot but perceive in His miracles One who is almighty and omniscient in their performance. Thus, we do not contend against this meaning of Peter's word; but would rather allow the full application of the great "*Lord, Thou knowest all things!*" as a general symbolical word. But in our exegetical feeling, it seems more appropriate, natural, and even *significant*, that Peter's *πάντα* should not mean *all things* absolutely, but—*Everything*, that is all that concerns me, my person, my inmost heart, my life throughout (comp. ch. ii. 24, 25). And so more concretely and internally—"Lord, Thou knowest *all things* in me and about me; Thou saidst at first that I, this Simon son of Jona, was and should be Cephas; Thou didst foretell my fall; Thou didst look upon me when I had fallen; Thou didst see, and accept, and requite my tears; Thou *knowest*, Thou dost perceive that I love Thee! Yea, that even in my denial I did not utterly cease to love Thee, but my false, blind love, led me to the palace," etc.

This then was the Lord's *Examen* for office, the *second* and practical examination, decisive *pro licentiâ* not only *concionandi* but also *pascendi*—after the first dogmatical examination, so to speak, which had taken place long before (Matt. xvi. 15, etc.).¹ The knowledge of the faith is confirmed and consummated only in the full experience of love, but *between these* lie profound personal experiences of falls and of establishing grace. Would that our human examiners would direct their inquiries that way—so far at least as is possible without the glance that reads the heart! Properly speaking *this* examination the Lord alone can hold; and it is often late, in the midst of the office, and the question, it may be, more than three times asked. But let it also be observed, especially by all who deal too rigorously with evangelical love, that the Lord first gave His blessing and then demanded gratitude. "All the refreshing communications of God lead us to love, fidelity, and duty"—says Rieger; thus the refreshment and invigoration first, then afterwards the love, fidelity, and work.² "In the school of Christ the examination," says the

¹ And, as we have already said, there might very fittingly be added to our second examination the vocation to the catechist office for the lambs.

² Peter may skilfully draw the net, lay the foundation in preaching, etc., but to raise these living stones harmoniously in Christ, to *feed* and *lamb*

quaint Berlenb. Bible, "comes after the meal, with us men it mostly comes before."

Must we then turn to the confutation of the Papists, with their primacy of Peter, and Papal Caliphate? Our evangelical readers will not need this. But there may be an occasional Romanist who will listen to my words, which shall begin with the sharp saying of Bengel: "The *more than these* is a token that Peter was restored to the place which he had lost by the denial; and at the same time that *something* was conferred upon him beyond the remaining disciples, nothing however which excluded them. For they likewise loved Jesus. Let him therefore cease to usurp this for himself and for himself alone, who neither loves nor feeds but strips the flock, under the pretence of being the successor of Peter." Upon this conceded *something*, which however means no dominion given to Peter, or to Rome in which is found the blood of the saints (Rev. xviii. 24, 20), we have already spoken on Matt. xvi., the great text. This passage contains nothing additional; for, in chap. xx. all the Apostles had already received the same authority and mission, and received it again in Matt. xxviii. 19, Lu. xxiv. 46-49. Well may we ask with Nitzsch: "If Peter was the first Pope, the first œcumenical Primate, what then was Paul? An anti-Pope?" The fanatical Sepp (whose excellencies and whose learning we thankfully acknowledge, but whose senseless and almost insane hatred of Protestantism we must forgive and pass by) throws around the text, clear to him as the sun, an infinite confusion of myths, and after thus darkening it deliberately imposes his meaning—"The Lord here declares this Apostle to be His representative and *successor*!" But the whole of the New Testament would contradict him and his party if they would allow themselves to hear it. According to Acts xx. 28 *all* the elders are to *feed* (ποιμαίνειν) the flock as well as Peter; and 1 Pet. v. 1-4 this *exhorting fellow-elder* knows of no other *Chief Shepherd* than the Lord Himself, and desires no other crown of glory than that which is to be shared in common with all,—in this like his brother-Apostle

care of the flock, must have the personal loving *Simon son of Jona*, with his own personal experience of sin forgiven. Thus we see that the seeming denial of the name of honour might design a blessing to the whole personality of Peter.

Paul, 2 Tim. iv. 8. And there he makes a very critical distinction and antithesis between feeding and *ruling*. As the Lord here commits to him the feeding especially, he appears indeed *not merely* as the representative of *all* the under-shepherds of the Chief Shepherd,¹ but receives *something beyond them*. But that was not government, and has no succession.² *My sheep—not thine!*

The sayings of vers. 15–17, while giving prominence to the personality of Peter, were spoken with a general significance for all. Now the Lord turns more specifically to the Apostle in his own person, and fore-announces to him a destiny in life and death which was to be at last literally accomplished, but in which he was also a representative type of the whole.³ Meyer's note gives the direct connection between ver. 18 and ver. 17 briefly and well: "Thy assurance in relation to My commission is most important; all thy firmness is needed; it will involve a martyr's death." (This transition is expressed by the "Verily, verily, I say unto thee," which appears here once more to be affectionately brought forward from the time past into the Forty Days.) Yet we would not say (nor does Meyer's note mean it) that Jesus applies the last *test* to the fidelity of His disciple by presenting him with the prospect of a martyr's death—Wilt thou follow Me even unto death?⁴ For there is no trace in these *Futures* of any questioning or test still continued. The Lord's word may indeed be used as a profitable test to ourselves, even as it was afterwards often to Simon Peter; but here originally (as his comforted soul must have discerned)

¹ Or "represents the church of Christ upon earth"—as Fikenscher indistinctly says.

² The slightest trace of which is sought in vain throughout the New-Testament history.

³ But the Pope (to whom Peter says in vain—Follow me, as I follow Christ!)—is the reverse: The older he has grown the more arbitrarily will he gird and lead others, whither *he* will.

⁴ So Lücke, observing that Peter in fact, ver. 21, does not appear so pure and so firm as he had said. Rudelbach: The Lord evidently gives another turn to His question, and opens up its deepest meaning—Wilt thou, when I and the cause of salvation demand it, seal this confession with thy blood?

the *question* is not continued; the words continue the honourable commission, and are a confirming and rewarding *promise* for the confession. For thus—by suffering and death endured in the imitation and following of Himself—does the heavenly Lord ever wonderfully reward our love to Him! We have found generally that in these manifestations of the Risen Lord the main reference was to the great *Future*; and nothing was more natural now than a *prediction* for the Apostle now established as a pastor. “However obscure these words may seem, we must have perceived in them the announcement of something in the future, even if the Evangelist had said nothing. The Redeemer thus at once proved that Peter was right when he said—Thou knowest all things!” (Jakobi.) This prediction, further, still continues a certain reference to the *denial*; for Jesus foretells (Ebrard) “that Peter would be once more placed in such a position that he must choose again between denial and *confession*.” But as the reward and encouragement of his present good confession he is promised *that he shall confess even unto death*.

We remark, at the outset, that this word had its specific meaning for Peter; and for him a twofold meaning, inasmuch as its conclusive literal fulfilment through bonds and the cross only, consummated the bound and devoted character of his age generally. But it had a general meaning for all pastors, and finally for all disciples. Let us begin with the former, that we may find in it the latter included and foreshadowed. St John brings into prominence, ver. 19, the final fulfilment, because when he wrote it had become a historical fact;¹ but this does not prevent us, as we have found elsewhere, from interpreting the word in its fulness of spiritual meaning as based upon the actual event.

¹ Lücke himself says at first that “glorifying God by a death” *seems* to be Johannæan; but he afterwards refers it to later ecclesiastical phraseology concerning the death of martyrs. As if the Church might not have adopted the language of St John! B.-Crusius: “δοξάζειν θείον” was taken from this passage as the ecclesiastical formula for the death of martyrdom.” The Spirit taught St Peter this beautiful phrase, 1 Peter iv. 16 (comp. Phil. i. 20); but St John may have had a lower analogy with ch. xvii. 1 in his mind. It is certain on other grounds that he wrote after the death of St Peter; though not from the δοξάζειν, instead of ἡμελλε δοξάζειν.

Now, in the Lord's own time, Peter should and would go with His Lord into prison and to death (as he had declared before, without being ready for it), should lay down his life for Him, should follow Him in the way which He Himself had gone. Lu. xxii. 33; Jno. xiii. 36, 37. Jesus assuredly reminds him of these sayings in vers. 18 and 19; but gives him at the same time a most important and instructive declaration as to that maturity and age which would be requisite in order to such following, more especially in *his own* case. He speaks profoundly, and as in all prophecy symbolically too, of *spiritual* age (to which He had just referred, in respect to His sheep) under the figure of physical age: both will, as He predicts, coincide in the life of Peter, who will not be early ripe for the crown of martyrdom, like James the son of Zebedee. When thou *wast* young—when thou *becomest* old: thus strikingly does the Lord lay down the antithesis, seeming to say nothing about the middle time of his present life; yet He thereby makes it plain that He reckons Peter, albeit no longer young, as a *νεώτερος*.¹ As if He should say: *Then* in thy age it will be, When thou wast young;—and indeed, more exactly, *younger*, with the comparative. Thus, let it be observed, the Lord Himself constrains us to think, in relation to Peter himself, of a youth and age in spiritual growth. How may we suppose the fervid and vigorous Simon as a young man, to have girded himself after his own will! But the word seems only to hint at such remembrances as that would call up; it finds its immediate figures much nearer at hand. Had not Peter just now in his impetuosity, ver. 7, *girded himself*, when he swam to the Lord? Had he not commenced the whole transaction by the expression of his own blameless and unfettered resolution—*I go a-fishing*? Let it be here once more observed with what marvellous comprehensiveness of meaning the Lord

¹ As Hess paraphrases: "Hear! Thou art now in middle age. Thou still walkest about, as in earlier years, free, etc." Luthardt thinks on the contrary that "it is inappropriate to include the present time in the *νεώτερος*, since the future submission of his will is grounded upon his present love to the Lord." But would not the Lord say anything at all about the present and the *near* future (to which the old age is here opposed as far distant)? Would not Peter for a considerable time be able to say in his apostolical vocation, without sin—I will go a-fishing? and with free determination gird himself?

chooses His every word, and says here—ἐζώννυες σεαυτόν (which would give Him afterwards a similitude for another kind of girding), and then in addition—περιεπάτεις ὅπου ἤθελες. These expressive references in the sacred words are too frequent and too certain to allow the charge to be urged against our exposition, of finding these our own *lusus ingenii*.¹ But it is possible to go too far, as *e.g.* Fikenscher: "When a fisherman hung around him his upper garment, and girded himself, he was free for the work of his vocation, *he could do what he would*;" for the reference to ver. 3 includes this *working* according to his own will in the περιπατεῖν. And so had Peter the fisher of men oftentimes as a νεώτερος, without any severely imposed self-denial, girded himself (or, to anticipate what follows, bound himself), and went on his labour whithersoever he *would*, under the impulse of love to Christ and to souls. But in his age it would be otherwise, more and more otherwise as he went on in life, and finally most absolutely and corporeally otherwise, in the literal fulfilment of the Lord's words. The word of prediction contains three clauses following each other; but, inasmuch as they are not to be regarded as arranged prophetically in strict chronological succession, we may begin with the middle one, the direct contrast to the previous girding of himself.

Another—not thyself, that is the first and most obvious point—will gird thee. It is evident that "will gird" is closely connected with the "girdest thyself" going before; and if one must be clothed by others, that of itself is a want of freedom, a binding of one's own *hands*, the purpose of which is not to be themselves stretched out. We think we observe that, as before the free impetuous spirit of youth had furnished the basis of the figure, so now helpless age, in which man cannot as it were gird himself, is the basis of our Lord's view. But only the basis, for the Lord beholds and speaks *prophetically*, that is (His language being to the last in harmony with the ancient Scripture), He speaks in *type* and *intimation*. The Lord appears to mean by His words—Another shall gird thee in quite a *different sense*!

¹ Here Grotius acknowledges that "all has allusion to preceding facts" (see our former quotation)—"so these words to his having come to shore girt. Καὶ περιεπάτεις—and walkedst—as now from the ship and to the ship, at thy own option."

just as Agabus, Acts xxi. 11, bound himself with the girdle of Paul in order to symbolise the binding with fetters. For girding naturally enough passes into binding; although Dräseke incorrectly assured his hearers that the word in the original signifies ambiguously either the girding with a garment or the binding with fetters. This is not the case. The false construction and exegesis of Kimchi upon Ps. lxxvi. 10 (adduced by Grotius) is no argument; Tholuck is quite right in saying that ζωννύειν has not the signification of "binding," but that the girding symbolically *signifies* binding.¹ The question, finally, whether this prophetically expressed ζωννύειν refers to the binding of the hands in imprisonment, or to the binding upon the cross, we may (with Olshausen) safely leave undetermined; but, inasmuch as the authentic interpreter, ver. 19, refers the whole saying (*this He said*) and its signification (σημαίνειν) to the kind of death (πρὸς θανάτῳ), we are quite free to take the collective words with both meanings. The *spartum e cruce* in Plin. H.N. xxviii. 11, as generally the binding of crucified criminals, sometimes with, sometimes without nails, is well known; and it was anciently understood in the sense of Tertullian (Scorpiace, Cap. xv.)—"Peter was bound by another when he was fastened to the cross." This appears to us more simple, obvious, and descriptive than a reference to the subordinate circumstance of the girding of the loins at crucifixion with a napkin (according to Evang. Nicod. c. 10)—which Brückner deemed a more correct interpretation of the ζώσει. Exegesis has nothing to say about any distinction to the effect that the Lord was not crucified with nails driven through His hands and feet. But if we thus clearly apprehend the girding, much needless contention about the *stretching out of the hands* will be at once obviated. It is only ignorance of the full and manifold meaning of the prophetic word which has led to so much wrangling about this or that meaning; all the views of the various expositors are true in various aspects. What Grotius, however (in the name of many who hold the same error still), maintained—

¹ The three places where, according to Klee, the Sept. has ζώννυμι for τὰ, we cannot find. In the first two there is another word, and third must be an error in the typography. See on the other hand Neh. iv. 18, in the original τὰ for girding.

"thou wilt *be forced* to stretch out thine hands by another,"¹ we must declare against as absolutely incorrect; for the predicted *suffering* begins plainly with the *καὶ ἄλλος, another*, while the stretching out in order to the *being* girded indicates a voluntary activity on his own part. This act forms indeed of itself the antithesis to the "girded thyself," and "walkedst;" yet only as indicating a *deportment* of another kind. Thus is it, as the counterpart of his previous energetic action—*Feeble and defenceless* thou wilt stretch out thine hands, and give thyself up to another's power?² or, with Lange—As a spent old man must helplessly stretch out his hands, and let himself be clothed, defended, and led? Certainly, all this is the first meaning, but only as being the physical figure.³ It involves in itself the second meaning, which brings out its spiritual import: Does not he who *gives* himself up to be bound by another's power prove himself to be *willing* to suffer? As an old man, in the becoming consciousness that he cannot do otherwise, *allows* himself to be girded and guided—"so Peter will one day, free from all sinful self, stand in the spirit of most decided self-resignation to his Lord." (So does Lange continue with perfect propriety.) Fikenscher allegorises upon this in a one-sided manner, giving up the physical basis of the expression altogether, though bringing out correctly the fundamental thought: "Peter ripened towards his death (*γηράσῃς!*)—devoted all his *activity* (*χειρὰς!*) only to the Lord; and in his work for the kingdom of God he is also a sufferer, gives himself up altogether and without reserve to all which the Lord might send upon him." So Weitzel well says: "in the *ἐκτενεῖς τὰς χειρὰς σου* Peter's own willingness and joy in dying the death of a martyr for Christ and His cause is beautifully connected with the physical constraint to which he would be required to submit himself: perfectly voluntary resignation seen in the most violent physical constraint." Thus we explain *ἐκτενεῖς τὰς χειρὰς σου*—"Thou wilt act as a sufferer and as a willing sufferer, like an aged

¹ As Nonnus also introduced an *ἀνάγκη*.

² So Jakobi *e.g.* paraphrases.

³ We must not therefore say with C. Weiss: "When thou wilt in old age stretch out thine hand for another's help—it will be very different with thee."

man who by necessity and yet resignedly stretches out his hands to another's act;" and we believe with Fikenscher that by this is intimated for the whole period of his *ῥηράσκειν* generally, "the entire passive demeanour of Peter to the glory of God down to his dying sacrifice." Lange maintains that the *stretching out of the hands* could not already contain an allusion to the death of the cross, because the concomitant girding and leading does not follow till afterwards:—but we see no reason for agreeing with him in this, since the one does not exclude the other. Does not the *prophetic* language often thus speak, taking expressions chosen to give a more general sense, and which are also found to be true in specific fulfilment? And does symbolical prophecy give every detail always in strict historical sequence?¹ We regard that interpretation as correct which finds in this stretching out of the hands a reference to Peter's crucifixion; and further agree with Dräseke that "*these words* were the most express in their allusion to the kind of death which Peter should die." Can we find in *ζώσει* or *οἴσει* anything equally specific for the *πολὴν θανάτῳ*? Wetstein adduces the striking passages from Arrian and Artemidorus, especially that of Arrian: *ἐκτείνωντας σεαυτὸν, ὡς οἱ ἐσταυρωμένοι*—which Lücke also cites; the *hysteron proteron* in the prediction is of no moment; indeed it is not really such, for the commanded and afterwards fulfilled stretching out of the hands, in order to be first bound and then nailed, actually takes precedence in time. And now for the *οἴσει* (in one reading *οἴσει σε*), where another ambiguity has been found by the differing interpreters. Is it *leading* or *carrying*? In his N. T. Bengel translates by "heben;" but in his Gnomon he admits that the antithesis is *περιπατεῖς*. We think the latter correct, and interpret accordingly—Thou wilt not thyself *walk* whither thou wilt; but another will *lead* thee whither thou wouldst not, to something entirely repugnant to thy own natural will. But it comes to this, as with the girding and binding:—the expressly chosen *φέρειν* (certainly stronger than *ἄγειν*) must involve something specific in connection with the *whither thou wouldst not*, which mysteriously hints at, but leaves

¹ Which historical sequence Luthardt also urges against the specific reference to the cross: he regards the prediction as that of "a violent death" generally.

unspoken, the last word of the dark saying; that is, *this* leading is to be finally fulfilled as a bearing or lifting up to or with the cross.¹ For it is not "opposed to the whole archæology of crucifixion," that the victim bound to the recumbent cross should be lifted up with it, no bearing forth to another *place* being implied. But the three predictions of the stretching, the girding, and the leading may describe, as being merely generally combined, both the crucifixion and the imprisonment (and even also the internal, spiritual binding or crucifixion).²

This would now be enough, were there not an ambiguity to be set right which has been wrongly understood. Who is *that other*, to whom Peter would stretch out his hands, who would gird him and lead him, bind him and carry him? Lange, after having spoken of the "Apostle's devotion to *his Lord*," continues: "And then will *He* gird him, determine his will; He will decide his fate, and lead him whither he would not, to an exit from life which the will of his former being had most absolutely resisted, Matt. xvi. 22." This reference to Peter's former recoil from the *cross* of his Lord we cordially receive as a very suggestive combination; but we cannot agree with this interpretation of the ἄλλος. Bleek also has independently come to the same exegesis: "Peter was told to expect that in his latter years another and a higher authority would direct his activity, and his preparation for it, by such energies as should be necessary"—strange interpretation of the ζώσει! But it is inconceivable that the loving Lord should speak to the loving disciple concerning Himself with a cold and distant ἄλλος—and thus as one to whom the disciples would, though with a certain repugnance, submit. Nor must we think of *God*, apart from Christ; for the Lord is here Himself the immediate Disposer of His servants' destinies. Thus the *other* is, first, as the antithesis with the previous clause necessarily requires *every* "other"

¹ Hence it is best translated by an ambiguous expression, as in the Holl. Bible *bringen* (Berlenb. *bringen*), and in the English *carry*. Comp. Mark xv. 22.

² Thus in the *development* of the meaning we have embraced much, but only because all is really combined. On the other hand, the *being girded on the cross* (with the λεντίον) does not belong to it. Theophylact is right: τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἔκτασιν καὶ τὰ δεσμεῖα δηλοῖ.

to whom Peter, instead of determining for himself, will be obliged to submit (here Nonnus is right : ἀπειδέες ἄνθρωποι ἄλλοι) ;—and in its final meaning in his crucifixion no other than the executioner ;—and in this personified the Cæsar, or even the *prince of this world*, who in the deepest sense may be called *another*. It is true that Christ is He who *wills* that Peter should be crucified :—a meaning which the well-known saying of Ambrose expresses, according to which the Lord met Peter when he would have withdrawn, and said ¹—*I come hither to be crucified once more*. But Christ is not that *other*, in whose act it was the task of the Apostle's faith to discern and submit to the will of his Lord.

In all this, we have not, as our readers will readily admit, denied the general figurative reference of this predicted suffering submission to the whole later life of the Apostle. What crucifixions of his own will, what profound and penetrating subjection, had not long before his death been required of him ! Therefore it is that in his Epistles he speaks with such power of living experience concerning the manifold trials and sufferings which are borne by those who are in Christ, the being subject and the suffering unrighteously, the fire of tribulation—and the patience of the Lord. And here rises the application of the word in its spiritual meaning to us all. Of its special application to the pastors themselves, and its connection with the feeding of the flock by those who, in order to lead others, must willingly consent to die themselves, we shall say nothing now. But we would endeavour to exhibit its general significance for all the disciples who love their Lord ; though they only who have spiritual knowledge and experience will understand. Is it not perfectly true that the *older* we are in the following of Christ, the more deeply we enter into the denial of our own will ? The youth of our Christianity retains its similarity with natural youth, even by the permission and appointment of the all-wise Educator.¹ In the first power which we receive we are required to *walk*—certainly no longer whither we would pre-

¹ Not, however, as v. Gerlach exhibits the contrast : “As a rule the young man is the more dependent, the older attains to more and more independence.” This holds good only of *external* relations ; but these are not referred to here—only the will and the disposition.

vously have willed, but yet whither we now in the new nature will; much of our own purpose, will, and plans is permitted to us; the *girding*¹ is actually required of us, in general and in particular, as peculiarly becoming and appropriate in that age. (1 Pet. i. 13-15.) We love, labour, witness, and exert our influence rather as those who are free, and have the heavier tasks imposed upon us by our Lord:—or otherwise we do not rightly discern and take upon ourselves the work assigned. Thus does it go on even unto old age, through walking, falling, rising up, and joyful running again—until through all these *the deeper experiences* are prepared for, and our *γῆράσκειν* draws nigh. The more energetic the basis of our nature is, the more surely and the more severely will the *cross* come, though its heaviest pressure may be in a multitude of little crosses. Then comes the stretching out of the hands, and the time for standing still! Less and less frequent are the demands to *go out a fishing*. Better and better must we learn to feel—I can myself neither plan nor do anything! All special purposes and projects are merged in the one, that of following Christ, as He Himself has appointed and shows by external arrangements of His will. *This* He requires of us as the test and the consummation of love, not merely the still sweet love of earlier times. Instead of walking is the being led by others; we are more and more *bound* in the following of Christ, and yet more and more free, because more and more freeminded to follow Him. "*Οπου οὐ θέλεις*—Lampe incorrectly refers this to the present time, as Peter would afterwards have no *οὐ θέλειν* more, no longer any repugnancy in his will;—for it is the opposite certainly to *ἔπον ἤθελες*. The *not-willing* of the weak flesh remains, as with Christ Himself in Gethsemane; but the spirit approves itself all the more willing—Not as I will! Whatever specific vocation there may be for pastors and ministers, the general meaning is the same for all—Self-denial, the cross, the following of Christ by the crucified. This word most specially addressed to Peter has its individual application to each of us, and shows to each of us his personal way; for of none of *His* words, yea of no word of Scripture, may it be said—*What is this to thee?*

¹ Which, according to Meyer's note, belongs to the walking, as the purpose does to the life.

Thus we have already to a great extent expounded the immediately following "Follow Me"—which certainly was not meant merely for the present moment. This word carries back the prediction of the Apostle's specific way of life and death into the general commandment for all again. Indeed, Peter had specially asked—*Whither goest Thou?* and now he knows whither, and that he must follow. But must not we all thus follow, each one under the same guidance? Follow Me *by the way of the cross!* How could the Risen Crucified mean anything but this? "When before His death the Lord had uttered the requirement to follow Him, He had been wont to add what He meant thereby. (Matt. xvi. 24.) But the Crucified and Risen Lord needed to make this addition no more." (Dräseke.) The very beginning of this devotion and following is a *self-surrender* to Him, who says—after *Me!* But the end must always be, though in a different manner, our being *perfectly crucified* in order to ripe preparation for His glory. The more fully open our ears are to these words, with the more readiness we stretch out our hands, when the time comes and it is required of us—so much the sooner and the easier shall we reach the goal.

Did Peter understand all these words, and this last word especially? That would be matter of indifference as to our own understanding; but we need the answer here in order to the exposition of his question, ver. 21, on which the meaning of the word in ver. 22 again depends. Not a few, with whom even Meyer classes himself, agree with Michaelis that Peter understood the *ἀκολουθεῖ* as only meaning—*Come now with Me!* I have something to say to thee! And in fact we learn from ver. 20 that Jesus when He spoke this word went forward and beckoned him to follow; hence John also *followed*. But with this it is quite consistent, that such a movement and intimation of Jesus was but the *symbolical expression* which made the spiritual meaning more clear. The opinion that the Lord Himself neither thought nor designed more in this connection than their accompanying Him at the moment is altogether too insipid.¹

¹ This would then have its reference also to ver. 22; and the last words and colloquy of the gospel of St John would have to do, merely, as Sepp says in ridicule, with the accompanying of the Lord a few paces! We feel by anticipation that the question of Peter must have another ground and occasion.

if everything is typical here, so certainly must the *Ἀκολουθεῖ* be. Grotius: "As He had made the things which had been done before signs of things to be said by Him, so now He expresses by a plain sign that which He had already said." In the previous words, as Dräseke clearly puts it, all *stood* still in a circle, the Lord among the disciples; at the words Follow Me! Jesus slowly removed Himself. Quite right, and then Dräseke proceeds:—"To the conclusion that the Lord meant nothing more than this accompanying, and that Peter discerned nothing more in it than this, would be a very tame interpretation." If Jesus spoke this "Follow" with a deep meaning, referring directly to the words which had already been uttered, that does not require us to assume His being disposed to give Peter certain further explanations of His meaning. The symbolical gesture of going on before, in order to *stamp* the force of His word, was sufficient; He had said quite enough to the Apostle; He had given him, indeed, so much to ponder and arrange in his mind, that we might have assumed that He vanished at once, were it not that the probability is in favour of His having made some further appointments. We are perfectly disposed to admit that this call to Peter, to follow the retreating, removing Lord, had some such tone as, "Come with Me! Follow Me over into My new home beyond!" But when Lange, whose expression this is, goes on to attribute to Peter a misunderstanding which vibrated between the merely external and the true internal meaning of our Lord's word, we think that he speaks without foundation. It was, he thinks, to him "as if Jesus designed to make him familiar in sacred solitude with the terror of the transition to the other world;" he expected some "*initiation* into the awful mystery of the great passage; and his following the Lord nevertheless in confidence was his atonement for having once stood in the way of the Lord's cross." But all this may be classed with the fantasies of this poet-expositor, who mixes so much wild imagination with his beautiful gifts. Nothing of this kind is intimated here; the question concerning John—*οὗτος δὲ τίς*, connected with the answer given to it, obliges us to infer that Peter understood the Lord's word much more fully than this.

Assuredly, he well understood all, at least the fundamental point, from the beginning, and as soon as the Lord put His first:

question. "The days of foolish misunderstanding were past," says Dräseke truly and decisively. Therefore he had understood this much at least of ver. 18, that a later life of suffering, and an end from which nature recoils with horror, were appointed to him: even if the "Follow Me" which was added did not directly point his thoughts—though we think that it did—to the stern necessity of his finding that end on the cross.¹ This understanding alone could have given rise to his question concerning John; but this of itself needs to be carefully looked at on all sides. *John* would go too, and this is marked by Peter. May we say with v. Gerlach—"that he was also called by Jesus?" We read nothing of this; and Lücke takes occasion from this lack of clearness, which is not usual in St John's genuine narratives, to complain of the utter impossibility of representing with anything like clearness the grounds and the connection of the whole scene." We think that nothing is wanting but a willing penetration, deep and accurate thought, judicious arrangement of all which we find recorded, and a little waiting, in order to find the whole scene clear enough. Jesus, while He humbled Peter, had at the same time exalted him to higher honour, and to him once more especially committed His Church. What this meant, and what it did not mean, John had at once understood beyond the rest of the hearers; he had, so to speak, sympathised most deeply with the feeling of the Apostle's, as well as of the Lord's, heart. He also knew full well how near he too was himself to that heart. And now comes this mysterious and confidential prediction, and the new expression of perfect confidence which calls Peter with the significant *Follow Me!* John cannot remain behind; and all the less so as he *understands* full well that no exclusive prerogative of Peter was implied. Was he not himself the disciple *whom Jesus loved*,²—did he not, formerly, as the most trusted one,

¹ A later understanding on his part is not expressly implied by 2 Peter i. 14. For "as the Lord hath showed me," cannot possibly go back to the prediction at the sea of Tiberias; it rather means a new revelation that the death (of which the Apostle here speaks with such remarkable assurance) was impending, *ταχὺν ἔστιν*.

² Here rises a delicate parallel between the disciple who loved Jesus, and the disciple whom Jesus loved—on which, however, Augustine went astray, because he mingled with it the "more."

lying on the Lord's bosom, ask the Lord's mind—and should not he also now follow? Lange thinks that on this account the specific reference in ver. 20 is given; since John would thus delicately bespeak that he had understood and felt in his heart the permission or the requirement to follow too. So in Brandt's Bible concisely: "John makes this remark to give the reason why he, without being called by Jesus, ventured nevertheless to follow Him." And we observe this too, but in a somewhat different sense. It would have been enough for this to say merely "whom Jesus loved;" but the rest was indispensable, for how otherwise could he have indicated his own person, especially here? We cannot reconcile it with our feeling that this express reference to his earlier confidential relation to Christ was intended to explain his affectionate following without being called. The addition of this former "asking" has a significant connection with Peter's present question. Dräseke misses the point of the whole when he represents John as thinking—"Do I then receive no commission?"¹ and speaks of a "holy emulation of his elevated nature which led the beloved disciple to say, Desirest Thou proofs of love, Rabboni? Forget not John!" This is going too far, but thus much is true: John in his affectionate simplicity involuntarily accompanies, hence there is no trace of our Lord's blaming this only apparently uncalled accompanying. *I love Thee also!* This had been the cry of his heart during the whole colloquy with Peter, in the full consciousness that there was nothing intended exclusively for Peter, at least nothing which would exclude *himself* from the love of the Lord and from the pasturing of His flock. Thus he utters this "I love Thee also, and follow Thee!" with inmost modesty, without the slightest admixture of a spirit of intrusion, solely from the impulse of his heart's feeling to go with Him.²

And *Peter*? He does not so tenderly understand all this, and makes a stumbling-block of his beloved John, who had no intention

¹ Whom Braune, as often, follows; adding—Is there no prediction for me?

² In this Dräseke is right: "Not another word falls from his lips. No word was needed. More eloquent than any language was his silent accompanying!"

to come in his way as an offence. There was something wrong at first in the "turning himself"—he was commanded to follow and not to look around! Thus there was certainly an uncalled-for, and not artless looking aside, a *side-glance* once more of comparison *with others*. After his deep humiliation some light trace still of the ancient Simon! This will not lead us astray in the interpretation, but illustrate to us the loving patience of the Lord, which anticipates such disciples in blessing, and leads them into the depths of self-renunciation. Chrys.: "Since Peter was always in haste to put such questions as these." Peter has too much advantage given him (as John too little) by Dräseke: "The heavenly bond of friendship between the Master and this disciple passed before his soul as he thus went with Jesus: hence the question—But *this man*, Lord? Didst Thou not also mean him?" For this does not perfectly correspond with the words of the question, which presupposes *something else* for this disciple; and further, as the Lord gives a rebuking and repelling answer,¹ there must have been something blameworthy in the question. Its very abruptness shows a want of genuine *parrhesia*, a certain exuberance of precipitate zeal. What then does he *ask*? "He who can thus expound the words—Hast Thou called this man also, Lord? *Wherefore doth he follow us?* understands not the question, nor the disciple, nor anything in the matter." In this Dräseke is right. If the *τι* is made to signify—*Wherefore*, or to what end *doth this man also* go with us? the answer of our Lord does not in anywise suit; although that answer has been feebly interpreted as referring to merely the present going or remaining.² Olshausen has incontrovertibly shown this: "Two suppositions only are conceivable. Either it seemed right to the Lord that John should accompany them, and He intended a reproof to Peter: then the words must have run thus—Let him come with us unhindered, he may hear what we say: or the like. Or, He meant to blame John's ill-timed following: and then the words must have run—Follow not, tarry where thou art! We cannot possibly discover how

¹ Chrys.: "Striking down his undue exuberance, and hindering him from further excess of intermeddling."

² If I will that he abide here until I come back with thee—! And this as the answer to the question—May or should this man go with us?

in that case Christ should come to use the word *μὲνεν*, for the disciple did not remain, but went with them; moreover, in this interpretation of the passage, the *ὅς ἐρχομαι* is altogether unintelligible. For, if it is taken to mean—Until I come back again, that is, from the walking aside with Peter—this would not have been in opposition to Peter, but according to his will; as if He would not have John follow them, while yet His word appears as a rebuke only to Peter.”

Thus the meaning of Peter's question must refer directly to that *prophecy* which he had himself just received, and of which he understood enough to know that it was a prophecy. His abruptly ending *τῷ*, which is therefore to be supplemented by the whole of ver. 18, does not *merely* say—Shall this man also suffer? but—*What* shall this man—? What hast Thou appointed for him? He is far from thinking his *following* also an impropriety, or blaming it; his glance falling upon John raises the question in his mind concerning John's destiny, and this prompts the unconsidered and inopportune wish—Wilt Thou not reveal something to me and to him concerning the future of our life and death? But what was the inducement to this question? Many reasons might have concurred, but we have only to do with the predominant impulse, which the answer rebuked. Dräseke thinks that it was sympathy which dictated this question—What hast Thou destined for him? Thou knowest his love! What lot is decreed for him? But this was not the sole,¹ nor was it the predominant, feeling of the question. Ebrard concisely says—“Peter asked with concern what should befall John.” So Lange: “With a feeling of sympathy which would spare to John the experience of a sharp destiny, such as he considered the lot of himself alone.” Thus—This man, will he not have an easier lot than mine? But Fikenscher gives it an opposite turn—“He hoped to share with John the glory of a death of martyrdom;” and finds in the question “a proof of Peter's humility, and an illustration of true love which seeketh not its own!” But this loving sympathy (whether the question be—Shall not this man escape? or—Shall he not suffer, as well as myself!) cannot

¹ As in Luthardt: “Peter could have been filled with nothing but loving sympathy with his fellow.” But how is this *could* proved?

possibly have been the main impulse of Peter's inquiry:—would the Searcher of hearts have repelled it with the sharp *τί πρὸς σέ*?¹ It is true that Peter would now ask for John, as John had in ch. xiii. 24 asked by his own desire for him: it is to mark this parallel of requital that the express addition is here made to the description of John's person; though this has been rarely understood at all, or often interpreted in a manner unworthy of the Apostle John himself. It is not (according to B.-Crusius) "to intimate that Peter, who on that occasion requested this disciple to put the question, knew well *his pre-eminence*!" But, as Chrys. clearly expressed it, to show that *now* John was the silent disciple, Peter asking for him—"thus making requital: thinking that he wished to ask concerning himself, but was not bold enough, Peter put the question in his stead." And we may further observe, with Chrys., "how great *boldness* Peter had attained to after his denial"—how confidently he ventures to ask such questions as he did not venture upon even in his confident days. We may also think how graciously the Lord must have spoken His severe words, when Peter could thus confidently interpose his words! But this is not all, for Peter's boldness was not pure and perfect, as the answer shows. The impurity in it was not, however, such "a certain envious thought about the milder destiny of John," as Olshausen without any reason attributes to the blessed Apostle.² Nor was it a mere "*idle* curiosity," as Tholuck explains; but it was (what Lange in vain denies, since the answer presupposes it) "a conscious desire to receive such definite explanation as to the future of John"—in short a kind of *curiosity*.³

¹ According to Sepp Peter was amazed at his own exaltation—his kingly dignity!—and asked whether the disciple of love might not be something, his coadjutor or Aaron!! But the *answer*, the *τί πρὸς σέ* somewhat abates this loftiness.

² Zinzendorf also in an inconsiderate manner sets it forth, in another place where he gives an exaggerated view of sin and grace: "Indeed, when Peter would afterwards expostulate with John, and was envious for what the Saviour did to John, it was in the Saviour's fidelity to the beloved disciple that He so sternly dealt with Peter. He did not say as much to him about his whole denial, as he said about this single word of envy against John."

³ Compare the somewhat overbold sketch in Niemeyer's *Charakteristik*

Instead of pondering in silence the great things which had been said to him, and following in obedience as he was bidden to do (hence this is expressly repeated by the Lord), he supposes that John (into whose mind this had not entered) would be very glad to know something about himself, and once more unbidden (differently from John's asking for *him*!) asks about another, though in reality *for himself*—curiositate quādam humani ingenii, as Grotius rightly says. So Bengel: Facilius nos ipsos voluntati divinæ impendimus, quam curiositatem circa alios, æquales præsertim aut suppare deponimus. And by this, at the same time, the first part of our Lord's answer is fundamentally explained.

What is that to thee? This τί πρὸς σέ—almost like an humbling echo of the equally brief οὗτος δὲ τί—indicates, after all the Lord's kindness, no little severity. The greater the grace exhibited, the more strictly are errors marked. The whole denial was not so severely rebuked as this new expression of curiosity! This is the answer we receive, whenever our "prying anxiety about others" comes forward. The dealings of the Lord with His own in life and death are very diverse; it is enough for every one that he do not himself neglect the way of his own following the Lord. Therefore, also—Follow thou Me! Nevertheless, with all His severity, there is not only the propitiating, acknowledging "follow Me" (confirmation of the former) at the conclusion, but an actual reply given concerning John's destiny, at the outset. This is the Lord's manner, to give almost always the information asked under the veil of an apparent rejection. Bengel needlessly limits his note: "The Lord never gave His *friends*, however foolishly they might ask, an absolute repulse"—for there are examples of the kind even in the case of enemies. Indeed, it is neither necessary nor salutary that every man should have his destiny foretold to him—James, the brother of John, received no intimation of his early martyrdom!—but to the beloved Peter, even when he seems in danger of looking and falling back, the Lord does not altogether refuse an answer. Even as He had not i. 365, where however so much is explained with gentleness. Weitzel also expresses it too strongly: Half-curious, half-emulously, Peter throws this side-glance upon the destiny of the disciple of love!

denied it earlier to John,—or may we here say—For the sake of John himself? Suffice it, the mysterious word, introduced with a seemingly hypothetic *if*, contains really the information asked, as we shall plainly see. And this will impart a new meaning, pointing to the *future*, to the *τί πρὸς σέ* as coming after this *ἐάν*: that is, *Then* this distinction in your several ways shall not lead thee astray in *thy* following.¹

That the Lord had predicted an absolute “not dying,” because at His coming at the last day there would be no more death,² is contradicted expressly by St John, ver. 23. But that He admits a certain unexplained application of the mysterious word to *this disciple*, is the inference which every unbiassed mind must draw from the solemn repetition of the whole sentence (the final *σύ* for Peter being alone omitted). In truth, if the misunderstanding which the Lord would obviate consisted in this, that His merely hypothetical *ἐάν θέλω* would be taken as a prophecy (so Ebrard translates “*In case now I would*,” and Erasmus corrected *volo* into *velim*)—His words must have taken another form altogether. Thus this way of escape, which Cyril resorted to, and which Cocceius, Meyer, and others have adopted, is exegetically inadmissible.³ We shall at once proceed to attempt our humble explanation, after having made two introductory observations. First, the Lord in His dignity corrects the *τούτου* into His own express *αὐτόν*. And then

¹ The variations in the Vulg., which has *sic* or *si sic* (Aug. and Ambr. read the former, Hieron. the latter; and in the Gr. Mill found *οὕτως* in some Codd.), are of no moment, as they only indicate early misconception. Allioli, however, and Kistemaker translate after it; and Müller has—That he should thus remain!

² Observe here the mystery of 1 Cor. xv. 51 is presupposed as the common faith of the Church!

³ Lücke understands the unknown writer, contrary to all sound exegetical feeling, as meaning that the Lord had spoken with an *if*! That is, on the supposition that it was written after the death of John! If John was yet alive, it would mean that no one had any right to speak of his not dying, notwithstanding. Thus he makes all obscure, and then charges the *ἔρχομαι* with obscurity and spuriousness.—For our own part, we read in ver. 23 the words of the Evangelist himself, who certainly, if the chapter was written by him, could not have broken off with ver. 22, but with *γράφας ταῦτα* ver. 24. Hasse finds in the “brethren” a later word for “disciples”—but how will this consist with a glance at St John’s Epistles?

His $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ (whatever may be said to the contrary) is evidently a majestic declaration that He Himself is now the supreme Disposer of men's life and death; He does not say—If God or the Father wills that he should tarry.¹

Thus St John has not positively told us what the Lord meant or hinted at in the words which He spoke to Peter. Did he himself altogether understand it? The question may be asked, and every one is free to entertain his own thoughts; it is probable, however, that the deep-contemplating John, trusted as he was with the mysteries of his Lord, understood more than we can now discover:—but he does not tell us, because the matter concerns himself and his own honour: and further, as we shall see, that he may thereby tell us more. The Lord spoke designedly in an enigmatical tone, as it became the reply to such a question; nor is it strictly necessary that *we* should understand it perfectly, though it is written thus again and again that we may investigate it. We do not therefore exalt ourselves above exegesis when we humbly attempt to understand the words. And, first of all, we may take the liberty of objecting to Bengel's words, who finds an ambiguity in what he calls an "*amphibolia et gravis et suavis:—conditio, si, non affirmat si accipiatur sermo de adventus complemento; categorice etiam valet sermo, si de primordiis adventus.*" For, while the Lord speaks obscurely, He cannot in such words speak *ambiguously*; the $\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ must have its own definite meaning; and it is in this, not in the perfect omission of the $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$, that the rejected misapprehension had its root. But we must begin with the $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$. As it is here opposed to the *death* intimated in ver. 19, it must mean primarily—to remain in life, not to die or not to die before; and this phraseology is not only established by Phil. i. 24, 25; 1 Cor. xv. 6, but occurs also in St John himself, ch. xii. 34. Thus this expression

¹ Hasse introduces here the distinction between $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ and $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ —which has nothing to do here, and is generally far from being valid—and makes it the Lord's *wish* that John might remain long without a violent death (and as if in opposition to a will of God, who might decree otherwise!). But all this is manifestly wrong—nothing can be more unbecoming and below the dignity of the Risen Lord, speaking of His coming again. See, too, the $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ of Jno. xvii. 24; and even in Matt. viii. 3, it has already its full authority!

itself was an explanation to Peter—The words refer to thy future dying or living! Or, we prefer to think, it implies a presupposition, in Jesus' saying, that Peter had already understood what He had said concerning his death. Thus he is *not* to die until the Lord *comes*! There is a very widely extended interpretation which understands—Until He should come to *call him*, to take him to Himself by death.¹ Augustine, Rupert, Beda, Maldonatus, support this view. Grotius: "As if the commander should say—What if I will that he remain on watch until I call him away?" and he then refers the whole to a death which should not be violent, like that of Peter, but without any human intervention "when Christ should decree the right time to have come." Klee, also: "Until I come to take him away by a gentle death." J: v. Müller: "By a natural death, like that of Moses, through the Lord's kiss of love." Olshausen and Lange are of the same opinion; our Würtemberg Christiane Käßlinger also decides: "This is to be understood—If I will that this man should reach the term of life through My own will alone, and not according to the will of your enemies, what is there in this to hinder thine obedience?" But we adhere to the difficulty already referred to, and regard this exposition (which Hasse also has lately vindicated) to be altogether incorrect. First, does it bring out any actual contrast? Did not the Lord in this sense *come* also to Peter, to take him away? (For all that is said about violent and gentle death has nothing to do with the *ἐρχεσθαι*.) Indeed, *another* was the agent in his death, but certainly only according to the presupposed will of the Lord—can we suppose an *οὐ θέλω* of Christ in this case?² Here we are at one with Lücke that it is "a meaningless thought, that the disciple should live until he died." But, secondly, what right have we to give such a meaning to *ἐρχεσθαι*? Reference has been made to Jno. xiv. 3, where we have acknowledged "the coming of Christ at the

¹ According to Theophylact the *μίσιν* referred to a tarrying in Galilee—and "until I call him from this station, from this land!"

² The same Lange S. 1719 strongly understands by the *ἐλθε* the Lord Himself; and in S. 1721 again—"Until I Myself come to fetch him home. in the providential arrangement of his natural death." Is not violent death a similar providential arrangement?

death of the faithful" as included in the meaning; but that was only a part of the full meaning of the word, which goes onward to the great final *return*; and here in the lips of the Risen Lord, who ever thinks and speaks as one about to ascend to heaven, the meaning is direct and obvious. He can mean nothing but the promised *return* of Him who had gone to heaven, the coming back again which is always expressed by this absolute word. This so definite expression also prevents us from explaining, with Meyer, the "more direct meaning of the mystery"—"I can call him to *follow* and *remain*!" For, as we have said, the μένειν is not so much opposed to the symbolically expressed ἀκολουθεῖν, as to the *dying* which was intimated to Peter.

How then? John has long been dead by the sure testimony of history, and the last day is not yet come. Or are we to believe what Lavater is said not only to have believed, but to have learned like G. Müller by a visitation, and what many now believe, that the Apostle is really still alive?¹ Then the final coming of Jesus is not meant. Is there then any other coming? Assuredly, according to the Synoptics, the Lord speaks of a first coming in the preliminary victory of His kingdom and judgment upon His enemies, of a typical manifestation in the destruction of Jerusalem; and in Matt. xvi. 28 we find a remarkable parallel, in which it is promised to some, as it is promised here, that they should not die until they had seen the Son of man coming in His kingdom. (Comp. Mark ix. 1.) Let it not be said that this is not the *Johannæan ἐρχεσθαι*—St John's *coming of Christ*. As if this Evangelist had his own peculiar Christ; as if we ought not to look in him for a perfect agreement with the words of the same Christ, which the Synoptics record! Moreover, and as far as I know this has never been sufficiently noticed, it is very observable that that promise was given at the very time when Peter was

¹ The legend about his breathing in the grave, susceptible of a beautiful application, is this λόγος which St John refutes, reproduced in another form. See J. v. Müller's *Lebensgeschichte* (Werke vi. S. 34, 74, 106) for his appearances and the expectation that he would come again at the end of the days. So Banga (*Wiederaufrichtung des Reichs Israel*, S. 83) reckons him one of the Two Witnesses, Rev. xi. 3!

rebuked, and pointed to the following of the cross! This expressed and repeated reminder makes in fact this exposition very probable. Thus it was understood in antiquity, as may be seen in Theophylact; Dräseke rests on it (whose keenly exegetical sermons we have so often cited), and so also does Jakobi, with many others among the practical expositors. We may also underlay, if so disposed, a more Johannæan and general meaning still; with v. Gerlach: "even to the consummation of the Church." But *this* exposition is altogether too indefinite for such a meaning, so that we must ask—How comes it here? We must understand and establish the *chronological* element in this *ἐρχεσθαι*, to which the *ἔως* points special attention,¹ only by the parallel phraseology of the Synoptics. And we find here, finally, a very plain testimony that (to adopt the old canon of Muratori) St John, with the other Evangelists, wrote uno ac principali spiritu de *gemino* adventu—even referring also to the twofold character of the second advent.²

Finally, although we willingly acknowledge, on account of the parallel in Matt. xvi. 28, the reference to the catastrophe of Jerusalem, which John survived, and therefore saw the Lord's kingdom come with power, yet the matter does not seem exhausted or definitely settled by that reference. For—taking this very parallel into account—should not the Apostle John, as here contradistinguished from Peter, receive a promise which referred peculiarly to himself? Can we suppose the Lord to have simply numbered him with those *certain ones* to whom the promise had already been given? Thus the *seeing of the Lord*

¹ B.-Crusius makes all too indefinite—"He was to see the victory of Christ's cause;" and again—"To him, the contemplative Apostle, an insight into the development of that cause is promised!" And Lücke, admitting the manifest reference to His future coming to judgment, would understand the answer of Christ in the light of the notions which were then prevalent as to its *near* approach! If this is an actual answer of Christ Himself, such a thought is absolutely out of the question.

² W. Hoffmann (Missionsfragen, i. 215) says: "There is but one word in the Gospel of St John (this one) which speaks of Christ's return, meaning *neither* the final judgment *nor* the spiritual coming through the Holy Ghost." In this we agree, but not with his further remark, that all the discourses of the Lord taken together give us no clear view of the distinction between a second or intermediate coming and the final one. The distinction is in this passage clear enough.

coming in His judgment (for to this end he was so long to remain) seems still to indicate something exceptional for himself:—and who that holds the *Apocalypse* to be St John's (as it truly is!) would not think of that? In this *Apocalypse* St John "beheld in these events the Lord's coming"—and can we think that "it was not meant directly or subordinately?" (Luthardt.) We think that that in which a prediction is proved to be so perfectly fulfilled, must have been itself from the beginning intended. Shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem, almost contemporaneously, but *anticipating* it, "came" the Lord for John, inasmuch as He *manifested* to him His coming, and made him the witness of the sublime *Behold I come!* which pervades this entire Revelation. We will not extract the profound and exhaustive note of Bengel upon the *ἔως ἔρχομαι*; but we will refer to it, and without hesitation avow that we perfectly agree with it. Nothing but this last reference seems to us to correspond perfectly with the word of the Lord concerning John, *because it alone altogether marks out his personality in relation to that of Peter.*

For the *two personalities* of Peter and John in this history and discourse are a *type of universal significance*: this sets the seal upon our understanding of the whole. Everything special in relation to these two disciples "becomes to us a universal, when we come to Christ, and thereby enter the circle of the disciples"—as Rudelbach excellently says. The historical persons of these Two—in this narrative and everywhere to the end—how sharply defined do they stand before us! The common saying—in part justifiable, especially in relation to Jno. xix. 26, 27—which makes John the disciple of *love*, does not hold good in any sense of contrast to Peter.—Here Peter is the *loving*, John the *beloved*, disciple; although the former could love only as being loved, and the latter be loved only as loving. Peter is the *acting*, John the *contemplative* disciple—as is seen in ver. 7 of this narrative. Peter is energetic externally, John internally profound—therefore the former is restlessly moved, the latter inwardly still. The longer Peter lives, the more conflict and trouble is there in his work (as to Paul, also, who stands *with him* in this)—and finally the *cross*! But to John is the *waiting* promised; that is, assuredly, a still abiding and holding out

in the bloodless martyrdom of renunciation of the world; less affected by the conflicts and tribulations of the age, he wanders calmly through all toward eternity. Peter is the beginning, John the end, of the Church and of the apostolical office; to the former is the cross, to the latter the revelation, promised by the Lord. And that which Peter founds is maintained and consummated in its deepest meaning by John. And according to this are developed, as Lange says, "the two most essential fundamental characteristics of Christ's government of His Church in this world, in the contrast of the *Petrine* and the *Johannæan* type of the Church."¹ The Johannæan type, that is, "exhibits the Church in her calm depth, in her eagle-like hovering above the world, in her spiritual, angelic concealment; as she suffers indeed the deepest sufferings of Christ in her inmost life, but withdraws from the external persecutions of a rude world, not through unfaithfulness or avoidance of suffering, but through the heavenly purity and elevation of her nature." We may in a certain sense say that John is the "invisible Church" (as the doubtful word now runs) concealed still in the bosom of her Lord, abiding in her Patmos while the storms rage around.² But we must not, like Fikenscher, give up entirely the historical-personal reference of the word to John himself, and give it a merely *mystical* interpretation:—"This John, that is, the invisible Church must remain until the Lord comes, that is, *never die* because it cannot die!"³ Against all such hasty and superficial interpretation ver. 23 is directed, with its plain and direct reference to the word spoken for this disciple. That, on the other hand, is true in itself which Lange (S. u. k. 1839. i. S. 59, 60) intimates concerning the *Johannæan* Church which will

¹ In this there is something much more deeply and essentially true than in our modern exaggerated notion of the Petrine and the Pauline in the history of the Church.

² For the Seer testifies and will be seen and known; the waiting for the future is present. The Johannæan element in the Church is—in opposition to Lange's view of an ideal, free, and eternal community—manifest and self-approving from the beginning.

³ In S. 208 Fikenscher makes the misunderstanding consist expressly in the assumption that Jesus spoke of a bodily death! St John left it for the spiritual mind to perceive the spiritual and mystical interpretation. But the type would then be baseless, without historical foundation.

become prominent at the end of the days, before the Lord properly comes. But this is nothing more than what many have from the beginning perceived, that the mystically deep doctrine and words of St John belong to a period of consummation ; that his Gospel, and still more his Apocalypse, was written for full understanding in the future. This finally justifies the typical truth of the significant word of Jesus for the continued life of St John in the spirit, and for his breathing in his seeming grave. Yea, verily, our St John is never to be buried, or put to death, or bound ; he continues to live—though it might appear in our time, only in a few poor books and minds—and testifies for the Church of the future, silently preparing herself for her revelation and work.

Let every man think this out ! We only say further—returning to the practical details—Let *every man* take to himself the word which suits him ; either that which was given to Peter concerning the crucifixion of self-will which must be perfect—or the other promise to John, who was as willing to follow as Peter was, and silently prepared to do so, but for whom the Lord appointed another way.¹ And if any Peter—as often is repeated—is tempted, in sympathising love to the soul of his brother John, blended with curiosity, to ask, *Lord what for this man?* let him learn from the Lord's reply to meet his own *cross* in labour and suffering obedience, while others by his side go calmly to meet their *revelation*.—Whatever the Lord may have said during this manifestation after the word to Peter, is passed over by St John, who thus ends the apocalyptic supplement, and the gospel itself. There could scarcely have been much more said, for the “until I come” seems to be spoken just before another vanishing, which typified the final disappearance at the ascension. Yet we admit the probability of that which Ebrard confidently concludes, that the direction to meet Him on the

¹ “John was earlier than the other disciples prepared for the death of martyrdom, as the most perfect sacrifice of obedience to God, and of love to God and man ; but that was the very reason why he was not to taste of a martyr's death. John consummated in his life and natural death what the martyrs sealed in their final sacrifice, namely, the victorious manifestation of the love of God and man.” So Christ. K  pplinger, who makes this also the reason why all endeavours to put him to a violent end were in vain.

mountain, of which we hear nothing elsewhere, was given here at the sea of Tiberias.¹

The Gospel of St John *ends*, as we are convinced, with the subscription, ver. 24 down to *γράφας ταῦτα*.—The *καὶ οἶδαμεν* with all that follows we do not ascribe to the Evangelist himself, but to the, as it were, countersigning Church. The seal of her testimony to the historical truth is first impressed in a dignified and weighty manner by the *μαρτυρία αὐτοῦ*, and in the *ἀληθὴς ἐστίν* the seal of her higher internal assurance of truth as matter of faith. But then (to show the distinction) the artless *οἶμαι* of supposition (an expression impossible to St John !) reproduces the first conclusion of ch. xx. 30, in an intensification of a much lower character, though not without its depth of meaning.² “This conclusion does not speak in a manner so altogether unintelligently exaggerated”—in this Luthardt is right ; nevertheless the authentic conclusion of the Evangelist himself is in much purer style, and in a higher sense pregnant in meaning. Lange brings out only the lesser and negative side of it when he says how characteristic it is “that St John should close his gospel with a word which removes the taint of the dishonouring legend from his own person and life, in order to exhibit his own image in that simple glorification which the light of the word of Christ prepares for him.” “The disciple who wrote these things” stands, rather, in the shade by the side of the prominent Peter, in order that this retirement into the background may become, through the interpreting word of Christ, a sacred obscurity out of which the voice of love and fellowship may resound into the ears of all such souls as John’s, and of the whole Johannæan Church :—So let us bear witness, faithfully hold fast the word

¹ There are other suppositions possible, but not what Pfenninger imagines, that the Lord several times appeared to various disciples expressly to give them this invitation.

² Not in monstrous hyperbole—as Grimm speaks in unholy hyperbole himself ! According to Hamann St John here spoke the truth of his heart—If he had written only as a man, he might never have left off writing ! And, according to Weitzel—Enough now ! for absolute completeness is a thing humanly impossible to be achieved ; “with something like an indisposedness to *much writing*, as being not a man of letters, but of Christian deeds.” This is a matter of feeling ; such a turn as this is most offensive to our feeling as the closing word of an *Evangelist*.

and history of the Lord, *tarrying and waiting for His coming!* Compare the same conclusion as the seal of the whole of Scripture, Rev. xxii. 20, 21. St John knew full well that and in what way the word of the Lord had been fulfilled in His own person. He leaves it, however, in sacred obscurity, that he may not speak more concerning himself, but point onward by this word of further application to its own progressive and continual fulfilment. The final *τί πρὸς σέ* is written also for all Petrine one-sided misunderstanding of the Johannæan spirit and life.

THE COMMISSION AND PROMISES : MISSION, BAPTISM,
PREACHING.

(Matt. xxviii. 18-20; Mark xvi. 15-18.)

Here we have two more gospel-conclusions, and the end draws near. We shall afterwards see that St Mark sums up the final *λαλεῖν* of the Lord in a manner historically indefinite; but St Matthew, giving only a hint of the intervening appearances of Jesus, hastens according to his design to the great manifestation upon the mountain in Galilee; which, although not the last at His ascension, was the most solemn and the most decisive of all, inasmuch as it included the final commission and promises for the foundation of His kingdom, and the establishment of His Church. Though Mark xvi. 15-18 is most probably the historical parallel, we shall for the sake of clearness and certainty expound the text of St Matthew, and then supplement it by reference to that of St Mark.

In vers. 7 and 10 "the mountain" was not specified, as it is in ver. 16; consequently the "appointed" refers to an intermediately received and more definite commandment, which could scarcely have been a mere mediate appointment through others. Thus here we have St Matthew's *hint* that he does not record all the Appearances. What mountain this was we know not. Whether the probably false tradition, which appropriates the earlier transfiguration to Tabor, was derived, as Lange thinks, from this present event and this mountain being confounded with that former one, we will not pause to inquire; nothing can be

established as to the name of the mountain, nor can any specific connection with the history of the Transfiguration, as Hess endeavours to trace it,¹ be determined. More important is the question whether, as St Matthew seems to say, *only the Eleven* were present: and we are fully persuaded that it was not so, but that the Appearance here recorded was that which took place before five hundred brethren at once, 1 Cor. xv. 6. Without any artifices² of exposition, it is plain at the outset that according to ver. 7 a manifestation of Jesus to a large number at once (as again in ver. 10 quite generally to the Lord's brethren, see on John xx. 17), and even for the women, was expressly promised. As by the mention of the mountain in *Galilee* the Evangelist himself refers us now to these directions of our Lord, the prominence given to the *Eleven*—*οἱ δὲ ἑνδεκα*—loses in its connection all appearance of exclusiveness; and we must at least supplement it thus—They went to the place which Jesus had appointed to them in common with *all the rest*. Thus we find this highest and central manifestation foreprepared in St Matthew: by the promise of Jesus before His death, ch. xxvi. 32—by the direction of the angel, ch. xxviii. 7—by the Lord's confirmation, ch. xxviii. 10. Now follows at length the fulfilment. St Paul most expressly attests the fact of such a general assembly; and can we suppose that the Evangelists collectively would have kept silence about *such* an Appearance? Not without purpose was the Lord's specification of a mountain, as a scene befitting so large a number. Further, the evident *solenmity* of the discourse, vers. 18–20 (yea, ver. 17 itself, as we shall see) was appropriate, as our feeling must admit, only to such a larger assembly as would represent the entire discipleship. It is for this reason that St Matthew gives such prominence to this manifestation, which actually possessed that character of finality and farewell with which it is here at the close of all invested. That he gave such prominence to the Eleven

¹ He thinks that both occurrences were certainly on the same mountain: for there it is *πίπτειν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον*, here *προσκυνεῖν*; there fear, here doubt: *προσελθεῖν* parallel in both. So Matt. xvii. 9 is interpreted in such a way as to make it probable that the disciples would say—We saw Him here thus transfigured before!

² As the conjecture of Michaelis: *Οἱ δὲ ἑνδεκα καὶ οἱ μαθηταί.*

as the "leaders of the discipleship," as the *Apostles*, whose commission and promises were now chiefly concerned, was perfectly natural; for he apprehended no misunderstanding of his account, as standing in such connection, and being the matter of such living tradition. We agree with Olshausen, that this great assembly of those who were gathered together by the Risen Shepherd from their dispersion, this solemn assembly announced so long beforehand, promised in such various ways, and at last appointed by the definition of the precise place, "included, it may be supposed, *all* who were at that time believers in the Lord." That is to say, so far as it was possible to gather them together in one place. And that He should show Himself to this little existing Church as Risen, was a grace which was to be expected from the Lord. We do not indeed say with Hess, as if He was still subject, as before, to the conditions of time and space, "He *could* not visit them all individually!" But we regard this meeting with all in one assembly, instead of such individual visitations, alone worthy of our Lord's dignity, and suitable to the nature of the case.

Kinkel, the denier of our Lord's ascension after an interval of forty days, regards the meeting mentioned by St Paul to have been composed of too large a number for times preceding the Pentecost, and would therefore place it as far forward as possible. This of course is consistent with his preconceived views, but is utterly destitute of all grounds.

In this view the *doubting* of ver. 17 (comp. ch. xiv. 31) will cause us no difficulty. We need neither assume, with Beza, οὐδέ instead of οἱ δέ; nor, according to a later theory (St. u. Kr. 1843. i. 124) read διέστασαν or διέστησαν, as if the saying referred to an amazed separation of some from the rest, instead of joining in the προσκυνεῖν. It does, indeed, appear unimaginable that any of the Eleven Apostles should have doubted, especially after all that St Luke and St John have so expressly recorded. But St Matthew is not thus to be understood; he gives us, as Ebrard rightly says, an intimation in this circumstance that many others were present with the Eleven. The ἐράξατο αὐτοῖς itself, after all the antecedents, was much more general, and meant not of the Eleven only; connecting his words with this he continues by οἱ δέ without any previous μέν,

instead of *τινὲς δέ*, as we confidently assume, with Fritzsche and Winer—quite similar to Matt. xxvi. 67. The argument which has been brought against this is baseless; particularly is that one baseless which is derived from the fact that “*προσκυνεῖν* is to be understood *only* of bodily prostration,” and that that alone was matter of scruple! It is simply thus: The Eleven especially (and many with them), when they saw Him, worshipped (*προσεκύνησαν*, the *αὐτῷ* may be spurious), that is, they fell down in adoration (since it certainly includes more than ver. 9 previously); but *some*, who are marked as relatively few by the *οἱ δέ*, doubted. Doubted *what*? We say with Ebrard, “not whether Christ was risen, but only whether this was the Christ, manifesting Himself.” For although they had followed the summons to the mountain, and had been in the company of the Apostles and brethren who had already seen the Lord, they might when they themselves saw Him first, especially if standing at a distance, “distrust their eyes” in astonishment; or fail to believe at once, simply through wonder and joy.¹ This is in the highest degree natural, and a trait of great significance in the very short account of St Matthew: he does not by any means “leave a sting in the minds of his readers at the close of his Gospel;” but testifies the glory of this manifestation of our Lord, and the benignity with which He condescended to glorify Himself in blessing before the weaker, nay the weakest of His disciples.²

Jesus came down, that is, nearer to them, more close to the

¹ Hasse: “For the moment (Aor.) they vibrated between assurance and doubt whether it was He.” But he makes this the result of the glorified form in which the Risen Lord appeared.

² Grotius violates the text when he translates—They had (earlier, hitherto) doubted; and even Jul. v. Müller says—They doubted *until He came*, not afterwards. But if they had come as doubters, where would be the antithesis to “worshipped;” why did not these convinced doubters at once fall down before Him like Thomas? To think of any scruple as to the measure of honour due to Christ, and understand the *διωρίζειν* as meaning a *doubt* whether He should be the object of *προσκυνεῖν* (as Lange does, finding here “the first elements of the Ebionite mind”), and further to regard the Lord as answering that doubt in ver. 18, assuring them that they were right in worshipping Him—all this is altogether alien to the spirit of the passage. Thus much is true, that the sublime words which followed would be sufficient without further evidence to take away all doubt as to the identity of this

circle or half-circle which gathered around Him : this and His great words were sufficient to remove all doubt. Pfenninger (whose general delicacy of feeling is not without its exceptions) very improperly imagines that "He walked graciously around among the multitude, addressed many special words to individuals, approached this man and that with hints and words of love which suppressed the risings of involuntary doubt." Such too confidential demeanour towards them is not in harmony with His Appearances generally, and certainly not with this one in particular ; we must entirely refrain therefore from all such details. Προσελθὼν — ἐλάλησεν — λέγων are inseparably connected in the majesty of this appearance ; and this decisive προσελθὼν forbids us to find here in the following words of St Matthew (as in St Mark) anything like a compendious summary of the Lord's discourses, previously and subsequently spoken. This confuses the whole scene, takes away from the word which was delivered its immediate historical truth, and is contrary to the express testimony of the Evangelist. Even *St Mark*, who does thus compendiously unite ch. xvi. 15 with ver. 14, only gives us what was spoken upon the mountain in Galilee, at this great manifestation ; we must not so misunderstand ver. 19 in his account as to make it a confusion of this mountain with the Mount of Olives !¹

ALL POWER IS GIVEN UNTO ME IN HEAVEN AND UPON EARTH. What a word is this ! What a greeting ! What a foundation for all that follows ! This is far more than a government of teaching, which heaven needs not. *Upon earth* He is King, Lord, Saviour ; hath power over all flesh to give life (Jno. xvii. 2) — over all sinners to save them — over nature, that all its powers may serve Him and His people (see Mark) — that this earth, upon which He stands, may thus become heaven. *In heaven*, whither He will shortly go, all things are similarly subject to Him for the

manifestation with the Risen Lord ; as Bengel in his *Germ. N. T.* remarks, "Those were set right by what follows" — better than in his *Gnomon*, "the Pentecost took away whatever doubt *might remain*."

¹ As in the Gr. Evang. Nicod. the ascension takes place on this Galilean mountain.

service of His kingdom upon earth ; especially has He power to send down from above His Spirit in holy influence and government :—hence *ἐν οὐρανῷ*, as the origin, ground, and seat of His dominion, must *come first*. As to His government over *all the nations* upon earth (which are presently mentioned) the word refers back to Dan. vii. 13, 14, where it is *מְלִיכָה*, Sept. *ἀρχή*—here, more comprehensively, as including heaven, *ἐξουσία*. (Otherwise the commencement there *כִּי יִתֵּן*—*καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόθη* perfectly corresponds with *ἐδόθη μοι*.) All power even in heaven : that goes still further and higher, contains literally in the briefest and sublimest words what apostolical teaching afterwards developed from them, Eph. i. 20–22, Col. ii. 10, 1 Pet. iii. 22, etc., concerning the exaltation of the Son of Man, grounded upon the *resurrection*, but completed in the ascension which necessarily belonged to it. All the angels worship Him, even as man upon earth ; the Father alone is excepted, who hath *given* to the Son this power, in the unity of the Holy Spirit. So also in hell, in the kingdom of death *under the earth*, whence the Risen Lord hath come, He hath all power ; but He includes this latently in the *ἐπὶ γῆς* (speaking according to Gen. i. 1), because He is going on to speak of the founding of His kingdom upon earth ; because He leaves out hell as, although still existent, yet to be destroyed in His victory : and because He is about to proclaim the way of salvation and grace only for those upon the earth. This is the meek and lowly Son of Man, who attributes to this His own human person, as it stands humanly before the eyes of the disciples, Divine power over all the world, and therefore Divinity.¹ “The mightiest Prince of earth knows well that he only for a short space has a piece of the earth’s surface under his sway :—and this Jesus of Nazareth, who had not where to lay His head, says—*To Me* is given all power in heaven and upon earth !” (Schönaich.) For the time, after having bowed His head upon the cross and lifted it up again, He only walks with His feet upon earth, His head is already on high.

Yet He qualifies, as it was fit, the greatness of this word in a

¹ In connection with ver. 17, as Zinzendorf paraphrases : “It must be so ; with all My lowliness I must declare it, that all creatures in heaven and earth may fall down before Me, that ye may bow your knees : It must be so—I am He !”

human mouth by the Ἐδόθη—is given—which in the humility of His majesty is necessarily placed *first*. He might indeed, according to John x. 18 and xvii. 5, have said—I now take back My Divine power over heaven and earth: but He speaks otherwise in order to express, as Dräseke says, that “it had not been assumed, enforced, or wrongly obtained”—the Father as the real *Giver* hath given it to Me. He gave it already from eternity to the eternal Son, as we have read also in Matt. xi. 27. But now also in His humanity, as the *God-man*, which scholastic term, though it was beyond Scripture, is nevertheless almost literally contained in this saying (as well as in Col. ii. 9). This Ἐδόθη regards the ascension as already come, as if it was spoken on His departure; but we must not, with Kinkel, press the word too far, and assume that it must already have taken place. Nor must we, like von Gerlach, contradict the Scripture and say that “the resurrection of Jesus, and not His ascension, was His entrance into the new, eternal, Divine, and heavenly life, as in it all power in heaven and upon earth was already given to Him.”

Luther's translation has well expressed the sense by the *therefore*; the οὖν¹ is not genuine, but an excellent gloss, as expressing the real connection between ver. 18 and ver. 19. Yes, verily, *therefore*—because I am the Lord, all power is Mine; go forth and bring all into subjection to Me! It cannot be otherwise, this must in the end take place. (Meyer's note: “I am the Ruler of the world; therefore faith in Me must conquer.”) Pfenniger's words are very restrained, “Thus He would be the Teacher and Master of all peoples,” and he derives this from the Lord's words being not ὑποτάξαιτε—*subject*—but μαθητεύσατε—*teach*; but we understand from St Mark's plainer words that He is more than a Teacher and Master, that He is also the King and the *Judge*. Now, indeed, it is His will that the word of faith should offer all men *salvation*.² Therefore this supreme Potentate, who will not as yet otherwise exert His power, sends *such* messengers among the nations—“He attaches the exercise of His saving authority to the ministry of their word.” (As

¹ Instead of which we must not put οὖν.

² To offer repentance and remission of sins (Lu. xxiv. 47)—which Lange calls the “calm, gentle, Divine-human, and spiritual character of His power.”

some one has said, but we would add : He does not altogether attach the exercise of His power to that alone.)

Πορευθέντες, GO YE ! This has here in its wide glance over *all nations* a mighty emphasis, and says to the Apostles in person especially, but also to those who should continue their uncompleted mission with the same office and commission, and to the whole missionary Church as such, that there must be no pause or restriction, no rest or satisfaction with anything that is won, until the word of the kingdom is carried over all the earth. See what has been already said upon the preliminary and similar *Go ye and preach*, Matt. x. 7 ; this holds good now in a much more comprehensive sense of the progressing, penetrating, unresting, unlimited character of the Christian Church and its messengers, ministers, representatives, who must extend it everywhere, and everywhere establish its new foundations.¹ Israel never in the Old Testament received such a commandment to *go forth* ; not till its last dispersion before Christ was a *kind* of mission among the Gentiles pretypified and foreprepared. (But see, on the other hand, what was said upon Matt. xxiii. 15, of self-originating, arbitrary, and premature mission-work.)

Make disciples (concerning which significant *μαθητεύειν* we must speak presently at length)—as *ye* now are My disciples, in order that many, many may become what ye have become (Acts xxvi. 29). By this it is proleptically presupposed that these disciples themselves are to be made perfectly such through the Spirit after the ascension ; it is not, as is sometimes said, that they are ideally considered to be so already. And now this word implies that every one who assumes this commission to himself, is imperatively required to become such a perfect *disciple*.—And whom are they to *make disciples*—whom are they called and commissioned to endeavour at least, with all their might, to convert, if so be they may succeed ? ALL PEOPLES ! What a word is this from His mouth, upon this Galilean mountain, and spoken to this little company surrounding the Lord of heaven and earth ! What a task ! We cannot say at once with Neander, that the Lord here “reminded them anew of their calling to proclaim the Gospel among all nations, and incorporate men of all races into

¹ Travelling Preachers—means more than preaching Travellers, as Lange excellently remarks.

His fellowship and community by baptism ;” for where had He said this so plainly and decisively ? By hints and in presuppositions this had been many times spoken of ; it was intended in the mission of Jno. xx. 21 ; but now first does He openly declare it as the commission of all who belong to Him and are His dependents. Mark—not merely the Apostles ! But we say once more : Even if ten thousand surrounded Him, reckoning among them the best of the world’s wise and great—What a task ! The wisdom and power of the whole combined world is far too weak to win one man to the discipleship of our Lord Christ ; and this *whole world* is itself first to be won. Without ver. 18 preceding, ver. 19 would be an inconceivable thing ; therefore He placed it first—*To Me* is the power given, and in this power I send you not in vain ! *To Me*, not to those who are called the ἀρχοντες τοῦ κόσμου in any sense, who pervert their physical or spiritual power against My kingdom, who, alas, will in future time refuse to learn of Me what is the true ἐξουσία, and what its proper use. Nevertheless *to Me* is the power for ever given over and against them, but on behalf of all who will learn and submit. Satan, the highest κοσμοκράτωρ with *his* spirits, tongues, serpents, poisons, diseases, shall not hurt or hinder you, because ye go forth in the power which I promise and give over to you.

How are we then more strictly to understand πάντα τὰ ἔθνη—all *nations* ? Certainly all the Gentiles are first meant, so that the limitation of ch. x. 5, 6 is now expressly withdrawn. This contains, therefore, a strong and absolute protest against that philosophy of nature and history which represents that the races of mankind must struggle through ages of progression into the “development of a perfect religion,” to the out-birth of the “God-man.” The measure of truth which is in all these speculations (and which we do not deny) found its realisation when the *fulness of time was come*, after heathenism had run through its pædagogic course before the appearance of Christ ; and the same may hold good in the dispensation of the Gospel as a pædagogic and long-forbearing dispensation, during which the mission among the heathen only by degrees reaches its consummation. But we must maintain and hold fast that all nations were essentially ripe for the Gospel when the Lord uttered His “disciple all nations ;” and the Missionary Church has never since

had authority to say concerning any people of the earth that it must wait, or, without the Lord's own prevention (as in Acts xvi. 6), to deny to it the Gospel. This great and decisive word impels us rather to perpetual new endeavours; it commands us to announce a manifested and present salvation in places and among people where the abominations of fetish superstition have assumed developments removed to the very utmost from the spirit of the Gospel. Our lofty confidence that nations may, by our preaching, make the one leap from the lowest to the highest, may appear in the eyes of that speculation sheer folly;¹ but our faith knows that the Lord of heaven and earth has the right, and that the true God-man, come down from above, knows the races of men which are prepared for Him and are His possession. There has been an echo to the truth ready to respond in every human heart since the Fall; a power against Satan, who holds the nations in fetters, a grace and gift of redemption, which can outrun all natural processes of development, has never been wanting since the Redeemer has gone up and obtained His gifts even for the rebellious. He is now Himself the way, and the end of the way, in one.

So much concerning the Gentiles, of whom the *ἐθνη* leads us of course first to think. But as to *Israel*? We find a very incorrect interpretation of the word current, which Helferich has reproduced: "The loss of the Jews was to be the good of the Gentiles; the unbelief of the Jews was to result in the faith of the Gentiles. Israel had rejected the Saviour altogether. Jesus had said to the house of Jacob—My peace be with you! but the children of the house had proved unworthy of that peace; His disciples were to cast the dust off their feet, and preach the Gospel to all the Gentiles instead!" As if this commandment of the Lord was already and at once similar to that afterwards given in Acts xxii. 18, 21, which itself is to be interpreted only in harmony with Rom. xi. 13, 14. Although many from the beginning have thus strangely understood the

¹ Comp. my *Keryktik*, 2te Aufl. S. 100. Let such books as Wuttke's *History of Heathenism* be studied, that we may understand how the *Divine power* which appoints that the Gospel should be offered at once to *all nations* is opposed to this theory of a self-developing organism of human seeking and striving in error.

word *ἐθνῇ*, it is nevertheless absolutely false. As if *here already*, before the Pentecost, before their judgment, the Lord had unconditionally given up Israel! In fact, Israel is now and for all the future *included* among the nations, as St Mark's parallel "into all the world" shows, and here also the preceding "and in earth." According to Lu. xxiv. 47, the preaching among all nations was to *begin* at Jerusalem; according to Acts i. 8 they were to be His witnesses to Jerusalem, and throughout Judæa and Samaria, and thence to the ends of the earth. And with similar comprehensiveness Simeon had spoken in the beginning of the New Testament, Lu. ii. 31, 32. But it is in the highest degree significant that in this wide glance Israel, unclothed of his prerogative, is no longer specifically named, is merged in the new and universal *ἐθνος* which is the election of God (Acts xv. 14), and included among all the *ἐθνῇ* of the earth. There is nothing here of the law of Moses, in the place of which is now all that Jesus had commanded, ver. 20; nothing of the covenant and *circumcision* as its sign, the place of which (let us mark it well beforehand, we shall find it needful!) *baptism* takes.¹ The disciples did not indeed enter into the calling of the Gentiles; but the argument deduced therefrom by the recent enemies of the faith, that Jesus never could have laid such a command upon His Apostles, is a wilful perversion. For (as Ebrard briefly replies) "they did not doubt whether Gentiles generally were to be received into the Church, but only whether this was possible without previous circumcision. What their thoughts were as regards the Gentiles generally, see Acts viii. 26, etc., and xi. 20, etc." As it respects the *Jewish mission*, the great Apostle of the Gentiles has most expressly witnessed by word and deed that it must go on parallel with that to the Gentiles to the end of the age, inasmuch as God has not rejected His people; and not only so, but that the great goal exhibited in prophecy, and so ardently longed for, is after all the work among the Gentiles, finally to be expected. (Rom. xi. 13, 14.)

And baptize them! This brings us to the institution of the other sacrament, which will detain us long; but before we go

¹ The first Gospel, written expressly for Jews, declares in wisdom only *this* word; St Luke, on the other hand, presents to the Gentiles the abiding honour of Jerusalem, the kingdom of Israel yet to be expected.

further, a sound exegesis demands that we rightly translate *μαθητεύσατε*, and establish its true connection with *βαπτίζοντες*. The old rendering of the Vulg. by *docete*, which has held its place in our popular translation, has created for the most part only misunderstanding and obscurity; although nothing can be more plain than that in the original itself the *μαθητεύειν* cannot possibly be one and the same with the *subsequens* *διδάσκειν*; and that *βαπτίζοντες* equally with *διδάσκοντες* must be an element in the previous comprehensive *μαθητεύσατε*. *Μαθητεύω* means first, *discipulus sum* alicui, as in Matt. xxvii. 57; and then, as here, *I make another a disciple*, see Acts xiv. 21, and Matt. xiii. 52. If in the latter passage the co-ordinate idea of instruction, of the receiving and possession of knowledge, is prominent;¹ and if in Acts xiv. 21 also a *εὐαγγελιστάμενοι τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην* precedes the *μαθητεύσαντες ἱκανούς*; all this makes the two things clear—that one who has become a *μαθητής* in its perfection has learned from the Master; and that a general *κηρύσσειν* must precede as a condition the making all nations into disciples. But this *κηρύσσειν* is by no means on that account the subsequent *διδάσκειν* for those who are received as beginning and actual *μαθηταί*; least of all are we to seek merely in instruction for the *μαθητεύειν* which is *preliminary* and *introductory*, and so translate—Teach the people, all the individuals of all nations, each one for himself, that and *in what manner* they must become My disciples! The English Bible has retained “teach,” but says more accurately in the margin—*Make disciples* or *Christians* of all nations; and Wesley in his New Testament boldly forms the new word—*Disciple all nations*—as it has been similarly expressed by our old expositors, “*quasi discipulate*.” Suffice it that the word must retain its full and comprehensive meaning, and not be confounded with mere preaching or mere teaching; that exegesis is alone right which construes the word with what follows, and makes the two following participles subordinate to the one Imperative. Nitzsch (*Prakt. Theolog.* i. S. 214) says far too little of this exposition—“it may indeed be defended”—for, in fact, every other may be surely refuted. Olshausen says with good reason that the con-

¹ And *μαθητεύειν* does indeed occur with this specific meaning, e.g. Ignatius ad Rom. *ὡς μαθητεύοντες ἐκτίλασθε*.

struction admits nothing else than that the two participles are the constituents of the *μαθητεύειν*. So Lange: "Make all nations into disciples! And how is this to be accomplished? First, by baptizing all who are to be taught in infancy—and then by teaching the same."¹ The first general direction embraces the whole; it declares their whole vocation." This exposition, although (it may be, by accident) we do not find it in antiquity, is not properly speaking new, for it is perfectly obvious. It has long been urged, as we shall see, in favour of infant baptism. Bengel: *μαθητεύειν* is to make disciples, and embraces baptism and teaching in this place.

Olshausen, consequently, is right when he says: "The passage has been evidently misunderstood by those who have regarded the *μαθητεύσατε* as something preceding baptism (and necessary in every individual case), and who therefore take the meaning to be—*First instruct, then baptize them.*" This perversion of the word² is indeed of high antiquity, and has always been very prevalent, but it is not thereby justified. In the Clement. Const. we read: "You must first remove from them all their ungodliness, *then* instruct them in all godliness, and so make them worthy of baptism"—and that may contain an element of truth as it respects adults. But even as it respects these it borders upon an unapostolical delay of those means of grace which give the power to comply with such conditions; and in any case it is not the true exposition of that which the Lord lays down here as His appointment. When Abbot Alcuin

¹ Heb. vi. 2 speaks possibly of the *βαπτισμὸς διδασκῆς*, of the baptism which receives and dedicates for subsequent teaching. Yet on account of the Plural (because there was not more than one kind of such baptism of instruction), and in the connection of the whole passage, we prefer—Doctrine of the (various) baptisms. To discriminate the two words as two stages, is certainly false.

² This is the letter of Scripture on which the Baptists rest, as if the law of the kingdom was here set down—"Preach the Gospel to every creature! Some will believe, some will not. *Those who believe baptize and teach!*" or, "The preaching for all; baptism for those who believe; doctrine for those who are baptized." We shall sufficiently refute this, and give all reasonable and moderate opponents of infant-baptism evidence that we do not violate any fundamental law of Christ in baptizing children. We shall show that the words in St Mark, which seem to favour their order, should be expounded according to St Matthew, and not conversely.

(Epp. xxviii. xxxvii.) gave Charlemagne his counsel against the baptism of the Saxons, and spoke of "the external rite being rendered useless unless the knowledge of the faith *preceded* in the soul, which is gifted with reason," his scruple was very proper; but he missed his way when he grounded it upon the common exegesis of this passage,—“the Lord Himself commanded that the faith should *first* be taught, then baptism administered.” However true this may be of adults, and it is well understood by all in our day who do not aim, like Charles, at wholesale indiscriminate baptism, yet the Lord did not in *this* place denote a previous *κηρύσσειν*, immediately and alone, by the *μαθητεύειν*.

Nor is Grotius right when he, to retain the manifest distinction from the subsequent *διδάσκειν*, maintains that there is a “double kind of *teaching*, one by means of the *εἰσαγωγῆς τῶν στοιχειουμένων*, the other by means of *διδασκαλίας*. The former seems to be indicated by the word *μαθητεύειν*, that is, as it were, *to initiate into discipline*, and is placed before baptism; the latter by the word *διδάσκειν*, which is here placed after baptism” (as if the *locatio præ et post* was not quite different in the construction!) The *μαθητεύειν* is by no means the *κατηχεῖν*, which is then followed by the *ἐπιγνώσις*, according to Lu. i. 4, or even Acts xviii. 25. We shall not mention at length other rash and arbitrary interpretations which occur from the earliest times; such *e.g.* as that of Greg. Nyss., who, when he would establish the distinction, so fruitful in danger to theology, between the *ἔθικόν (ἡθικόν) μέρος* and the *δογμάτων ἀκρίβεια*, refers (Ep. vi.) to Matt. xxviii. 19, where *μαθητεύσατε* beforehand indicates the instruction of faith, but *τηρεῖν πάντα* the instruction of morals. How is this to be derived from the words? We should rather say that in its order and meaning *βαπτίζειν* stands as the *beginning point* of the *μαθητεύειν*, or more strictly as its first preliminary fulfilment, inasmuch as a baptized person has become thereby a commencing *μαθητής*, who may and will learn more. So Bengel compares Jno. iv. 1, *μαθητὰς ποιεῖ καὶ βαπτίζει*. The “teaching to observe all things” brings first the consummation of the discipleship, and it is made a subordinate member of the sentence as *parallel* with the baptizing: thus the great and comprehensive *μαθητεύειν*—*disciple*—embraces the whole up to that consummation of discipleship. We

may say preparatorily (before we come to infant-baptism), and with exegetical propriety, that it must depend upon the closer relations and necessity of the case whether the *baptizing* or the *teaching* should rather take the precedence; the *word* here decides nothing on that question.¹

All this will come in order, but now first for the word BAPTIZE! None of our readers will be disposed to hold with the Quakers and Socinians, who either give an internal, spiritual meaning to this *baptize*,² or refuse to perceive in it any ordinance for future times.³ For what the well-known word meant from the time of John the Baptist, the Apostles must have understood also; and in that sense alone could they have received it. If the general commandment in Matt. was not sufficient to establish the permanent obligation of this baptism by water, indubitable testimony is borne by Mark xvi. 16. God had from the times of the Gentile and Jewish washings prepared the way gradually for the expressive symbol; the baptism of proselytes (a custom existing most certainly, as Schneckenburger shows, at that time, and essential to the consideration of the question) was the point of connection for the *first express commandment of God to John, to do with the Jews as they were*

¹ Not therefore so decisively on the other side as many old defenders of infant-baptism used to assert, e.g. J. Winkler: "The Lord prescribes two means for the μαθητεῖαν, the βαπτίζαν in respect to the little ones, the διδάσκον in respect to the adults!" Where then would be the institution of the first mission-baptism for adults?

² Only the one baptism of Christ, Eph. iv. 5, remaining as being valid, but not being a baptism with water, 1 Pet. iii. 21. The water was done away with the symbolical baptism of John; and that Matt. xxviii. 19 must be understood of water-baptism is the *petitio principii* which has caused the universal error of the Church!

³ The Lord appointed, to wit, such ordinances for the sake of those who first passed from heathenism to Christianity, because "at that period some external rite was necessary for their initiation," as now in our missions. Accordingly, it is made a question whether Christ did not mean by baptism a dipping into instruction, a mere teaching. So Socinus de Bapt. Hence, in the Racov. Catech. Qu. 333: "What is thy faith touching the water of baptism? That it is the external rite by which men coming from Judaism or heathenism to Christianity publicly *professed* that they acknowledged Christ as Lord." And Qu. 546: "Are infants capable of this rite? By no means. For there is no command or example in Scripture, etc., etc."

*accustomed to do with the Gentiles.*¹ And this commandment of God, as we may thus establish, did not belong to the transitory ordinances of the Old Testament; but it was a type and commencement of the New-Testament sacrament. The Lord Himself had submitted to baptism, and had further baptized by His disciples. When, therefore, He, to whom was given all power in heaven and earth, appointed in Divine authority a baptism for the future Church to be gathered from all nations—who can otherwise understand it than as we find it immediately afterwards in the apostolical history? As He had formerly prophesied in Jno. vi. concerning the Supper, so also He had prophesied to Nicodemus, ch. iii. 5, and with evident reference to the baptism of John, concerning the *water* which He would retain, establish, and consecrate as the medium of entrance into His kingdom:—see what was said upon that passage.² Thus here at His departure, when He (as even Lutz is obliged to admit) “certainly introduced only the most essential ordinances,” He appoints thereby once more an *external* “Do this;” but infuses into it a power and a promise, spiritual, divine, and proceeding from His glorified life. Let it be observed in all simplicity that the Supper and Baptism are the *only* two commandments and ordinances connected at the same time with an external thing, which He leaves behind to His Church! As those who already belong to Him, being His disciples, and who are already purified by a first washing away of sin, remember Him and partake of Him in the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, and at the same time in confession are thereby to show forth Him and His death—so was it necessary that the young *discipleship* should have an external mark of their acceptance into it. Although this baptism must of course, according to the power and reality of the New Testa-

¹ Only thus can we understand the baptism of John according to its point of connection and significance. A later introduced baptism of proselytes, which would have been partly a protest against John, partly a mockery of the Christians, is therefore quite inconceivable!

² Socinus asserts: “No man, though the most bitter defender of water-baptism, can doubt that such baptism must be excluded here, where water is required as essentially necessary to salvation.” He then explained it *by* *water*; of repentance, though inconsistently admitting the validity of the external rite in the two Evangelists, notwithstanding their *οὐκ ἔστιν*.

ment, bring much more than a mere *nota professionis* or sign of profession.

And it is more than and different from the *baptism of John*, which indeed, like the Baptist and preacher of repentance himself, stood in the middle transition between the two Testaments, demanded not merely a symbolical but a real repentance, preparatorily communicated a *forgiveness of sins* through the Coming One to the penitent, though by no means the Holy Spirit unto the full new birth.¹ Thus that was no Sacrament; but the baptism which Christ now appoints, is. Calvin zealously defended, though by specious arguments easily refuted, the perfect similarity between the Christian baptism and that of John the Baptist;² the old Lutheran divines, also, from Gerhard downwards, were of the same opinion. But this will not mislead those who on other and sufficient grounds understand the question differently, and who cannot reconcile themselves to such an unjustifiable blending of the preparatory, prophetic, commencing usage, to which repentance and the first forgiveness of sins belonged, with the Sacrament of the new birth for full incorporation into the Church of Christ, which brings with it the Holy Ghost. For, as v. Meyer writes on this subject: "The kingdom of heaven, for which the Baptist dedicated the people, lay yet in the obscure future. This much only took place, that the sinner longing for grace obtained a more definite and spiritual conviction of that for which his heart longed. The consolation was as yet always prophetic;³ the person baptized might assure

¹ Thus the distinction is certainly not as represented in Melancth. Loc. Com. — not *rectissime* but contrary to Scripture: "The baptism of John was termed a baptism of repentance; Christ's baptism—a baptism for the remission of sins!"

² Institt. lib. iv. cap. xv. § 7, 8. He very easily despatches Matt. iii. 11, for the servants of the Lord even now only present the water. "What beyond that could the Apostles do? and those who baptize now? They are, forsooth, the ministers of the external sign, Christ the author of the interior grace." For he knows nothing of the sacramental connection between the now first given Spirit of regeneration and the water. Oetinger also strikingly errs, when he (Theol. ex idea vitæ, p. 328) only makes a *distinction* according to "the degree" though "the grace is alike," and even says: "John baptized into the Father and into the Spirit, as well as into Christ: because he baptized into the remission of sins."

³ Assuredly so, rightly understood! For even that forgiveness of sins to

himself of a participation in the coming kingdom of the Messiah ; but the true purging of the conscience and pacification of the soul was not yet come. *We* are not baptized with the baptism of John ; for that into which John baptized as future, we are baptized into as come." The passage most decisive for the essential difference of the two baptisms, notwithstanding the real transition from one to the other, is the account in Acts xix. 1-7. For here it is assuredly recorded, as the Vulg., Syr., and all the old versions understood, that the twelve men were again baptized by St Paul with water ; that is, they were now baptized with the true, sacramental water. The usual method of defending this text against the doctrine of re-baptism¹ (the advocates of which, according to Olshausen, have always, from Cyprian down to our Anabaptists and Mennonites, made this passage very prominent) is rightly pronounced artificial and forced. It makes ver. 5 the continuous saying of the Apostle Paul,² and not the narrative of the Evangelist ! In favour of this, much emphasis has been laid upon the connection of the *μέν* and *δέ*, in vers. 4 and 5 ; but (apart from the fact that later criticism of the text has removed the *μέν*) this assigns to ver. 5 a meaning which is as utterly inconceivable. A *μέν* broken off without *δέ* is by no means without precedent (see e.g. Acts iii. 21) ; but, on the other hand, the Apostle cannot be regarded as having said that those who had obeyed the Baptist, *ἀκούσαντες*, had been already baptized into the uttered and announced name of the Lord *Jesus*—just as the Christian baptism is spoken of after Pentecost ! Bengel : " For John at the end of his baptism pointed to Jesus, chap. xiii. 25 ; wherefore it cannot be said that he baptized them in the name of the Lord Jesus, unless it is asserted that he baptized the people twice, the first time unto repentance, the second time in the name of Jesus." Either the *μέν* is spurious, and introduced on account of the *δέ* ; or this

those who confessed in sincere repentance, which we may not deny according to Lu. iii. 3, was, as during the O. T. times, not such a perfect forgiveness as that which the Lamb of God who afterwards took away sin could give.

¹ Unnecessary, since there is nothing here said about *such* re-baptism.

² Thus did Calvin Institt. iv. 15, 18, establish his *rebaptizatos nego*. Beza, Calixtus, Lightfoot, even Budde, Rambach, and others, agreed with him in this

latter makes a profound connection with the former in the Apostles' teaching and act: in any case ἀκούσαντες refers back to εἰπέ τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ver. 3, and ἐβαπτίσθησαν stands in parallel with καὶ ἐπιθέντος αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ. Those who had been baptized by the Baptist were not at the beginning of the evangelical preaching ordinarily baptized again with water (on which Acts i. 5 will occasion further remark); but here, in the case of those who were already removed and estranged from the proclamation of John, it was needful that the law of the kingdom should be maintained and attested by their new baptism.

The baptism appointed by *Christ* manifestly refers back to the symbolical baptism which Christ Himself received in the Jordan; for, as then FATHER, SON, AND HOLY GHOST were first fully *revealed* in their sacred trinity, so now disciples were to be baptized unto or into the name, not merely of the Father who then bore witness, not merely of the Son who then received the witness that He was the Son, but also most perfectly into the name of that Holy Spirit whom the Son had in Himself, *with Him* (as John foreannounced the distinction) *to baptize*. "This is (as Olshausen says) the only passage in the gospels in which the Lord Himself named the Three Persons together"—that is, in so simple, direct, and express conjunction; for, otherwise, the readers of our earlier exposition have been sufficiently prepared by Jno. xiv.-xvi. for this conjunction, and find nothing unexpected or new in this summary, after so many plain trinitarian testimonies. *Name, ὄνομα* is never in the New Testament construed with a Genitive *rei, non personæ*; it is in other passages (as Acts i. 15; Rev. iii. 4, xi. 13) where that might seem the case, equivalent to person. Thus both in anthropomorphic, and, at the same time, most metaphysical essential truth, the three "persons" of the one Divine nature stand here together; their unity is held fast and witnessed by the τὸ ὄνομα, not τὰ ὀνόματα—*name*, not *names*. All that would rob this equal juxtaposition of *God* the Father, the *Son*, and the *Spirit*, is arbitrary and forced in opposition to the plain and incontrovertible word. Thus, the triunity of the Divine nature must be a most important and *fundamental* mystery, both for the knowledge and the practice of faith:—why otherwise should the revelation of it be placed here in so prominent a position at

the outset, just where the Church is to begin to exist, and so firmly bound up with the baptism which brings grace and eternal life? Braune: "Here is the *mission* commanded, *baptism* appointed, *trinity* taught." Here have we the most primitive, the most simple foundation of the Church's confession of faith, given by the highest authority! Here the central point, from which all the doctrines of our faith issue, into which they all converge, and in which they all must end! "He who is called a Christian and denys the triune God, does dishonour to the word in which he was baptized"—so writes v. Meyer; and in another place: "Nothing can be more simple than this utterance of our Lord; but an humble mind will perceive at once that it cannot understand this by its own resources. The unhumble reason has recourse to dialectic subtilties, which rationalise His word, that is, undeify it. In harmony, therefore, with the entire theology of the Gospel, we regard it as saying—Into the name of the *Three, who are One*, into the Three-One God."

Thus the μαθητευθέντες were to be called and consecrated—and this is the general and sure meaning without any reference to the special meaning of εἰς τὸ ὄνομα—to the knowledge and confession of the one living God, whose nature ever remains a mystery for the apprehension of faith; the profound darkness of its incomprehensibility being brought to light in the place where it is first clearly revealed to faith. Nevertheless, the triune God, whose name of Father, Son, and Spirit is applied to the Father, the Son, the Spirit, is as such fully revealed. The Father is now made manifest in the sending of the Son; the Son in His resurrection, on His way to the supreme power in heaven and earth (ver. 18); the Holy Ghost was soon to be poured out, and thus to manifest Himself also:—thus in the mention of Him now there is once again a prolepsis. This baptism into the Spirit, come also like the Son, and offering Himself, could not of course take place until and after the Pentecost. But all who receive baptism in conformity with this anticipatory institution, require to be baptized into each of the three Names; here there is no distinction and no division. Even the great Bengel erred, misled by his keen inquisition into special references, when he regarded baptism into the name of Jesus as alone necessary to the Jews, who were already

in God's covenant, in order to their reception of the Holy Spirit's gift; while the *Gentiles* (whom he supposes to be here especially and only meant by the *ἔθνη*) required baptism into the complete name, as here. For even to the Jews God was revealed as a *Father* only through the Son; and as it respects the apparent deficiency of the baptismal formula in the later New Testament, we shall explain it in due course.

What means then INTO or IN THE NAME? It is obvious, at the outset, that *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* cannot be simply equivalent to *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι*, as the Vulg. translated *in nomine*, and Luther *im Namen*.¹ This would then only have reference to the baptizer; and nothing (contrary to Mark xvi. 16) would be promised or specified for the baptized; the sublime *βαπτίζοντες*, to which such new and great promises are attached, would stand as it were enigmatically alone; and we should receive *here* at least (where it might be expected) no proper answer to the question—How and to what end are they baptized? We may indeed say in the words of Luther, generally: "To be baptized in the name of God, is not to be baptized by men but by God Himself! Wherefore, although it is administered by the hand of man, yet it is to be regarded as the proper work of God alone."² But this is not the true and full exposition of this *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, which certainly corresponds to *ἐν* and not *ἐν*, and in its deep meaning points by the *εἰς* only *forwards* to the now-established communion of the baptized with the triune God.³ The current and superficial interpretations of a different kind have something true in them; but they are not its direct exposition, and

¹ And we, alas, as Hasse complains, have retained to our own day this easily perverted expression.

² Ed. Rechenb. p. 536. Similarly Luther elsewhere: "This is what the words show where the minister says—I baptize thee, etc. He does not say—I baptize thee in my name."—Previously: "Therefore we must receive baptism from the hands of a man as if from the hands of no other than Christ, yea God Himself:—baptized with His own hands." A way of speaking which we find frequently occurring in the theologians from Melancthon's *Loc. Com.* downwards.

³ Acts x. 48 is the only instance in which we find *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι* (for ch. ii. 38 *ἐν* is equiv. to *auf*, *zu*); but either it is in that passage instead of *εἰς*, or it designs to make prominent that these Gentiles, who already had the Spirit, had been baptized in the full and plenary authority and will of Christ.

most assuredly do not exhaust the word here spoken by the Lord. We shall not say much about Storrs's exegesis, "in honour of the Father," etc., *δνομα*, as is well known, being used often in the New Testament, *e.g.*, Heb. i. 4, and also in the Old Testament, for honour, dignity!¹ This still withholds all reference to the meaning and substance of baptism for the baptized themselves; just as in the commentary of Paulus, where we read, "in reference to the naming of Father, Son, and Spirit!!" and again, "dedicated, that they might remember, what these denominations contain!" The common renderings mean much more than this when they say—*Into the* (previously avowed but abandoned?) *confession*; or—*In order to the confession of faith in the triune God*. But the more thoroughly we press into the heart of this great word, which thus for the first time so simply designates the nature of God, and accompanies the institution of the sign of the new covenant, the less can we be satisfied with all this; we desire and are constrained to take for granted a meaning which shall reach efficaciously to this nature of God, as well as express the fellowship of the baptized in the same. Instead of this, Bindseil would bring us back to the most external possible interpretation of "this phrase, which still needs [yes, verily!] a more exact solution." According to its origin and natural force, he says that "to baptize into the name of any one, is, through baptism, to influence a person, to name himself after another." Clericus supports this view;² and (instead of pressing into the new depth of Christian terms) adduces the example of Jewish phrases *לשם מבל לשם*—*e.g.* עבדות, to be called a servant, *לשם בן חורין* to the name of a free-born, *לשם נירח* of proselytship—and endeavours to establish it also by 1 Cor. i. 13. But in this passage, to which 1 Cor. x. 2 should be added, St Paul would *catachrestically* make it plain to all that there could not have

¹ Even the expression *εἰς Χριστόν*, he maintains, means no more than—to the honour of Jesus!! On the other hand we would point to the deeper meaning of the significant *συνηγμῖνοι εἰς τὸ ἰσὺν δνομα*, Matt. xviii. 20.

² And, we may say, Grotius also, who says: "To be baptized into any one, or into his name, is to devote oneself to him, and to wish to be called by his name." Sepp, also, under the false supposition that the *Gentiles* are here especially meant, supposes that the heathen were to be baptized into the name of God, as foundlings gathered in the way.

been such a thing as a baptism into *his* name in the sense of the Christian formula, since he was not God and not their Redeemer, and therefore could give them nothing. "By this expression he strongly expresses simply his revulsion of feeling," as Heim well says concerning it. But in ch. x. 2 (here it is not—In the name of Moses; for who was ever *named* in the name of Moses?) the baptism *unto Moses* is, in its typical sense, an incorporation into that economy of God, of which Moses was the medium, as essential and real as the incorporation into Christ and participation of His grace, of which baptism makes us the subjects. "The cloud and the sea were the symbolical, typical baptism into the *law*, which Israel in his proselyte-baptism copied after; but the grace and truth of the baptism of Christ (who through *His* baptism, *His* suffering and death, fulfilled for us unto righteousness the baptism of the Gentiles into the law, and of the Jews by John the Baptist) came not through John, but through Christ Himself in its fulness unto us." So teaches v. Meyer, the great theologian whom our age so unwarrantably neglects. Bindseil finds his own peculiar significance in the being named after the name of God: the *subjection* to the Lord, whose name is assumed—the new *dignity* which it confers; but all this is far from the truth and reality of the power and energy of baptism. And his illustration of the way in which the naming into the three names of God finds its application, is altogether too specific: the baptized become *υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, δοῦλοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, and—*πνευματικοί*:—sons of God, servants of Christ, and *spiritual*.

In the revised German Bible we have at least *auf den Namen*: change in such fundamental passages is very perilous, and more express literality could hardly here be ventured on. But the change admits that faith in the *salvation* which comes from this triune God, and is indeed appropriated in baptism, is less the condition and presupposition of baptism, than its *end*.¹ Properly, however, in the same depth of meaning, as we

¹ As Lutz happily expresses it: "On the part of the subject the acknowledgment of the exclusive significance of these Three in his redemption; and objectively the assurance of that salvation which is given in these Three." Only that the acknowledgment in the subject must not necessarily be always matter of personal consciousness.

so often find *εἰς θεόν, Χριστόν*, and *ἐν θεῷ*, we are to be baptized *into the name* of the Three-One. Not, indeed, after the manner Barclay so boldly expresses, while rejecting its connection with water; but the sign and the substance are here also sacramentally bound together, and this *most internal* *εἰς*, connected with the *external βαπτίζω*, as used by the Lord Himself, and thus expressly delivered to us by the Spirit, has actually the same place and significance as the *τοῦτό ἐστι* in the Lord's Supper. Certainly not, however, any more than it was there, by any absolute necessity of the letter; for a Sacrament is matter of faith, not of demonstration. And as in the Sacrament of the Supper we find that a deeper meaning is attached to a more superficial one, the mystical-real communion of the body in the *bread* being intended, when this latter is given with the words—*This is the body*; so also here in connection with dipping into the *water* there is the wonderful—Baptize ye (say—I baptize thee) *into the name* of God, the triune God! Thus this NAME, and in and with it the uttered, attested, revealed nature of God—is not this always the meaning when the name of God is concerned?—is actually the wonderful virtue of the water of baptism, as bound up in the institution for all futurity, the *true* water of the *word* (Eph. v. 26), in which the Church is further to be cleansed and sanctified unto perfection. Beginning, sum, and kernel of this word is the name of God, in which life and power are communicated by means of the *Spirit*. It is not the accompanying and succeeding preaching of salvation or the *verbum quod accedit ad elementum*; but this very formula itself—not, however, as a mere formula, but as carrying in it the essential name of God, preaching itself, and pledging, and including salvation. And because the Father and Son work upon and within men, and enter them by the *Holy Spirit*, this *third* name is here the decisive and completing name. Therefore the first promise of the beginning-baptism ran quite rightly—Ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost! But we also know in what way apostolical doctrine interchangeably supplements the words—The baptized are incorporated into the *Son*, have put on Him (1 Cor. xii. 13; Gal. iii. 27; Rom. vi.), that is, finally—as the children of God the *Father*. Most excellent is the language of Luther's smaller catechism

on this point, "Not mere water alone," etc.:—excellent in this, that with profound truth the name of God, with which the water is *bound up*, is at once named in full distinctness *God's word*; for this name in such an institution is truly no mere name, but the living, life-giving word. Thus there is a "translation into communion of life with the Father, Son, and Spirit" in this dipping into their name; the baptized become "translated into the power and nature of God"—that is, of course, as is self-evident, in a *beginning* which springs from the grace of God, and which must be continued in the whole life of the baptized, according to no other rule than which is laid down in the whole revealed way of salvation. As he who devotes himself to learn and follow the Master becomes thereby His *μαθητής*, and yet the discipleship is perfect only at the end (Lu. vi. 40)—even so the baptism of the word and Spirit goes on through the entire process of sanctification; although this whole is given already, by prophecy and pledge, in the comprehensive fulness of the commencing symbol. This *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* manifestly indicates a *future*, points onward to a way of consummation, as if it should say—Into the Name now giving itself to them, and to be henceforth by them more and more livingly known and worshipped in faith; into the power and grace of that name which now begins to work in them. And what is the *thing presupposed* for the reception of this baptism? Assuredly a *faith*, which knoweth and calleth upon the name of God; for without such mediation it would be an empty word and not the *name*.¹ But now, is it a faith of the *baptizing*, receiving Church, or must there necessarily be a faith of the *baptized*, in this baptism; must there be a conscious and supplicating faith in every individual person baptized? The words of institution, according to the unprejudiced exposition which we have given in harmony with the analogy of all sound interpretation of Scripture, contains *upon this point* no anticipatory and literal decision, but leaves that in its grand profundity to the *expounding* directions of the Spirit, ruling and testifying in the Church when the true baptism should have really come.

¹ Hence we may in this sense wish that in Luther's third—*Water does not effect it*—faith was more thoroughly appended; especially when the *full* regeneration is in question.

Relying on this temperate and unprejudiced apprehension of the words, which is not derived from any opinion or dogma previously entertained, we may conclude :— *Consequently in regard to the children* of Christians, their faith in the Church, and the prospect and pledge of subsequent Christian instruction and discipline at the hands of their parents or sponsors, and of the Church which takes their place as instructors, is certainly ground and justification enough for their receiving the Sacrament of initiatory grace (*sacramentum initiationis*), and ample reason for not denying to them at the outset of their natural life the pledge of their fellowship with the life of God.

Thus we hold fast *infant-baptism*, concerning which Barclay asserts that it is a mere ordinance of man, of which there is to be found in Scripture neither commandment nor example; which has been rejected by so many, with more or less sincerity of faith in the word of God; and about which so much new agitation has lately sprung up. It may be said that only a few theologians in our day are firmly and clearly decided in its favour; while not a few think with Barclay. We shall endeavour to go to the ground of the matter, as far as that is possible within our prescribed limits.¹

Spangenberg's *Idea fidei Fratrum* contents itself with a view which is in part exegetically false, and in part ecclesiastically inadequate :—"When our Redeemer sent His disciples forth into all the world, the Christian Church was yet to be formed. The Lord then told them how they should proceed in gathering together His Church. Thus preaching was first, afterwards faith, then baptism. But when churches were formed in this manner—*What was to be done with the children!*" And then follows all kinds of reasons and illustrations to show—as if the Lord had said nothing in the institution about it!—"how it came to pass that infant-baptism became universal in the

¹ In order to avoid such a diffuse disquisition as that into which we were led upon the Lord's Supper, we shall abstain almost entirely from controversy with the rapidly increasing monographic Baptist literature, such as the tracts of Martensen, Culman, Brauns, Wichelhaus, etc. But W. Hoffmann's *Conversations on Baptism and re-Baptism* we must slightly notice, for there is something in the kind of defence which we must protest against.

Church." It then concludes, "we may believe that the hand of God itself so ordered it, and that the Holy Spirit, who did not cease to give instructions to the disciples, brought it in as a necessity that children should be baptized." All this is assuredly saying too little. The extensively circulated commentary of Olshausen, which expresses the views of a large number, maintains concisely a position which we must contest, in its two fundamental points: "By the introduction of infant-baptism, which was certainly not an apostolical usage, but became necessary in the Church when the active effluence of the Spirit's energies had ceased, the relation of baptism was changed; the external rite retrograded back to the position of John's baptism, and received its necessary internal completeness only in confirmation." Just as Neander exhibits the ecclesiastical position of the question, though with temperate expression: "the data which we possess would argue a non-apostolical origin of the rite." (Which, indeed, Thiersch inverts.) What must we say when even v. Meyer leaves the matter in the following uncertain state: "The baptism of infants is very old, but its origin cannot be traced anywhere." (Not in the Lord's words of institution, not in the inmost nature of baptism itself, not in the New-Testament history of the Church, and the history that followed it?) "Meanwhile it is no more forbidden in the New Testament than it is expressly enjoined"—but this we must contend against, as it cannot satisfy the requirements of the subject. This we shall see if we once more consider what the essence of baptism really is; then the scriptural teaching concerning infant-baptism; and, finally, as far as may be necessary, what the earliest Church-history says for or against it.

Holy Baptism,¹ as instituted by God through Christ, involves indeed much more than that which Ebrard (vom Abendmahl i. 55) attributes to it: "He who submits to the rite of baptism as the confession of a faith which is already in him, receives in that baptism, on the part of God, an assurance that he is saved in Christ." Very good as to the externals for the adult; but this is not the essential of our avowal, and of God's assurance.

¹ Would that all sincere and earnest men would abstain from the current abuse of the word "baptize," and not give their sanction to its profane employment in relation to a multitude of other things.

It is the deeper view of the Sacrament which gives us our justification for administering it to children. The twenty-sixth article of the English Church goes much further than that for infant-baptism: "Baptism is not only a sign of profession and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened, but is also a *sign of regeneration, or new birth*, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are *grafted into the Church*." But this is not enough; for although this definition prepares the way for the tenableness of infant-baptism, yet it must itself be made more definite and deep. That is, this *grafting* and planting in the Church, which is the Lord's body, if it is not again a mere phrase, cannot take place by means of a mere empty *sign* of regeneration. The *discretio Christianorum a Gentilibus* is only the *finis secundarius*; the *adunitio ad corpus ecclesie* (not identical with that) is merely and is certainly the *result* of an internal operation. The Geneva Catechism is better (although it previously specifies with subtle care, that the honour of washing our sins away must not be taken from the *blood* of Christ, while it is attributed to the water):—"But dost thou ascribe to the water nothing more than that it is a symbol of the washing away of sin? I believe that *it is a symbol in which, at the same time, there is reality contained*. For God deceiveth us not, when He promises us His gifts." On the other hand, Lutz says very strangely, with design to remove from the symbol and external seal of assurance all *magical influence*,—"To the faith manifested by the recipient in baptism it says, as it were, in Christ's word, —*κατὰ τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν γενηθήτω ὑμῶν*; it testifies—As thou believest it *will* be done!" But is it *only* "*will*"—and not already "*is now done to thee?*" This gives us no such Sacrament as realises grace in the sign; and certainly no warrant of infant-baptism. Heim rightly protests against the words of Brenz' Catechism, "A Divine token, by means of which God the Father, through Jesus Christ His Son, and in the unity of the Holy Spirit, *testifies* to the baptized that He *wills* to be to him a merciful God;" and also against the expression of the Württemberg Confirmation-book, "Baptism *assures* us of the grace of God," etc. As a mere assurance and seal of a grace already present, New-Testament baptism would be entirely equi-

valent to circumcision; see Rom. iv. 11.¹ Far be it from us to think so! It has power "to work that which it exhibits"—as is perfectly plain from the *mystical* εἰς τὸ ὄνομα added to the (presupposed) ἐν ὕδατι; from the analogy of the only other institution of an external rite; and from the spirit of all sound scriptural interpretation, which will not permit that in the New Testament any empty usage should be regarded as appointed by God. It is itself, as Nitzsch says, "the pledge and external security of regeneration by the Spirit." In Rom. vi. when, on the one hand, the Apostle is explaining the symbolism of the rite,² and, on the other, emphatically urging the consequent obligation to perfect that which was only begun in baptism, he recognises and asserts, at the outset, that we have already died and risen again, that we *are* already implanted, because we are baptized. Comp. Col. ii. 12; Gal. iii. 27; Tit. iii. 5 in its right exposition, which we cannot here unfold. And thus the Lord did really ordain *two Sacraments*. It is by no means, as Lutz asserts, "an unhistorical view, that Jesus conceived and collo-

¹ On this absolutely false notion, which, in its inmost principle, and in the highest degree opposes Scripture, the whole Baptist theory, at least as represented by Ribbeck, rests. He calls baptism only the external sign of those who have received and experienced the internal work; the uniform of worthy recruits; a prerogative of grace for those who have already entered into the covenant.

² "The sinner is not so much to be washed as to die," writes Luther. The latter does not indeed exclude the former; but it brings the full and deeper meaning to it. This follows from the reference to Christ's baptism in Jordan: see Vol. ii. The perfect immersion is not accidental in the form, but manifestly intended in the βαπτίζω εἰς; nevertheless, the Smalkald articles require it too rigorously, and therefore have never been obeyed. Inasmuch as the external part of the symbol is not in itself the essential, the immersion might again be further symbolised by a sprinkling: hence βαπτίζω occurs frequently in the sense of mere washing, and it is probable that there was from the beginning a certain freedom of action. Where water was at hand for the purpose, the dipping might take place; where otherwise, baptism would be administered by sprinkling, as *probably* with the thousands on the day of Pentecost. Whether in Acts ix. 18 Paul "came up out of the flood" (as Ribbeck says) is uncertain. We do not hold with those who lament with too much earnestness the disuse of immersion, or who ascribe to our using too little water the too little influence of our baptisms. In the nature of the case the element is not so closely connected with the gift in the first Sacrament as in the second.

cated Baptism and the Supper as the two Sacraments of His Church in any such manner as they were afterwards united in one design." But, as certain as is the reference in the Supper to the passover, so surely, as we have already seen, may we gather from the connection of the words of its institution that baptism takes the place of circumcision :—and the entire connection between the Old and New Testaments, viewed comprehensively, perfectly confirms this. He who understands the meaning and position of the two similarly-related Old-Testament observances, will have no doubt on this subject ; but we have in Col. ii. 11, 12 an almost superfluous *dictum probans*, which brings no "new idea" to it, but springs from the natural view of the whole relation, and what is presupposed in it. And in this is established that distinction between Baptism and the Supper of the Lord which regards the former as the *birth*, the latter as the *nourishment* (*nasci et pasci* in Gerhard) ; the one a consecration which gives entrance, the other the continual enjoyment of that access. (Comp. as to this last Heb. x. 22.) This is more directly to the point than the remark of Hasse, which, however, is not untrue in itself : "Ye in Me—this end was gained in baptism ; I in you—this is fulfilled in the Supper."

Irenæus, our important witness to the primitive faith of the church concerning the Eucharist, speaks also, concerning Baptism, of a *ἔνωσις πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν*, a union of our body with the body of Christ for immortality ; and he is perfectly right in referring to the *germ* to be planted, the nature and the kind of the tree. The final end of the regeneration of the whole man in spirit, soul, and *body*, must be represented even at this early beginning in its essential elements. But when he goes on to ascribe to the water the supernatural influence upon the body, as to the Spirit that upon the soul, he arbitrarily divides what God has not divided, and intrudes his desire to know into a mystery concerning which the revealing Scripture keeps more silence than even concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper :—after the analogy of nature in the mystery of birth.¹ We must, indeed, hold fast what in *hints* of apostolical doctrine (1 Cor. xii. 13 ; Eph. iv. 4, 5) is obscurely intimated, that in

¹ Comp. also what we have said upon Jno. iii. 5.

baptism as in the Supper there is "a heavenly corporeity."¹ For how can we understand any fellowship with the *Son*, independently of His Divine-human, spiritual-bodily personality, in which alone we have also the Father and the Spirit? How else would baptism as a Sacrament be distinguished from the word? How can we suppose the *pasci* possible without the previous *nasci*? There can be no original and fundamental "universal grace of Christ's atonement" without provision for the renewed personality of the new *man*; but this there cannot be without a heavenly corporeity, and the *prima stamina* thereof. This much is certainly true. But, on the other hand, the gift in baptism (mysterious like everything connected with birth) which in its fundamental generality is consummated only by the second Sacrament, is distinguished from the impartation of the body and blood of Christ. For it contains a perfect and express reference to the triune God, that is, to the Father's election, and the Spirit's first operation: the utmost care and sobriety are requisite therefore in speaking of its essential character.² As it regards the influential presence of the *blood* of Christ with and in the *water* (said to have been broached by Beza, but occurring before him, and in Luther's hymn),³ we are not forbidden to conceive of that, provided we do not make it a point of definition, or allow it to interfere with that full and essential truth of which the mention of the name of the triune God is the pledge. Since the time of Gerhard there has been current a far more appropriate reference, viz., to the *presence of the Trinity* in baptism: comp. the *ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ*, which in Matt. xviii. 20 follows from the *εἰς τὸ ἑμὸν ὄνομα*. As even Lange unfolds and paraphrases in its fulness of meaning the *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*: "They must be baptized in *His presence*, by His authority, into *fellowship* with Him, and blessed knowledge of His nature. They must be plunged into the name of the Three-One." And in

¹ Luther says in one place: "We are not only baptized as to the soul, but the body also is baptized"—and utters in these words more than he himself understood.

² Comp. what Jul. Müller (Die ev. Union S. 302) says about the *materia cœlestis* connected with baptism.

³ In the last verse of *Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam*. Gerhard indeed says: "The best theologians determine that the blood of Christ cannot appropriately be regarded as the second material part of baptism."

this Sacrament of initiation, which the living God makes the beginning alone of life, the man who is to be baptized has strictly speaking nothing to bring; he has simply to *receive* from God. Heim, the Würtemberg pastor, writes truly though boldly:¹ "The Reformers, with all their deep convictions of the internal character of Christianity, were yet, in respect to their understanding of truth, too much bound up in externality of thought, and in discursive reasoning. Hence they always required, in order to the participation of the blessings of salvation, *faith* as something the existence of which must necessarily be presupposed. However near they approached it, they never reached and firmly held the truth that faith itself, the internal appropriation, which is essentially in itself, and in its origin, the work of God, might be given at the same time with the objective salvation, and wrought by God in the hearts of men."² Hence it came to pass that the question was agitated with so much asperity whether children could have faith; for while this contradicts the natural reason of man, it yet could not be denied, according to the notions of the old theologians, without making baptism a mere empty formality, or a merely conditional assurance as to the future. The simple answer would have been that by baptism itself the germ, from which the tree of faith would grow, was placed in the soul as the seed of life from God." The preparatory faith in the name announced, which is required in the case of the adult—in order that nothing of which he is unconscious may be effected without his will and consciousness—is not in *his* case, if we rightly distinguish, such a living faith as is regenerating (for we are not regenerated by our faith!)—but a longing desire for it, in the Spirit and power of God. In one who is adult and conscious of what he does, unconsciousness as to the mystery of this water would be in itself positive unbelief, and therefore the putting a bar to the work of God; but whether in every case a positive and conscious faith is the absolute condition of baptism is the question here involved;

¹ In his small, but important treatise, *Ueber Taufe und Konfirmation*.

² Mark—*In its origin!* For the *decisive* free appropriation of man is not excluded. God comes in condescension and works preventively (Col. ii. 12)—but all is developed and realised in our *πίστις*, to which the *ἐπιπύρις τοῦ θεοῦ* solicits, and of which it makes us capable.

and the more fully we appreciate the *free gift* in the Sacrament, the more confidently shall we deny it.

The defence of infant-baptism by no means involves the necessity that we should deny this *giving* and positive energy and influence in the fundamental Sacrament of initiation. Steinmeyer's attempt to meet the case by a wonderful new theory of a merely *negative* power and significance in baptism needs not our refutation here: it has been already condemned by the *Kirchentag* (the seventh, in Frankfort, which his theory very much embarrassed). Sander and Hoffmann have well exposed the inconceivableness of a mere passive suffering of the death of the old man, without a planting of the new man after, or rather in order to effect, that death. And Dörner has vigorously shown the baptism with the Holy Ghost to be the specific characteristic of the sacramental baptism of Christ: comp. Acts ii. 38. In truth, the *ŷva*, Rom. vi. 4, belongs, in inseparable connection, immediately to the exposition of baptism itself.

That our Lutheran theology has failed to exhibit clearly and establish fundamentally this positive effect of baptism in regard to children, is a thing that cannot be denied. Luther himself, firm as he was in his conviction as to infant-baptism, wavered in setting forth its grounds. *Sometimes* he speaks with perfect correctness about it. So in the sermon concerning holy baptism (Walch x. S. 2518): "There are who say that there *must be* (in addition to water and word, besides the Divine name, and the ordinance of God) something over and above, that is, faith; they rest this upon the saying in Mark xvi. 16, and bring forward the sentence of St Augustine, which stands hard by that other¹ — *non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur*. They think, incorrectly understanding these sayings, that the word and water are a Sacrament as far as those who receive them have faith; thus they ground baptism not upon God's ordinance but upon men's, as if the word with the water was not effectual to baptism before our faith is added (at once, in the administration); and thus God's word and work must receive their efficacy *first of all* from us." But he does not hold this fast in its true meaning; he often contradicts himself; so that all his writings to-

¹ *Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum.*

gether, and indeed all the writings of the first witnesses of the Reformation, fail to give us the elements of a sound doctrine concerning baptism and infant-baptism. But what we have quoted will help us to understand rightly the true meaning of the paradoxical questions in the Cat. Maj. (p. 545): "We say that the virtue of the Sacrament does not rest upon whether the baptized has faith or not: baptism itself is not affected by that. The baptism is to be held valid, though there should not be (immediately—we would add) faith in the baptized. My faith does not make the baptism, but it apprehends and understands the Sacrament." But when this is referred to adults, and pushed so far as to say that if "a Judas fraudulently and maliciously procured baptism," it would be true baptism—just as unbelievers may receive the Sacrament¹—it is an assertion which we have already refuted, and must still denounce. But the application to infants, who have *no unbelief*, is well-grounded: their faith quickened by God from baptism onwards may gradually apprehend the truth, being developed from the germ of God's free gift implanted first. As strong as is our protest, in the Sacrament of *eating and drinking* for adults, against any reception on the part of unbelievers, must be our assertion—the relations of the matter being changed—of the bestowment of the baptismal grace upon children who are not capable of conscious faith, as the beginning and foundation of their spiritual birth. As it respects all further blessings received from God we hold, with Jas. i. 7, the indispensable necessity of faith as a condition; but the first beginning of grace in us, without which faith could never be by us exercised, must be matter of pure prevenient gift and influence. It is this which baptism testifies, symbolises, and is the medium of imparting—thus, in this standing opposed, as to the word, so also to the other Sacrament.² According to Heb. xi. 6, no man

¹ This improper analogy occurs again in the exposition of Jno. i. 32, and also in the dogmatic treatises. Hafenreffer's distinction between the *substantia baptismi*, which is present, and the *salutaris fructus et effectus* which is wanting, is on a par with the unintelligible Lutheran assertions concerning the sacramental participation of unbelievers.

² Hence W. Hoffmann is perfectly right in saying: "The Baptists deal with baptism as some are said to deal with the Lord's Supper: they make as it were out of the two Sacraments only one." Many of our hyper-Lutherans fall into the same error: they exaggerate baptism in such a man-

draws nigh to God without conscious faith, but God Himself draws near to little children just that they may be able to believe; and we may well ask, in the analogy of Isa. lxvi. 9, Shall we parents infuse into the souls of our children, through education, and even in their conception, spiritual seed which springs up, and shall not He through whom and for whom they were born? Can it be that (as Ribbeck says) before the "consciousness of the personal I" the child is not susceptible of any operation of the Holy Spirit?

Thus we have reached the second question, as to what the *Scripture* more or less expressly declares concerning infant-baptism. But we shall limit ourselves now to two points, which we may thus express: Is infant-baptism intended in the text, in the words of institution? and how did the Apostles understand them?

We protest at the outset against Aug. Hahn's representation: "Baptism was in the appointment of Christ to be administered to all those who penitently confessed their sin, and believed in the Gospel of Jesus. According to its original character and design it could be administered only to adults, who alone were capable of the knowledge of sin, and repentance, and faith. Neither in the *Scripture*, nor in the history of the first century and a half, is there a certain example of infant-baptism to be found," etc., whereupon the baptizing of unconscious children, which (strangely enough!) the growth of the external Church *demand*ed, is vindicated and apologised for by the practice of confirmation, which (mark it well!) took really the place of proper Christian baptism. Finally, at the close: "But if we would hold fast to evangelical apostolical principles, children should, according to the institution of Christ and His Apostles, be consecrated by *blessing* (but what half-thing is this? and when did the Apostles thus bless children?), while the adult alone should be baptized, *when* they (and there lies the difficulty!) have come to a knowledge of their need and of the way

ner that it ceases to be a *sacramentum initii*, and carrying this exaggeration into infant-baptism they provoke the opposition of the Baptists. We read in the *Evang. Kirchenz.* (1846. S. 187) the perilous assertion: "As there is only one Church; so there is only one Sacrament, in its two stages and divisions—the Supper is already contained in baptism

of salvation, and to a true faith in the Gospel."—To all these positions we are perfectly opposed, on exegetical and historical grounds which cannot be reasoned away. Lutz again sets out by saying: "Infant-baptism is *essentially* excluded by the words of institution, Matt. xxviii. 19 and Mark xvi. 16; for the words *μαθητεύειν* and *πιστεύειν* preceding the *βαπτίζειν* shut them out as incapable of both"—but our exposition has given reason, at least in St Matthew, for thinking otherwise; and we shall see the same in our consideration of St Mark. His bold conclusion is groundless, resting upon a very superficial exposition: "Therefore it must be admitted that the baptism of children has no ground in Scripture." It is admitted afterwards that "it was not *only* (most kind admission!) a superstitious notion of the magical effect of baptism which introduced¹ the practice, but along with it a commendable Christian feeling." And so again: "On account of its long continuance the universal Christian feeling would be most grievously wounded if the baptism of infants was abolished. The zeal of re-baptists is without maturity and propriety, a zeal about the mere word, for the letter without the spirit!" But here we must answer: Is there then on this point a *contradiction* between the normal letter and its afterwards developed spirit? Thus what according to Hahn *ought* to be done must not be done, because of a mere feeling which finds it hard to shake off a practice which, though contrary to the word of Scripture, has enlisted for many ages the sympathies of the Church! For ourselves, we cannot understand how any man with such views and convictions can be a member and a minister of a paedobaptist community. The re-baptists indeed contend for the falsely understood letter; but the letter understood in the spirit is itself the rightly expounded word, and with that alone are they to be vanquished. Scriptural ground must be given for every usage of the Church—either in the germ or in express appointment—and this is all the more necessary for one which *seems* to oppose the word of Scripture:—in such a case no custom and no feeling must have any force. But there is no want of scriptural ground. The word which W. Hoffmann

¹ Which is so certainly known without any historical proof! Scheinert says that "false ideas about original sin, and a superstitious notion of the marvellous effect of the *opus operatum* produced the practice of infant-baptism."

once spoke to a Baptist was very true, and touches the heart of the matter :—Your position to the word of God is the narrow and bound one of English Christians ; mine, on the other hand, is the freer and deeper one of German theology. We must understand the letter of Scripture in connection with all that it presupposes and all its consequences ; so understanding it, there will be no difficulty about the baptism of infants. We must not hold to the “ written word of God ” in such a mechanical and foolishly literal spirit as that of Ribbeck, to whom historical proof that the Apostles baptized children, and decrees of general Councils, would avail nothing, if there were no literal command in the New Testament ! We have already given our preparatory explanation upon the Lord’s symbolical blessing of the children (Vol. iii.) ; but we shall endeavour to show that, in the actual institution of baptism, the gathering of adults to the Church was not (as Spangenberg says) the only thing referred to.

Calvin urges first against the Baptists, that if *they* appeal so stiffly to the first “ discipling ” coming *before* the “ baptizing,” we also, on the other hand (*si tergiversari libeat, non latebra, sed latissimus campus ad effugiendum se aperit!*), may appeal, with equal positiveness, to the second arrangement of the words : first “ baptize,” then “ teach.”¹ But he gives up the sound exposition of the words : and suggests as the right answer the false question, “ Is there a single syllable about infants in all this discourse ? ” To turn these discourses of Christ against infant-baptism is as foolish as it would be to deny bread to the children because they do not work, according to 2 Thess. iii. 10 ! “ What everybody must see to refer to adults, they apply to children.” This comes at last to Spangenberg’s dictum, that “ infant-baptism is neither expressly commanded nor expressly forbidden in Scripture.” But after all, at the solemn *consecration of a Sacrament* the not mentioning would be equivalent to a prohibition ! Let us think carefully of this ! Is it a thing in itself probable,

¹ The Lord spoke of being born again of *water and Spirit*, not of Spirit and of water : a remark that must be carefully noted ! We would not however press it with W. Hoffmann in favour of the priority of baptism ; but, *against* such exaggerations as represent a *perfect* regeneration in baptism itself, the *sequence* of the words in this co-ordination is emphatic.

may, is it a thing conceivable, that at the time when He is contemplating the ground, procedure, and economy of His whole Church *down to the end of the world*, and giving for that purpose His final and decisive commissions and promises, Christ should not think of the difficult question—What must be done with the children of the converted nations? Is it possible that those children whom He sometime blessed should be now so entirely forgotten as to be neither excluded from nor included in the arrangements of that great Benediction which He is now establishing? There is great difference, moreover, between the baptism of children and the sacrament of the women, which has been brought into comparison. Proceeding from the first manifestation of baptism, argument has been found for the exclusion of infants: proceeding from the typical parallel of the Old Testament, argument has been found for their inclusion. Which, then, is right, and how are they reconciled? We say with the Apology: “It is necessary to baptize infants, that the promise of salvation may be applied to them, according to the commandment of Christ: Baptize *all nations*, where, as salvation is offered to all, *so baptism is offered to all*, men, women, children, infants; it therefore clearly follows that infants are to be baptized because salvation is offered with baptism.” But this requires the aid of exposition.¹

Olshausen remarks quite correctly that in apostolical practice *instruction* never preceded baptism. Lange misunderstands this in his reply: “Was not the announcement of the name of Christ, which was the means of bringing men to confess that name, an instruction?” But Olshausen only means that this first announcement was not essential instruction. See Acts ii. 42. But, it will be asked, was not this *κηρύσσειν*, which is commanded previously in St Mark, before baptism? Certainly, for how should salvation be brought otherwise to the nations than by the word of preaching at the very beginning? But, notwithstanding, it was to be carried to the *nations*; the beginning with adults was to go on until the nations *as nations* were to be received into the discipleship of Christ: let the meaning of this be remembered

¹ Nitzsch: There are here genuine elements of apology, but the main question is evaded.

and deeply pondered!¹ *Here* lies the testing point for the right understanding of the whole, the connection of its development with the letter to be expounded. As already in Matt. x. 12, 13 (see our exposition) the Lord had *multitudes* and *families* in His eye, and not merely individual persons; as in Lu. xix. 9 the intimation about the *house* of Zacchæus pointed the same way; so now He contemplates and embraces the *peoples* upon earth in the widest sense as under God's appointment *extended families*, each in its several integrity.² For this totality the *baptizing* is then distributed; the children are not expressly mentioned, but the words are handed down to future understanding. Wesley: "Baptizing and teaching are the two great branches of that general design, and these were to be determined by the circumstances of things, which made it necessary, in baptizing adult Jews or Heathens, to teach them before they were baptized; in *discipling their children*, to baptize them before they were taught." This is in perfect harmony with the truth, but it is not correct exegesis, inasmuch as the *teaching* does not express this *preliminary* instruction; but Wesley has used preaching and teaching interchangeably. Indeed, we do not, in strict exegesis, obviate the difficulty by saying with Rambach: "Christ ordains that *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* should be *baptized*. But as there is no people under the sun which is composed of adults alone, it cannot be contrary to the commandment of Christ that little children should be baptized." For the accus. *ἔθνη* is not strictly connected with *βαπτίζω*, and this admits of a good reason; the inclusion of the children rests, partly, upon the *indefinite αὐτούς*, which, specifying no condition or limitation whatever, is put immediately in the place of *ἔθνη*; and, partly, in the *parallel* ideas of *μαθητεύειν* and *βαπτίζω*. Hence Buddeus is more precise and correct: "The word *μαθητεύσατε* is to be translated—*Make disciples*; and this, if infants are regarded, could be done by baptism alone." And he afterwards says, with

¹ "The commandment of the Lord to the Apostles, to bring the peoples as nations to God, sounds precisely like the promise given to Abraham in the beginning." Baumgarten, die Nachtgesichte Sacharias ii. S. 484. (Most true! It is a question how far our modern Missions forget this!)

² Being "the individuals and higher personalities of the world's history"—as Bunsen terms them.

reference to the *κηρύσσω*: "in the word *κηρύσσω* there is included the preaching concerning baptism, which exerts its influence in a different manner upon adults and upon infants." This is seen in Acts viii. 35, 36.

After the Lord had thus strikingly spoken, in a great *prophetic* contemplation of the history of the world and of the Church, concerning the "discipling of all nations,"—assuredly with the meaning that the household and family bonds should not continue to be rent as at the beginning, but that *Christian peoples* should be won, and translated into the state of discipleship as peoples;—after He had thus connected the *discipling*, which might seem to refer only to individual persons, with the term *nations* (*ἔθνη*);—He then introduces, but not till then, in connection with the *baptizing*, the element of the personal *them* (*αὐτοὺς*). For, indeed, it must be always necessary that the baptism to be personally appropriated should be administered to individuals; although in process of time what may be termed a "baptism" of the whole national life and spirit was to follow, and the baptized were to grow up into a united national Church. This we do not mean altogether in the sense of Dräseke, who, placing suspiciously in abeyance the personal element in regeneration, preaches about "the great *people*-baptism by Jesus:"—for it is only the *discipling* which belongs to the word *nations*. But still there is some truth in it, and he goes on with perfect correctness: "Christianity was not designed to be a thing limited to individuals;—the consecration of peoples proceeds from the families, the consecration of families from individuals, and the consecration of individuals (again) springs from the Church." And so also he speaks very sound words in favour of the preservation of the characteristic differences of *peoples* in Christendom, in opposition to a perverted cosmopolite view of Christianity:—for that is maintained most evidently in our text. Nitzsch points in a very impressive manner to the original natural foundations of life in the family, with which the Church must ever be in harmony; this of itself, without a single word said about it in Scripture, being the profoundest warranty of infant-baptism.¹ As certainly as Christ would never pluck up

¹ For which I may refer to my exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians, ii. S. 319 ff., especially S. 327.

and outrage these roots of human development and the formation of character and society;—as certainly as it was His will that there should be such *Churches of peoples* as were aimed at in the earliest times,¹ and have existed through the greater part of two thousand years; and that there should be the concomitant (but carefully defined) connection between the Church and the State; and that entire races should be pervaded with the elements of His renewing Spirit (for otherwise the result as seen in history must be regarded as altogether a failure and perversion of His will)—so really and assuredly must His will have been the baptism of children. The one stands or falls in reality with the other; both must therefore have concurred in the design and ordinance of our Lord, whose will must, if anywhere, have been uttered here in Matt. xxviii. The controversy is not merely whether infants should be baptized or not; but the inevitable consequence or antecedent of the denial of baptism to children is separatism, and the reduction of the Church back to its beginnings, to the collection together of individual converts from several unrelated families. Can we suppose the Lord to have purposed that the community of the baptized should continue for ever that which it must necessarily have been in the beginning, an outwardly-separated *status in statu*, a confederation altogether distinct from the life of the nation? Assuredly not: For He has Himself declared that such a community would never, under any circumstances, escape the intrusion of members merely in form; and consequently would never in the end be essentially better in principle than the national Church.² And, moreover, it was altogether in the *family*,

¹ Comp. my *Reden der Apostel* ii. S. 115. It is remarkable that just at the transition of the Gospel into Europe, the saving and baptizing of households comes into prominence in the narrative!

² Comp. the picture drawn by Hoffmann of a church of late-baptized people. The Steinthal treatise before-mentioned (the author of which we are not allowed publicly to announce), one of the best exponents of that class, lays down the following: "Through the testimony of the Church (but what Church?) there is ever going on a great division in the world; some believe and enter voluntarily into the fellowship of the Church; others refuse to believe, and absolutely reject that fellowship." But we protest against the application of this to the baptizing or not baptizing of the individuals of a Christianised people, an *ἕνος μαθητευθῆναι*. See also Ribbeck

the foundation of the nation, that humanity was ever to be apprehended and laid hold of by the Spirit of Christ.

Children are certainly not baptized merely for the reason that the Geneva Catechism assigns, "thereby to declare that they are the heirs of the promise given to the children of the faithful; and that they, when grown to mature age, and capable of understanding the real design of their baptism, may attain to and increase in its benefit." Or, as the words which precede: "Since it is sufficiently shown that the substantial virtue of baptism is the portion of the children, it would be doing them an injustice to refuse them *the sign*, which is *less than the reality itself*."¹ For the sign and its reality are essentially connected together even in the baptism of infants. And therefore we may adopt the better expression of the *first Helvetic* Confession: "We dip our infants too into this holy bath of regeneration, because it would be unrighteous in us, who are the people of God, to exclude those who are born of us, as such, from the fellowship of the people of God." He who significantly said, concerning the children who were brought unto Him by others, that they had come themselves, imputing it to them as their own coming, will admit them also to the blessing of baptism; for He did not then in the days of His flesh let them go away empty, without an essential and efficacious blessing. It is true, as my Catechism says (Fr. 346), that the gift and grace of the Holy Ghost is symbolised by water, is promised by the word, and is received by faith; but this faith, as it regards children in the actual reception of the first-fruits, may be the representative, imputed faith of parents, sponsors, and of the whole Church—which will go on to be imparted more and more.² Thus it is at the first *in alienâ fide* (accord-

(S. 121); but, with regard to his remarks, how can we fundamentally test whether those who have witnessed their confession are all sincere, and the children of God? We would ask, moreover, how the Baptist community, as such, can be organised, and retain an absolute purity.

¹ So that baptism would be only the act in which an actual existing connection with Christ is expressly declared, shown forth, and confirmed. (Hoffmann S. 85.)

² It is not absolutely wrong, as Hoffmann thinks, to regard the sponsors, which represent the Church, as also representing *the child*; for this last follows from the first, and in *that* lies actually the justification of baptism

ing to Chemnitz *nequaquam concedendum* !)—but in this, as to children, there is nothing to be disputed against; in fact the *alienum* ceases to be such. They are supposed to grow up in the grace of the Church given to the whole “people of God,” and which is now anew given as the grace of baptism; *in that faith* which flows to them from the beginning as a spiritual mother’s milk:—thus they are already *μαθητευθέντες*, already *disciples* in the most real sense of the word. For “the children of Christians begin, as soon as ever they are capable, to learn and receive impressions in Christianity.” (Hoffmann.) That there should be a Church which receives and educates them; that there should be a baptizer (with more or less of personal sincerity and earnestness—that is not the essential point), acknowledging and representing the faith of the mother-church, who should invoke for them the triune God—is necessary, but it is also enough. Thus the grace of Him that calleth (that the fulfilment may not come behind the type, Rom. ix. 11), the germ out of which the tree of their Christian life is developed under spiritual culture, is the necessary foundation of *Christian education*, of the *παιδαγωγία ἐν Χριστῷ*, and not merely *εἰς Χριστόν*,—their nurture *in* Christ, and not merely *into* Christ.¹ As a Christian father I could never regard one of my children as still standing without the grace of regeneration, and as not yet taken into the covenant and promise through the Sacrament appointed *to that end*. The higher my estimation of this, the more deeply do I feel its need for my children, as for myself; and, moreover, have no notion of any such education as should, apart from the Divine foundation, prepare them for and lead them to baptism. The more stress we are in fact obliged to lay upon the blessing, the sanctification, and the union with the Church, of a child growing up in strict Christian culture, the more must his subsequent baptism *lose* of its importance: it must in fact appear to be a mere supplementary ceremony of water. But the “pædagogic influence upon the nations” which Christ ordains and promises, and which He in fact afterwards approved, is not merely “represented by baptism,” as Lange, too externally looking at it, says—but the

¹ In Ephes. vi. 4, the original *speaks* of the nurture and discipline of the Lord, which Luther has incorrectly translated “zum Herrn”—to the Lord.

internal-spiritual *discipling* of the *nations* with their progeny¹ is essentially attached to the baptism of children, and *will be mediated by it*. This has not merely *furthered* the growth of the *external* Church, which would be in itself no blessing, but has in reality in this way continued and enlarged the *internal* Church. Against all perverting desecration and abuse of infant-baptism stands the commandment that *follows*—which, indeed, like all the ordinances and words of Christ, has not been universally obeyed—*Teach them to observe*, etc. This first of all applies to the parents, but then, as we shall see, to the officers of the Church.

It is true that the Lord did not here “expressly” (as they say) appoint infant-baptism; and this may be explained, partly by the largeness and extent of the Lord’s contemplation, and partly by reasons of special wisdom, to which we shall presently refer. But He so spoke that in the inmost understanding of the word through the Spirit it must appear to have been foreseen and included. Have we not already found, apart altogether from the present controversy, that baptism in its present connection took the precise place of *circumcision*?² And is not this analogy an important argument for the baptism of children? The analogy was so direct and obvious, that our Lord, if His will had not been the baptism of infants, must have expressly *interdicted* it. Or, His words must have been thus expressed: “Disciple those who repent in all nations, baptizing all who believe your preaching,” or the like. For the proselytes of Judaism were baptized in families, with their wives and children.³ We cannot but perceive in Acts ii. 39, “*and to your children*,” an offer of the new covenant of grace which refers

¹ “It is clear that the great idea (of the universal priesthood in Christianity) requires, in order to its full, natural, and healthy development, a Christian *people*, although in its germ it needs only the Christian *family*.” Bunsen, Church of the Future.

² Heidelb. Catechism. Frage 74, and so most of the Confessions. Theologians bring forward this as evidence; sometimes, however, in a one-sided manner, and without seeing that deep connection of the whole which gives its chief force to the argument.

³ The rigorous question, “Where is it written that children are to be baptized?” is best answered by the counter-question, “Where is it written that we should *not* baptize them?”

not merely to their descendants in the future, but, under the Spirit's inspiration, to their then existing children:—this interpretation is rendered obvious by the analogy of the old covenant, and St Peter's words may therefore be regarded as "paving the way for infant-baptism." Comp. Acts. iii. 25. And if the *children* of the people of Israel were thus referred to, surely the same would hold good of the children of those afar off.

What then was the *Apostles'* practice with regard to the children of believers? Even if Peter did not himself at once understand the words which the Spirit on the first day put into his lips concerning the children near (as also concerning all who were *far*), the true understanding of them could not possibly have been long wanting when the faith was spread abroad. Although Luther himself at first conceded to the Anabaptists that the Church had authority *not* to baptize children, because no passage of Scripture imperatively enjoins it (and in a certain sense he was right)—yet it may be argued back with the greatest confidence from the nature of the case that the children, as soon as perfect communities were consolidated, had been for the most part baptized; and in this way we have a foundation for the exposition of many otherwise doubtful passages. Three questions must be answered by those who would maintain the invalidity of infant-baptism, and their full importance must always have been felt by those who duly reflected upon their consequences. First:—With what age or year does the susceptibility to receive the Holy Ghost begin?¹ or—to put the same question in another way—Who that honours the word of Scripture can unconditionally deny to childhood this susceptibility, after Lu. i. 15? Or,—still otherwise—Did not the sacred youth of Jesus, holy from the beginning in the Spirit, obtain a sanctification for human nature in its earliest age? But, if all this is repelled, we would ask, secondly:—Who could decide the question, not only at what age, but under what circumstances generally, the children grown up should be baptized, as penitent and believing?² For, to

¹ Or, with Hoffmann: "Who can say how early the first dawning rays, which precede the morning light of the spiritual day, enter the infant soul?"

² "It is evident that by this there would be introduced into the existing

baptize all indiscriminately afterwards, just as we confirm all—as Baptist churches are very much tempted to do—is that prostitution of the Sacrament which they so much complain of. But to baptize children in dependence upon prevenient grace must appear to be most expressly in harmony with the idea and design of this prevenient Sacrament of the electing grace of God; and it seldom or never happens that a baptized adult can perfectly “*receive the kingdom of God as a little child.*”¹ Finally, if all this could be disposed of, and we could in some way or other distinguish those who are unworthy of baptism, we would ask, thirdly:—How and in what way are we to organise and deal with this sundered portion, the unbaptized of a Christian *people*? Will not the rejected appear to be rejected of God, to their embittering? And who gave to man such an authority as this?—The fact that in all these things, which must of course have come into question in the beginnings of the establishment of the Church, there is no ordinance, no direction, no record, no single word, is a most mighty *argumentum a silentio* in favour of a designed and always existing baptism of infants.² Can we suppose the Lord, and after Him the Spirit in the Apostles, to have left His people for all future time so utterly without guidance as to the question how

communities a distinction between internal and external members, and a *judicial authority*, consequently, to be exercised by the rulers of the church, which would not become Christ's servants, and be unprofitable for both classes in the community,” Heim, S. 23. And it also entirely forgets the secret and gradual character of our early religious growth, concerning which Hoffmann rightly asks—“Where is the point of express decision at which the place of baptism may be determined?”

¹ In the excellent account of the ecclesiastical state of North America which Prof. Schaff published in the *Deutsc. Zeitschr.* 1854, we have, S. 223, his authentic testimony that the Baptists, having no sure defence against the profanation of the Sacrament, baptize many hypocrites and unworthy persons; and that they no more succeed in erecting pure churches than did the Donatists and other similar sects.

² Ribbeck asks the strange question, Why we do not find a single word about sponsorship—this *suppletorium* of family obligation, which the later circumstances of the family and the Church rendered necessary! But our counter-question has much more reason and force—Why is there not a single word about the position and treatment of the children of Christians, which do not, however, belong yet to the church?

they should deal with Christian children, which are evidently no longer heathens, and cannot be regarded as brought up like heathens? How would that harmonise with the canonical completeness and the prototypic sufficiency of *Scripture*? It is not our "magical notion of inspiration," not a relapse on our part into mechanical dependence on the mere letter of Scripture, when we insist upon finding in the Scripture, in the word of the Lord Himself, not indeed the entire ecclesiastical development of every practice, but its prototype and authorisation, as provided beforehand for every question of importance by the Spirit of the Lord. Thus was our Lord understood from the beginning, and children, when it was sought,¹ were *baptized*: this to us is the true solution of the enigma. The traces of this, indeed, in the New Testament are not literally demonstrative; but all that has been already said will shed a light quite sufficient for that purpose upon those passages especially which record the baptizing of whole houses or families. We would not go so far in concession as W. Hoffmann, and speak lightly of the appeal to these passages: they are essentially enough. It is true that we read in Acts xvi. 32 of *the word* having been declared to all in his house (that is, to all who could, and as far as they could, receive it); but why is it said in ver. 34 that *he* had believed, the Singular *πεπιστευκός* being alone used? And moreover in connection with the strikingly impersonal *πανοικί*. Ver. 32 may show that there were no "sucklings" present; yet ver. 34 again proves that they were not all adults and independent persons, who decided in their own personal faith to undergo baptism. (Comp. Jno. iv. 53 with the *παιδίων* ver. 49.) Not, indeed, babes, yet *παιδιά*, children, might *rejoice* with their parents after their manner, and in their degree; and a baptism of such children in the family would be a demonstrative argument for the analogy of infant-baptism, resting upon the same principle with it. It is true that the house of Lydia, ver. 15, could not contain any children²—but why do we find the refer-

¹ When parents brought their children to be baptized, as they fondly brought them for Christ's blessing, who that remembered His words could reject them?

² "Workmen," in her commerce, have been mentioned! Ribbeck, again, introduces his "journey of business" which brought the dealer in purple,

ence once more to *her* having believed alone? (in which the *εἰς* is not altogether in favour of Hoffmann's "*becoming a believer*" through the baptism). St Paul, according to 1 Cor. i. 16, baptized the *house* of Stephanas; but it does not follow from ch. xvi. 15 of the same Epistle—as Neander prematurely deduces—"that the *whole* family, which received baptism, consisted of none but adult members." The former passage appears to us, rather, when placed in comparison with the history in the Acts, to bear testimony generally to the *baptizing of houses and families*, which the Apostles adopted as expressly in harmony with the Lord's words concerning the "nations" and the "houses." Neander regards it as highly improbable that St Paul, the opponent of all *opus operatum* without personal faith, "would have introduced, or permitted to be introduced, a practice which might be so easily perverted into a sanction for the delusion of a justification to be obtained by external things, and which would transfer the external righteousness of circumcision to Christian baptism." But all that we have already said will be more than a counterpoise to any such imagined anxiety on the Apostle's part. We much more clearly see to what the leaving children of Christian parents unbaptized would be perverted, and to what that would give occasion; moreover it would then have been in the highest degree probable that the Apostles would have given some direction as to the position and relations of these numberless *catechumen-classes*, as to the *time* and the *duty* of their baptism, and everything connected with it.¹ But we have a most remarkable and direct utterance of the Apostle concerning children, in 1 Cor. vii. 14. This passage has been strangely used both for and against infant-baptism; its defenders certainly make it too directly valid on their side, but its opponents go much further than they in their one-sided arbitrariness

and of course without her family! Pity that the brief and distinct narrative knows nothing of this; it mentions rather a house in the place, to which she could invite others.

¹ Ribbeck finds in the *εἰς*, Gal. iii. 27, a proof that there were among the readers unbaptized persons, because they had not yet reached a state of faith! This would be the class of catechumens. But why is there no reference to them elsewhere, and no direct address to them? Why, in ver. 26, is there a *πάντες* without restriction, as in all the Epistles?

ness. Lutz, for instance, following Olshausen, but in stronger terms, says: "If Paul had *only thought of* infant-baptism, he could not possibly have spoken thus!" (Whereas Olshausen had merely argued, "that Paul would not have chosen this kind of demonstration, if infant-baptism had been already the practice.") The truth of this passage seems to us to lie, as it were, between the two, but certainly in favour of infant-baptism. What is it that is presupposed as not to be doubted in the *ἐπεὶ*? That the children of a marriage in which only one of the parties was a believer, were *no longer ἀκάθαρα, unclean*,—but *ἅγια, holy*.¹ To make this a direct *proof* that these children were not yet baptized, and consequently that in the time of the Apostles children generally were not yet baptized, is a strange view of the strong expressions of St Paul. A "certain external and ecclesiastical sanctity," parallel with Rom. xi. 16 (as some one has said), the Apostle can scarcely be regarded as recognising in the New-Testament Church; especially when this *ἀκάθαρα* (in which, as it respects *children*, who cannot sin, we must necessarily think of natural sinfulness, the original sin of birth) seems to be almost taken away by this *ἅγια*. Expositors have generally *inverted* the comparison, instead of apprehending it rightly. He does not by any means draw the conclusion from the *ἡγιασται* applied to the unbelieving parent, that the *ἅγια* is to be reduced to its level, and made strictly parallel with it; but from the

¹ De Wette understands the passage of all children of Christians, so that in the *ὑμῶν* all the Corinthian Christians are addressed. This would be very welcome; but it is baseless, since from ver. 12 onwards the Apostle is *telling* the mixed pairs that which then follows; in ver. 16 he passes on to an actual address to them; and consequently the *ὑμῶν* ver. 14 belongs already to this address.—But Hoffmann's translation—"Even if your children are still uncleansed, that is, unbaptized, not the less on that account are they holy"—we cannot reconcile with the literal words. *Ἐπεὶ* means here certainly *alias, alioquin*; and the asserted *ἅγια* necessarily denies the *ἀκάθαρα*. Hoffmann (Schriftb. i. 453) interprets it also of the children of Christians generally, but only of a sanctification of these children *for the parents*, that is, of the moral character of the living relation between parents and children, by which analogy the relation between the married parties is illustrated. But *ὑμῶν* here means only the mixed married pairs; and, moreover, it would be highly improper to convert it—otherwise would your children be *for you* unholy:—not to mention the strange use of *ἀκάθαρτος* in this sense.

higher ἀγιά ἐστιν of the children, *thus taken for granted*, he deduces a bolder analogous ἡγίασται. If *nurture* in the Lord, though on the part of the father or the mother alone, availed to sanctify the child, should not the unbelieving parent, who did nothing to oppose—(being susceptible of being pleased, ver. 12, 13, which *then* had much significance)—be *capable* also of similarly being won? That is the thought of the Apostle. The ἀγιά ἐστιν, from which he proceeds, is therefore to be taken in a much more real and deep sense than that which is given in the paraphrase of Nitzsch,—“they have a *historical* vocation to the kingdom of God, like Israel.”¹ De Wette makes it no less than—“they are members of the Christian community.” But such were generally, and as the rule, none who were unbaptized. If we compare, as we are justified in doing, the terminology of the Apostle in Eph. v. 26, yea, 1 Cor. vi. 11, this ἀγία must appear closely to border on their baptism, and means at least as much as this,—that they were either baptized or counted worthy of heaven, prepared for it, to be baptized if baptism be desired, and *consequently* (this desire being presupposed as a rule) *as good as baptized*. If St Paul had “even only thought” of the postponement of baptism, *then* he could not have called them “holy,” then must they have been still “unclean.” For otherwise it would support that Anabaptist and unscriptural position which the *Formula Concordiæ* (p. 623) rightly condemns: “that the children of Christians, because they have sprung from Christian and believing parents, and independently of or before the reception of baptism, are truly *holy* and to be numbered among the children of God.”² However much the inherited and family blessing of grace in the Church may signify—and we shall hereafter lay sufficient stress upon it; however certainly the Spirit may bless the children with prevenient grace, where the baptism with water is unrighteously denied, in order thus to direct them to be baptized;—yet we

¹ For all the world has this, according to the express words of Matt. xxviii. and Mar. xvi. In *that* sense no man is any longer unclean, Acts x. 28.

² Which is a quite different thing from the general conclusion drawn from Lutheran doctrine by J. Müller:—that to all the children of Christians there pertains a peculiar relation to the grace of God and the kingdom of heaven set up in Christ.

cannot suppose the Apostle to declare in holy writ, *without any thought of baptism whatever*, that this hereditary blessing alone would (in *Christian phraseology*) cleanse and sanctify the children, *just as he elsewhere says of baptism!* For this is something different from, and very much more than, that "being nearer the kingdom of God," which even Ribbeck allows to the children of believing parents. If the Apostle's thought was that their participation, in virtue of their birth, in the fellowship and blessing of the Church, stood to them in the place of baptism,—even then we cannot understand why they were, and were to be left, unbaptized. Thus not merely does the *idea* which justifies and requires infant-baptism lie in this passage (as Olshausen, de Wette, and many others agree)—but much more than that. It takes for granted that the children of Christians were worthy of baptism, and were consequently (wherefore *not*, on that supposition?) actually baptized, as the recognised and well-known rule and fact of Christianity. But then it speaks indistinctly, and indeed somewhat undogmatically (as Scripture with propriety often does) concerning the *indistinct* question. For this much on the one hand is true:—if infant-baptism had been at that time already a *universal* practice, St Paul would not have spoken thus paraphrastically concerning it. He does not indeed say,—Else would your children not be baptized; nor is there a word which intimates, Therefore we baptize our children, and such as yours are;—and for this there was a very good reason. It was a difficult point, and the question depended upon the faith and the convictions of the parents, which of course would regulate the propriety of such a step, in families which in such numbers exhibited mixed parentage. An absolute and universal legal prescription would have been out of harmony with the character which ruled the apostolical formation of churches. The Apostles did not introduce the early baptism of infants in any such manner; but waited, as it was fit, for the desire expressed by the parents. In such cases baptism might be *sometimes* long delayed (as adults often deferred it); the whole matter assumed its proper relations, and obtained its rights, only by degrees;—just as to this day it is not expedient that state-churches should legislate absolutely on the question. This is the reason why the Apostle spoke as he did:

his word recognises and takes for granted the existence of infant-baptism, and indeed involves a *gentle exhortation* to it; but he had good reason for not speaking of it directly. On the same principle the Lord did not institute *κατὰ τὸ ἥθηρόν* the baptizing of children coming to Him in the arms of others, but "left it to the free development of the Christian spirit," that is, to the feeling and desire of converted parents. Understanding this, we must however propose to ourselves an exposition of the words of institution *κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν*, as we have endeavoured to give it; and assume the baptism of many children, at least, by the hands of the Apostles themselves. For when we observe that St Paul, Eph. vi. 1, in the proper *Church-Epistle*, places the children on a parity with every other class in the Church, speaks to them as belonging to the community, and requires of them that they obey *in the Lord* (comp. Col. iii. 18-22), we are not permitted to regard these *children*¹ as collectively unbaptized, and as consequently *without* the "Church" to which the Epistle is sent.

And as to the Church after the Apostles? Its history says not a word of an *introduction* of the practice *contrary* to apostolical usage:—how would that have been possible in a matter so important and so strange, and at a time when such strife and contradiction must necessarily have been excited? In the passage of Irenæus adv. Hær. ii. 22, 4, which asserts a sanctification, through the Redeemer, of *infantes*, even of those who were not yet capable as *parvuli* of receiving an example, every unbiased mind must confess that there is a testimony, not only to the *idea* of infant-baptism, but also to its *practice*: for we cannot understand the existence of *such* views of the question among the ancients without the corresponding observance of the usage.²

¹ Certainly not yet grown up; indeed so far *infant* that in the Epistle to the Colossians it is required of them that they "obey *κατὰ πάντα*,—in all things."

² "He cannot have looked much into the ancient Church who can suppose that it would have held a reception into the kingdom of heaven possible without baptism. And this makes it very certain that the sacred observance of baptizing the children of Christians was complied with even in the apostolic age. It was the original conviction of the Church that children were not translated into the kingdom of heaven by their natural birth, but that their regeneration was necessary. From this the custom and necessity

Tertullian's contradiction, on which so much stress has been laid, never, as is well known, says expressly in any one place that infant-baptism was certainly and confessedly of new and recent introduction, and therefore unapostolical:—he finds it, rather, already existing as a custom. Consequently, *no man* had "introduced" it, as the custom is to speak. Origen, not only in Hom. 14 in Luc., and 8 in Levit., speaks of the baptizing of children according to the custom of the Church, but in Rom. vi. says in plain hard terms—The Church received the custom of baptizing children from the Apostles. One step further takes us to Augustine: "The custom of mother-Church in baptizing little ones is not to be made light of, or thought a superfluous thing; but it is to be regarded as an *apostolical tradition* only." (*De Genes. ad lit. x. 23*; comp. Sermon x. *de Verbis apostol.*) All this is enough, with our presuppositions. We cannot agree with Neander that these explanations are of little significance;¹ but conclude with the *evidence of fact given by the Lord's confirmation* of infant-baptism down to the present day. As we have said elsewhere—God does not reject and repel the children which are brought unto Him; He blesses them from the beginning with the first-fruits of His Spirit of grace. Else would He withhold that Spirit. But the entire Church testifies, by its accepted members, to the Baptists, that its infant-baptism is not without the sanction and blessing of the Spirit.² Countless children and men of God rise up from this baptism as witnesses. Have all these been, in continuous opposition to the institution of infant-baptism necessarily followed. Both the practice and the doctrine of Christian antiquity speak strongly, and with equal strength, for its apostolical origin." Thiersch.

¹ *Hilfsbüchlein zum Katechismus*, 2te Aufl. S. 188, where nothing is said but what Luther had said before: "That the baptism of infants is well-pleasing to Christ is sufficiently proved by His own act; for God has made many of them holy, and given them the Spirit, who have been thus baptized; and there are many to be found in whom, both as to their doctrine and their life, the works of the Spirit are to be discerned."

² Nitzsch speaks of the "fearful undertaking to argue all Christendom out of the fact of its baptism." Ribbeck, on the other side, speaks of "the many thousands of God's children, unbaptized as men say, who are saved." (S. 71.) But when he speaks of an unbroken succession of blessed Baptist communities from the times of the Apostles, we must ask in astonishment for his new revelation of Church History.

the Sacrament, either not baptized at all, or erroneously baptized? Has God given to so many of them His Holy Spirit in early youth, and should man have refused the water?—The same argument is pursued in the *Apology* p. 157, the *Great Cat.* p. 544.

We entirely agree with the tolerably complete view of the matter—embracing almost all its points—which Guericke gives in his *Kirchengesch.* i. S. 99, 100 (First edition: we do not know what may have been added in the second.) Not that “infant-baptism became necessary when the mighty influx of the Spirit’s power was lost”—we see no logical ground for such a deduction of the “necessity” of a decline from the original institution of the Sacrament. But conversely, as we think,—when the profound view of Irenæus (and that of the Apostles) began to be lost, the practice retreated for a while; it yielded to the spirit of Tertullian’s doctrine, before his time; to an opposition which, however on some grounds relatively justified, recognised the *principle* neither of the idea nor of the tradition. This retrocession of the principle of infant-baptism went hand in hand with the unapostolical perversion and lengthening out of the period of catechumenship:—in the apostolical time we find only churches of the baptized; even in 1 Cor. xiv. 16, 23 the *ιδιώται* must not be interpreted, in contradistinction to *ἄπιστοι*, as a middle-class of a later kind. Thus we are at one with Hoffmann in our fundamental ideas, and in the results of our inquiry; though we differ from him considerably in isolated aspects and points of view. We agree with him in this,—that only in infant-baptism the nature of baptism is exhibited in its purity and integrity, as it is the first *receiving* of the gift of grace unto a new life; while an adult must necessarily bring to it something of the old, inrooted, personal character, which affects, though it may be in a very small degree, the reception of the grace. But we deny that the Church “went beyond the point attained by the Apostles” in this consummating development (albeit *in these* we allow the right to this as it respects things other than the Sacrament): first, because the demand to go forward in this development existed in the apostolical age; and, then, because the time which immediately followed the Apostles cannot be supposed to have been bold and free enough

to go beyond apostolical practice in relation to one of the Sacraments. Hoffmann seems, moreover, to reduce baptism to too low a point, and to separate it too entirely from the beginning of regeneration. That even in the case of adults baptism has its place *before* "faith," that is, before living, justifying, and progressively sanctifying faith, has been by us maintained already in its right meaning. But it is carrying this too far, when he says that only a mighty excitement through the testimony of the word would have challenged the Apostles to confer baptism, and that the *becoming-believing* would be opposed to such an excitement, and scarcely possible during the continuance of it. Though Acts viii. 37 may not be genuine, it expresses only the genuine truth; indeed, after the deception practised by Simon, "with all thine heart" seems exceedingly appropriate, and thus speaks for its genuineness. Vers. 12, 13, in the same chapter, and chap. xviii. 8, give us the scriptural phraseology so plainly, that we are not in a position to deny the "believing" and the "becoming-believing" *before* baptism, and assume the very reverse. In Acts xi. 17 the *ἡμῶν πιστεύουσιν* must certainly not be expounded as in *contrast*: this we are decisively taught by chap. xv. 7-11. To make by baptism such superficial, merely excited, so-called "disciples" as the Lord Himself (John vi. 60-64) in the preparatory beginnings had tolerated, was never His command and intention! The too hasty procedure of Philip in Samaria, which overlooked this, was rectified again by apostolical authority; but the rule holds good in general that such subsequent rectification should not be necessary. The question is asked, respecting those who were baptized on the day of Pentecost,—“who had time to *test* the faith of so many multitudes?” But this seems to forget the mighty influence of the Spirit, who *on that day* suffered no evil admixture, as well as the Apostle's subsequent discernment of spirits. It is also urged that even these baptized people are “commanded first to repent!” but we have given, as we hope, the right exposition of the answer of Acts. ii. 38, in our “Discourses of the Apostles:”—Thus ye do well, continue and persevere in this change of mind, as your question exhibits it—for in ver. 37 there is a genuine repentance expressed. We think that in the baptism of *adults*, the children have come

to the birth, and in it strength is given for the bringing forth. (Is. xxxvii. 3.)

While we admit all this, we perceive that the administration of baptism in our missions by the hands of men, and the pure realisation of the baptismal idea in adults, has its difficulties and its imperfection; while, on the other hand, in infant-baptism the "chasm is filled up between the natural and the spiritual," and only in this application of it is the doctrine and practice of baptism seen in its consummation and perfect character.¹ And having the whole course of the history of Christianity before us, we must not overlook or fail to appreciate the counsel of God for the conversion of the peoples of the earth, which was to take its beginning in the family life, as being the root of the life of the people. As the renewing grace of the gospel recognises and leaves in its integrity the ground of nature in the first ordinances of creation, pervading them like leaven, so also the profoundly laid connection of *nations* (Acts xvii. 26; Deut. xxxii. 8) must not be broken by a perpetual selecting out and isolation in the *baptizing*: it must, rather, be taken up into and confirmed in the *discipling*. The *state-Church* which began with Constantine is something altogether *different* from the Church of the people; however difficult it may be to make the distinction between them, it is not impossible;² as far as it is absolutely necessary, it has been done, at least approximately, by the systems of the Reformed Churches. No good, indeed, can come from arbitrary enforcement, and prescription of periods for the baptism of children; the permission of delay to those within the pædo-baptist Church would itself lead through experience to a right decision of the question.³ The Church in Geneva has done well to recognise by its recent decisions the baptism of adults by the side of its infant-baptism.

¹ "I hold that the surest of all baptism is infant-baptism." Luther.

² So that Lange ought not so firmly to maintain that the separation of the Church from the state must at the same time involve a separation from the family, from the people. There are other ways of escape which he altogether neglects.

³ Hoffmann remarks very truly that guiltless lack of baptism would not condemn; but that parents constrained by the Church would be bad educators for the Church.

We feel and bewail, as much as any secret or open opponent of infant-baptism can do, the lowering and perversion of the Sacrament in the present state of things (with which the desecration of the Lord's Supper is quite parallel)—the unnurtured growing up of baptized children—the groundless reliance upon baptism on the part of some, the undervaluation of the mere ceremony on the part of others—in short, the deplorable condition generally into which the Church in these matters has fallen. But all this mischief is not, as its opponents assert, to be imputed to infant-baptism since its introduction; it has rather been produced, in spite of it, by other circumstances which we cannot now stay to set forth. We express the assurance of our firmest conviction, that the remedy for these evils is not to be found in the removal of the *foundation of grace* upon which this fallen Church still rests, and the abolition of that baptism which is the real channel for the communication to children of the life of grace. This would be *still more* to confuse and divide and break up communities and peoples called of God to be Christian, by introducing a system of elective and uncertain later baptism, encumbered with all those inevitable difficulties of which we have already spoken. In every reformation we must take care to carry our reform into the *entire heart* of the people, already called and elected, making it pervade all,—as Luther gives us a universal symbolical example. What kind of baptisms were, according to all appearance, those out of which nevertheless he called out his priests and champions of God's cause! Ribbeck's allegation, that the Reformers did not break away from the notion of the Romish Church in this matter (S. 49)—may be changed into a commendation, that they held fast in faith the principle of an ecclesiastical grace of Christ within the Church. We must accommodate our minds to the desecration and crucifixion of the body of Christ, the true Church, by its permanent connection and confusion with the masses of those who have been baptized in vain, and all but finally dead:—the glorious resurrection will not tarry long. Meanwhile, let us never forget or dishonour the patience and long-suffering of the Lord, the sinners' and the children's Friend, the unweariable grace which begins anew with every new-born child, while *His baptism*

is accepted. If the evangelical Church would begin diligently to point the baptized to the privileges and obligations of their baptism, and to take all pains with the fundamental religious education of those who are growing up; if institutions were to be established which should seek and strive to save those who are grovelling in sin and ignorance;—then the original stamp would shine out again distinctively in many who hardly exhibit it at all—then would it appear, far beyond expectation, how much of the germ of regeneration is still present among the people, derived from their baptism, and only waiting for discipline and nurture. This would be infinitely better and more correct, than to blind ourselves, on account of flagrant and general perversion, to the actual grace of the Divine Institute.

In the *Christian family*, pure and entire according to the full meaning of that word, children do grow up in that “blessing;” so that, at least in the case of those who do not oppose it, the whole *beginning* of the life of grace, which alone baptism brings, may be seen in its exhibition from the beginning. Would that be the case also without baptism? Assuredly, in the most favourable cases, where yet the children would be counted common, the Spirit would impel, as in the house of Cornelius, to the reception of baptism. If some of those who scruple so much about it could contemplate such a Christendom as their scruples would make, they would speedily give up all their doubts about the propriety of infant-baptism. The fact that grievous abuse exists, such as permits Ribbeck, for instance, to draw such pictures as he does of our baptismal feasts and confirmations, does not at all affect the question; for it is not God’s will utterly to withdraw His perverted benefits. Moreover, it is not true that those who are confirmed among us are ever “as thoroughly children of heathens as the children of Hottentots and Caffres!” We think that the ruin of those who ruin themselves would be still more fearful, if baptism was only held out to them and that in vain as a future goal.¹ And

¹ Hoffmann: “Because faith does not arise from being referred to a grace to be hoped for, but from being pointed back to that which has been received; because the Divine compassion can find entrance only where it has already approved itself present. The Baptist himself cannot do with-

to surrender up the masses—who dares do that but the Lord alone, plainly declaring His own will by judgment and reprobation?—The spirit of these sects, a spirit that *rejects* so much, which so presumptuously abandons all Churches of the people, all state-Churches, and so many nations in which Christ assuredly has a deep foundation, shows of itself that it has not the mind of Christ, and that it fundamentally misunderstands and perverts His institutions, laws, and government.

Indeed, full “regeneration”—a term which has been very erroneously used in relation to this subject, as if Tit. iii. 5, 6, referred directly to baptism,¹ and the words spoken there must hold good of every baptism of every child—cannot by any means be predicated of infant-baptism; not, indeed, to any such extent as it may coincide in the case of adults with the reception of the water. But a living principle, and a commencement tending to that full regeneration, it does involve, in spite of all contradiction and confusion of opinion; for the name of the Three-One in the faith of the believing Church, which thus believing still baptizes, cannot be an empty word. We are quite willing to admit, with Nitzsch, a certain “imperfection and need of consummation” in infant-baptism; but not so as to lose the “Divine *fact* in and upon the life of the child, *by which* and *in which* he is to believe,” which Nitzsch so beautifully attributes to genuine baptism; and so as to make that dependent upon the subsequent knowledge introduced by the word. We certainly will not degrade infant-baptism by estimating it as analogous to the baptism of John, and therefore as no Sacrament at all. This simple juxtaposition of the two is unconditionally incorrect.² They who adopt it forget that John

out this method of teaching; he speaks of the grace of vocation, and seeks by this means to excite the catechumen to faith, or the reception of faith.”—But how much more influential is this method of appeal in the *preaching to such as have been baptized!*

¹ But which a true exegesis finds not to be the case here, any more than in Eph. v. 26.

² Although there is some truth in this, that, with respect to children, the water and the *full* gift of the Spirit are to be viewed as more distinct; their baptism has a more prophetic character; and in the case of a later, relatively absolute, renunciation of the baptismal grace, we may in some sense say that only the baptism of water *remained*. This, and nothing more, is

demanding *repentance* of adults, and, consequently, that the application of John's baptism to infants (which Ribbeck in his folly requires as according to analogy necessary) is a thing impossible. On the other hand, children are as much capable, as they are in need, of being baptized with the baptism of Christ, imparting the Spirit's grace of a regenerating life. Further, we would not bind the consummation, or better development, or evolution into *the consciousness*, of the benefit of infant-baptism, to any definite ceremony such as *confirmation*; and declare this to be "necessary" as the internal and consummating complement or second part of baptism, or, so to speak, as the essential baptism of the Spirit without water. He briefly but surely confutes the superficial and very prevalent view which lays all the stress in baptism upon the Divine promise and assurance:—this could be given only in word, and therefore presupposes the understanding of the word and conscious faith. Baptism would then cease to be a work of God in the child; and the promise for the future would still require a later, additional, and renewing vow of its acceptance on the part of the receiver. It may seem that in these expressions he presses the word too far:—"The current notion that the man, the person confirmed *renews his covenant* with God, is a notion which deeply degrades the essence of baptism." But his view of confirmation as a whole, as it "is much less connected with the baptism past than with the first communion to come;" his testimony for the *gift* of God in baptism; his refutation of the false idea of a "baptismal covenant," which sprang from a misunderstanding of 1 Pet. iii. 21—are all essentially sound.

We may be allowed a brief excursus on the fore-mentioned saying, 1 Peter iii. 21. In this passage (which gives so much other matter of consideration concerning the water, the flood, flesh, conscience, resurrection, etc.), the word *ἐπερώνημα*, confusedly translated by the Vulg. *interrogatio in Deum*, is the main question. By no means is it, as Luther renders, and the jurist Grotius supports by evidence of juristical phrases, a *covenant, obligation, stipulation*, or legally binding confirmation of a pro-
what the 346th and 347th questions of my Catechism mean; but I confess that that treatise, in its accommodation to catechetical instruction, does not deal with baptism in a style of dogmatic precision.

mise *per solennem interrogationem et responsionem*, like *stipulatio*:—as in this sense Tertullian spoke of the *sponsio salutis*, and Cyprian of the *interrogatio baptismi*. The word may occur elsewhere (as, it is affirmed, in Herod. and Thucyd.) “non de simplici interrogatione, sed de *forensi*, h.e. de pacto, fœdere, sponsione;” and even in the Sept., Dan. iv. 14, ἐπερώτημα is used, as a ἀπ. λεγ. for קִשְׁלָה, as synon. with מַחְשָׁבָה (according to Schultens *quæstio*, res de quâ agitur; according to Hävernick more correctly, the requirement involved, the thing desired), and with the supposed meaning of *decretum*:—but we cannot possibly understand anything of this kind here in St Peter. Meyer prefers, “the pledge (or stipulation), by means of the question and response of renunciation and consecration connected with baptism”—but we must ask, How did the Apostle come to use here this juristical term of federal compact? How can we suppose him to make an essential part of baptism that question and response of renunciation and consecration which was not till afterwards introduced into its celebration? The word does not appear to have been at all rightly understood by the ancients; and the Pesh. unliterally and paraphrastically gives to it something of the notion of a *confessio* (מִדְּרֵשׁ אֱמוּנָה)—by this, however, pointing at least towards the more correct meaning. Two things are plain at the outset:—that mention is here made of the *internal* essence of baptism in contrast with its external element, and therefore that it cannot be any external form or formula which is intended; and that the Apostle means the *result* and *influence* upon the *inner* man of the water which does not kill but saves, and does more than merely wash away, like “the putting away of the filth of the flesh.” It is perfectly in opposition to his meaning to understand it of a *promise*; man *having already* a good conscience towards God, that is, the joyful persuasion that he is forgiven! Winer on purely philological grounds protests against this, showing that only ἐπερωτάσθαι could have the meaning of *promittere*. But what he substitutes is also essentially wrong—“the inquiry after God of a good conscience (that is, of a conscience determined to good!), the turning to God, and seeking Him.” De Wette translates it in the same way—*Nachfrage an Gott*—and many agree with him, laying the emphasis upon this that “in bap-

tism a man cannot come forward as one who may enter into a stipulation with God, but must *come to God* as desiring and seeking a grace which is altogether gratuitous." V. Gerlach, admitting this, says: "the words then indicate that which *saved* Noah in the flood, and Christians in baptism." But that which saves is certainly the gift and grace of God; not our asking for it, our turning to Him, and seeking! Can we suppose the Apostle *here* to have so entirely lost the objective in the subjective? Neander rejects this altogether; but he unhappily falls back upon the "question proposed in baptism." "This spiritual character might be pointed out by the question proposed at baptism, which referred to the spiritual religious object of the rite; and the question is referred to instead of the answer (alluding to Winer's objection), because it precedes and is that which gives occasion to the answer." But what has just been said will hold good against this. Buddeus (Theol. mor. cap. v. § 18) saw quite rightly that it must be an *effect* of baptism which is here referred to, instead of a previously-desired good conscience; but his interpretation is altogether too artificial—"that we may sustain God's question concerning a good conscience, and may be able readily to make answer to Him; for it is the characteristic of a regenerate man that he can bear to have his conscience examined by God." Without referring to other confused interpretations, our opinion is this: *The good conscience*, which certainly comes first from baptism, from the resurrection of Him who died for us (see ver. 16 previously), does not merely suffer to be questioned, but *speaks* of itself to God; and this *opened access of confidence* (Rom. v. 1, 2), is that which the Apostle here means. We hold with Bengel, who translates *Ansprache*—an appealing to God in good conscience; and says in the Gnomon, "it is the privilege of the pious to address, and appeal to God with confidence," comparing also Heb. x. 22. Brandt, following this: "because baptism inwardly purifies, so that we call upon God with good conscience." Lutz, on the contrary, will have it that there is in the baptism a *supplication* for a good conscience, in order to an acceptance into the position of a pardoned sinner;—but how strange is it to conceive of this *antecedens* alone! Hofmann (Schriftb. ii. 234) similarly finds in ἐπεσώρημα the thing required (as αἴτημα is

the thing asked), and makes the Apostle say :—The water of baptism helps to salvation, inasmuch as by it the blessedness of a good conscience, demanded by God, is given. But this, to our apprehension, nevertheless, is *too little*; we think, rather, that the approach to God now opened to us, the address to Him which always meets with an answer, this *right of supplication*, in which we ever “ask from Him a good conscience, and have a good conscience in His sight”—is actually a *claim* or title founded upon a prerogative of grace (as the Scholia explain ἐπερώρημα by ἀρραβών, ἐνέχυρον, ἀπόδειξις), and, in a certain sense, our rightful prerogative, as the Berleb. Bible translates it. (Only translates it, however; for the passage is unexpectedly explained as the question about conscience in baptism—He who would be truly and effectually baptized must previously have a good conscience! In perfect opposition to Heb. x. 22.) Finally, there is in this free approach to God and claim of the cleansed conscience, which appropriates everything to itself through the blessing received in baptism, something of the nature of a *covenant relation*. Heim admits that Luther might have used his translation “Bund” in the sense of a sound exposition; and, for ourselves, we would not only leave it standing (the literal word can scarcely be popularly reproduced), but also admit that the idea, connected with it, of a *baptismal covenant* is permissible and useful in popular catechetical instruction. But, withal, we must not surrender the prerogative of the *promise* and *institution* on God’s part, in the sense of the New Testament διαθήκη: we must take care to avoid all Pelagian ideas of *our own* “promising and vowing.”—This will help us to correct what Nägelsbach says concerning this passage, referring the ἐπερώρημα, according to the predominant tradition, to the “required baptismal vow.” But in this he is right, that, with all the objectivity of baptism, “its conscious acceptance on the part of man introduces a mutual relation; it is his assumption of all obligations, and the relation may therefore be named a *covenant*.” As far as this goes, Hasse is right with his consistent translation—the *consecration* of a good conscience to God. Finally, this saying of the Apostle may serve to establish the true significance and relative necessity of an ecclesiastical ordinance following after infant-baptism, and connected with it, like our confirmation. It

is the supplemental coming to God with conscious decision of purpose, the self-consecrating appeal, which now uses its privilege of access—Behold, I present myself before Thee, my God, who hast entered into a covenant with Thy servant: let it now be confirmed in me and by me!

So much for infant-baptism, together with confirmation. But all this does not exhaust the meaning of this unique ver. 19; there remains the not unimportant question—Did Christ intend by *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* to give a form of words which must necessarily be used, as a formula, in the administration of baptism? No one, it might be supposed, would deny that certainly the *reference of baptism to the Three-One God*, in some manner expressed, testified, and intended, in the avowal of faith, and therefore in the words which accompany the rite, must be essential to its celebration; for it is in this threefold name that the Lord comprehends the whole of revelation now made perfect, in it He wraps up all the grace of the gospel, all *salvation* as well as all the *confession* of faith in it. But it is far otherwise: there are many among the really orthodox believers in the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, who understand this ordinance of the Lord very differently, and assert that it was never intended that *every* person to be baptized should be expressly baptized into this *threefold* name. Bengel was led by the misunderstanding which we have mentioned—to wit, that *ἐθνη* referred only to the Gentiles—to the opinion, which we have also already quoted and rejected, that the *Jews* especially were to be, and were, baptized into the name of *Jesus* alone. We find a modern writer attempting, as “a new explanation of the baptismal formula,” to prove that the *one baptism* must be distinguished into three kinds of baptism for three kinds of persons to be baptized: viz., that the Apostles baptized the Gentiles into the Father, the Jews into the Son, and John’s disciples (which, however, badly agrees with Acts xix.) into the Holy Spirit! All these delusions most earnestly drive us back to the original ordinance, for every baptism—generally expressed, but simply and solemnly. But how can this be, when we find in the New Testament, from Acts ii. 38 onwards, only a baptizing in or into the name of Jesus Christ, or the Lord Jesus; the perfect Trinitarian formula never being once mentioned? See the further passages Acts viii. 16, x. 48, xix. 5.

(In Rom. vi. 3, and indeed in Gal. iii. 27, another and a didactic meaning is involved.) We will not, at the outset, conclude that the Apostles never and nowhere baptized into the name of the Father, Son, and Spirit; and infer, therefore, the improbability that Christ ever uttered the words attributed to Him—words to which His own disciples never paid any attention! But just as little are we satisfied with Zinzendorf's marvelous device (thus to bring the extremes together), who, falling back into the identity of the formula with ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, understands it to mean that they were to baptize *in the authority* of the Triune God; and further asserts that, because the revelation of the Trinity and the mystery of the Holy Spirit belonged to the *disciplina arcani* among the *Gentiles*, it never entered the Apostles' minds to utter the three names at once in their baptizing. He supposes that they baptized merely in the name of Jesus and into Jesus; and that the outpouring of the Spirit upon those who were baptized was the test which decided whether they were to be informed about the Holy Ghost. But in Acts x. 48 the form is still used, even immediately after their reception of the Spirit. The Samaritans in ch. viii. 16 were not heathens; the disciples of John in ch. xix. 5 were certainly Jews; and in ch. ii. 38 the baptism announced to all Israel was only into the name of Jesus Christ! Thus may even enlightened men go astray, and their wanderings it is profitable sometimes to remember. As it regards the difficulty of which we are speaking, we may say in the general with Lange, against Strauss, that the expression in the Acts of the Apostles is not properly speaking the description of the apostolical act in baptism, but "only the most concise historical definition of the *Christian* baptism, in contradistinction to the Jewish baptizing." Or, with Thiersch, that "the sacred administration might be more dogmatically or more liturgically referred to in the several cases, with reference rather to its influence, or rather to its *rite*" (which, however, would hold good only for the passage Rom. vi. 3). Or, as Neander expresses himself: "It cannot at least be proved from these passages that the perfect formula was not in use; for there is no literal baptismal formula described, prominence being given only to the characteristic aim of baptism." Just so does Olshausen explain his view, and refers

further to Acts xix. 2, 5; Tit. iii. 4 seq., as "passages in which the Son and the Holy Ghost are placed in such connection with baptism, that a reference to the *formula* which was used in baptizing remains in the highest degree probable." Thus, the expression used in the Acts of the Apostles might be, as Storr says, no other than a mere *abbreviation*, as we perceive still more obviously in the mention of "baptizing" without any addition at all. But, he says, for such an abbreviation the *first word* of the formula would not have been so appropriate as the second, as not sufficiently distinguishing Christian baptism from that of the Jews (but where had the Jews a God *the Father*?); while, on the other hand, no man *could* have baptized into the name of *Jesus* who did not strictly adhere to His own commandment, and *consequently* use the *formula* which He had prescribed. All this, however, despatches the matter rather too mechanically, and inserts as a matter taken for granted what ought to be proved. More closely examined, this will be found to be unsatisfactory. It is remarkable that in the four collective historical passages there is a close connection with, and reference to, the Holy Spirit; while in the description of the baptism He is not Himself directly named. As to Acts ii. 38, the deficiency is at once repaired by the promise which immediately follows; and it is evident that the entire formula on Peter's lips *at this time* would have been inappropriate and stiff, putting the letter harshly *first*. But the confession that the crucified *Jesus* was actually the *Christ* was rightly made prominent as being the decisive point; this being established, the baptism would be afterwards scripturally completed. And so in Acts x. 48, where the Holy Ghost had already fallen upon the persons to be baptized, the *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου* admits at the same time (as we remarked before) of another meaning, denoting the obligation and commission of the Apostle. In the historical style of narrating the event it would include—He commanded them to be baptized precisely as the Lord had commanded. But in ch. xix. 5 the connection would seem to demand the most exact specification of the true baptism—of *that* baptism in which *the Holy Spirit* was named and offered as present and immediately operating; it is strange that this should be wanting, if the full formula was always and essentially introduced.

Finally, it is not appropriate to interpret ch. viii. 16 as meaning that they were expressly baptized into the name of the Holy Ghost, whom, nevertheless, they had not received. The *μόνον βαπτισμένοι* does appear actually to define at the same time the formula which was used, as not mentioning the Holy Ghost. After all, Voss seems to us to be in a great measure right, who (Disput. ii. de bapt. Thes. 5) sought to demonstrate by the authority of many of the fathers, and of most of the schoolmen, that the meaning of Christ was very far from unconditionally binding the power and validity of baptism to the express utterance of these *three* names. The Lord does not say—and upon this Voss lays emphasis—*dicentes*, baptizo te; but merely *βαπτίζοντες*: His word is not—*Saying*, I baptize thee; but—*baptizing* them. We found in the Lord's Supper that, according to the spiritual interpretation which alone is right in expounding New-Testament ordinances, the blessing of the elements with the actual words of the institution—that is, the witnessing and proffering repetition of His own *This is*—was the *most becoming*, and therefore had been rightly continued in the practice of the Church; while, nevertheless, the Lord had not absolutely confined the blessing of His Sacrament to such a literal formula. And the same view may be the only correct one in relation to baptism also. On the one hand, nothing is more natural and, indeed, in certain circumstances, more necessary for the defence of the Sacrament from all unbelieving corruption, than the use of the very words which the Lord uttered when He instituted it with His promise. On the other hand, we must assume the freedom of the Spirit, in relation to which the miraculous energy and gift in the water, sanctified to that end, should not be bound to the *name* of the Three-One, as an external and orally pronounced form (in the manner of a *שם המבורך* in Jewish or Gentile incantation). Thus it appears to us best to explain the significant change of the expression in the Scripture: it diverts us from any merely superstitious or in any sense unevangelical, Old-Testament clinging to the mere letter of the formula. That which seems strange if not harsh becomes a testimony for a new and weighty truth. There is, assuredly—and this remains absolutely fixed—no other real and essential baptism of Christ than that which is, according to its meaning, design, and power, into

the name of the Three-One : this is the sure signification of the word of institution, and this word we must all the more rigidly maintain, when heretics would cunningly change it ; and generally in times and places when the full meaning of the faith is not of itself understood. Otherwise, here as everywhere the essential point is not the letter, but the spirit. Hence we prefer to say with Calvin : " We see that the complement of baptism is *in Christ*, whom therefore we may rightly call the proper object of baptism. It is not to be wondered at that the Apostles are said to have baptized those in His name, who had been appointed to be baptized into the name of the Father and of the Holy Ghost likewise. Whatever benefits and gifts may be the result of baptism are all found in the name of Christ alone. Nor could one who baptized into the name of Christ fail to invoke also the name of the Father and of the Holy Spirit." And, as Calvin still leaves it uncertain whether he meant this of an internal unity only of the names, or of the utterance of those names, we agree with the still plainer declaration of Neander : " It is nevertheless probable that in the original apostolical formula only this one reference was made prominent." That is to say, sometimes, or at first predominantly ; for we cannot hold it probable that the Apostles did not *also* use the solemn and perfect formula of the institution, at least in the course of the further development of the ecclesiastical ceremony. Thus, by the process of a free spirit the subsequent settlement of the form was introduced, though that freedom continued long in the Church. We find, indeed, in Justin's *Apology* a plain description of baptism : " We bring them afterwards where there is water, and they are regenerated with the regeneration which we received. For in the name of the Father of all, the Lord God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, they receive the washing in the water."¹ And it was very early acknowledged, as Lange expresses it, " that the precision of the form in baptism was to be traced back to the

¹ As, according to the *Const. Clem.* (vii. 23) baptism is into the name " of the Father who sent, of the Christ who had come, of the Paraclete who beareth witness."—As to the suspicion of Hilgenfeld and others, that the Trinitarian formula was interpolated by Justin, it admits of easy refutation.

word of Jesus Himself ; this also being obvious from the essential nature of baptism." But there was a certain freedom, nevertheless, as to the formula in the act of baptizing, which continued long in the Church concurrently with a firm adherence to the essence of the baptism into the Three-One ; until at length we find, as may be seen in Tertullian, that it became a rule to sprinkle or immerse not once only, but three times, in connection with the name of each of the Persons. That it was afterwards matter of faith "that the actual words of Christ must be used as a baptismal formula" (as Neander says in his *Life of Christ*) may be explained on other grounds which are not to be despised ;¹ and this we would assert against our modern "free communities," in the name of the *Church* which acknowledges the Three-One. But not unconditionally in the name of *Christ*, who certainly did not ordain—When ye baptize, *Say, etc.* So Luther rebukes the adherents of the letter, "who with furious zeal pour out their condemnation upon those who should say—*I baptize thee in the name of Jesus Christ* (the form of the Apostles, however, as we read in the Acts) ; and would allow no validity to any other form than this—*I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.*"² We would let the Greeks say as they do—"Let this servant of Christ *be baptized* ;" we would not dishonour the holy sacrament, with all fidelity of faith and confession, and with all commendable adherence to ecclesiastical appointment, by superstitious adherence to words and names.³

Baptizing is followed by *teaching*, which is parallel with it. That is, as we have seen, both are together included in the *discipling* ; while, strictly speaking, *baptizing* is the *beginning* of making the disciple, and not teaching. Even adults stand in

¹ Gerhard speaks of the obligation of Christ's disciples "with pious simplicity to adhere to the words of Christ," but adds, "not that we ascribe any magical and occult property to the sound of the words."

² Otherwise, therefore, than the later Lutheran dogmatics, which reckon "the recitation of the words of institution" as part of the "form of baptism."

³ Even Pope Zachary confirmed the baptism of an ignorant priest, who baptized in *nomine patris et filii, et spiritus sancti*, because an error in the syllables did not affect the baptism. See in J. L. Hartmann *Pastorale* p. 683, very different examples of the conduct of the Leipzig divines in 1614. As to the baptizing with anything *besides* water, the question is needless.

need after their baptism of *this* teaching, which was distinguished by its specific purpose from the preaching which preceded it. According to the mind of the Lord it may indeed be said—Preach first, then baptize; but never—Teach first, that is, *those* whom ye may then baptize. The introduction, the right, and the susceptibility for the διδασκῆ, Acts ii., was the baptism which had been already administered. The first “them” in our text singled out the individuals of the nations, whether adults or children, for baptizing; the *second* “them,” therefore *repeated*, means plainly the μαθητευθέντας, those who had *become disciples*, and were *baptized*. Because they *are* now disciples *like yourselves*, therefore all that I have commanded *you* is incumbent upon them. But ye must *teach* them: this is, again, according to the New-Testament *freedom* in the Spirit, a government and direction by the exhorting word, which does indeed command, but always in such a manner that it appeals to the judgment and tends to *knowledge*, thereby alone laying claim to the free faith and the will of the taught. “By means of a free influence of the Spirit using the instrumentality of doctrine” (as Lange says), ye shall guide them onwards into perfect discipleship. No heathen constitution of religion ever had an institute of doctrine; the Old Testament knew only of its symbolical germ and beginning. The τηρεῖν, *keep*, an expression used here at the close in St John’s sense, though it occurs elsewhere in St Matthew—is neither a mere performance in act, nor a mere maintenance in faith, but both together in their living unity; for the πάντα gives of itself its most comprehensive meaning to the ἐντειλάμην. Certainly, and this it is most important to hold fast, it is not a mere maintenance of these things as articles to be believed, as if the *teaching* was only the communication of ideas, the stamping upon the mind of dogmas, etc. The ἐντέλλεσθαι is too strong for such a meaning; it defines here, where the great characteristics of the new Church are traced in contradistinction to the old constitution (Israel receding into the ἔθνη), the new law of life in Christ Jesus. This, as we think, comes here into express prominence—Instruct them in and unto the keeping of *My* commandments, as *My* perfect and true disciples! (Matt. vii. 21 [Luke vi. 46]; Matt. xxiii. 3; John xiv. 15). *Not*, as Greg. Nyss. distinguished the words,

that the *κηρύσσειν* or *κατηχεῖν*, included in the *μαθητεύειν*, referred to that which was now to be specifically the "doctrine" concerning the truths of the faith. Nor, as Hoffmann incorrectly defines them, that the former had reference to *facts*, the latter to *precepts*. For, the continuous *teaching*, like the *keeping* which it demands, embraces announcements and promises addressed to faith in the preached *facts* or revelations delivered—in short, all that the first disciples had received through the life and words of Jesus as the great *ἐντολή*, or commandment, to be handed down. (Comp. in the Old Testament Lev. x. 11.) But yet the goal and final aim of all is—as proposed here in the conclusion—the obedience and patience of faith in *doing* as well as in *suffering*, the *consummation of discipleship in the life* sanctified to Christ.

As the Apostles themselves were not in their short life to convert and baptize *all nations*, so was the following teaching not committed to them alone. They receive the commission as the first, in the name of their successors. But who are these successors? *The Lord* obviously does not institute a specific *order* in the Church (although the later ecclesiastical orders naturally enough introduce this)—but an *office* He does institute, to be executed in His Spirit, according to His own choice and calling. Those who are to be taught are taken for granted, and therefore unmentioned, while *those who teach* are made specially prominent in the mass of the people. To this perpetually self-renewing and self-extending *Church as a whole* the Lord leaves all the rest;¹ He allows room for free development and modifications of institute, and asserts the Church's right in the Spirit to regulate all ordinances. He sums up the Church's position under its two aspects: He will have it ever *learning*, as well as ever *teaching* to that end. Thus we may adopt the correct words of Nitzsch: "The Church has not only been established *by means of* a relation of teaching and hearing, but has been established *in order to* that relation—that it by its own instructions might ever continue to build itself up. Every congregation must be a disciple of that office of teaching which was sent forth

¹ Not, indeed, according to the bold pseudo-Catholicism which says upon this passage (Allioli): "Remark how Jesus here commits the teaching of His Church to the shepherds gathered together under Peter!"

to instruct the nations ; and those who are born into it by baptism are baptized to this end, that they may be scholars under this preaching office" (Prakt. Theol. i. S. 213). Thus we have, in this "teaching them," *the institution of the office of teaching or preaching for the baptized*, as essentially belonging to the institution of baptism, which cannot consummate of itself the grace of God in the adult, and can only begin it in little children ;¹ it is the perfectly sufficient, while it is the necessary, "complement" of all that needs complementing in every βαπτίζω or first μαθητεύειν—that all may be led upwards and onwards, to grow up into perfect disciples.² "When, through missionary preaching, part of a nation, or by degrees a whole nation, become disciples, and are dedicated to the Lord by holy baptism, the members of this Church or community are, according to the command of Jesus, pointed to the observance of all that which He had commanded to His first disciples. This word of our Lord establishes the ecclesiastical office of preaching, as the former had ordained the missionary preaching." Thus it is written in my *Kerykyk* (§ 61), and I do not feel myself authorised to retract the words, although the strangely paradoxical thesis of the excellent Harms refuses to acknowledge any Divine institution of preaching ; although my critics are very severe upon my principles, the most friendly of them declaring that they cannot stand before the bar of criticism ; and although Palmer deems my exposition more ingenious than demonstrable.³ I cannot see what can be soundly urged against our regarding this διδάσκω—which manifestly still refers to those who are baptized, on account of the great end set before them—as establishing by

¹ As to the children, we must certainly regard their parents or sponsors as the first who are appointed to teach them. He who performs the baptism, or he who brings the child to it, is expected by the Lord's ordinance to instruct it.

² Compare Rudelbach in the Luth. Zeitsch. 1848. i. S. 26, who says indefinitely : "μαθητεύειν includes the making disciples, and preserving as such." But this "τηναιών" is not, properly speaking, included in the word.

³ Similarly Harnack deems my argument against Harms, drawn from Matt. xxviii. 20, equally paradoxical with Harms' own assertion. But let the matter be viewed with an unbiassed mind. Is not the μαθητεύειν continuously carried on and consummated in the διδάσκω? And is not this, therefore, preaching?

our Lord's authority, for the Church, such a necessary medium of self-edification for the individual, and of enlargement for the Church. It might not, indeed, have needed such an express command, but it was given as a "provident and wise precept" for the future; and we see its operation in apostolical practice afterwards, as in Acts ii. 42.

Indeed, this *teaching* is something more than and different from the *preaching* which founds the Church, and is the previous condition of the baptizing. The requirement to keep all the commandments of Jesus presupposes, and this must be carefully observed, the grace of baptism which has imparted the power to keep them.¹ I may be permitted to speak further in the language of my *Kerykyk*: "Missions lay the foundation, and their end is introduction into the fellowship of grace; but, as it respects the ecclesiastical office of preaching, this *end* becomes again a *beginning*, which issues in a continuous edification unto the consummate obedience of living faith. As long as—to introduce Mark xvi. 15 in addition—there is an *old creation* present, the command is *Preach*. So far, therefore, the second is shown to be already included in the first; for the constant instruction which never ceases to preach until the *disciples* actually keep and fulfil *all* the full *commandment* delivered to their obedience, is the continuous fulfilment of the *discipling*, as the baptism was the beginning of it.—This is the reason why the Lord expressly commands the further *teaching* as a second work; just as He instituted the Supper in addition to Baptism. The two Sacraments correspond to mission-preaching and church-preaching; the mission prepares for baptism, and the word within the Church prepares the baptized for the Supper of the Lord, and prepares the communicants at the table more and more fully for the perfect *κοινωνία*." Thus we distinguish and separate the two, as far as it is right to do so; and yet they are so mutually blended that as soon as we speak of a Church which is founded, the mission-preaching says—Now teach those who are baptized!

¹ "Yet this keeping is not a matter of our own strength: baptism establishes the covenant, faith gives the strength. He who will not keep His commandments, as He has ordained, is regarded by Christ as unbaptized and without faith." So Hiller, after Bengel's note: *ut baptizatus convenit, dei virtute, non legaliter*.

And does not this interpenetration of the two continue in the Church until its final consummation? The ecclesiastical preaching within the community we have included in the *κηρύσσειν*, on good grounds and for a good purpose: thus we defend the "kultus-predigt," as it is called, from the prevalent and fatal notion of a "*self-exhibition and self-development* of the community," and the Schleiermacherian error which has in that its root. And thus we assert the right and authority of that element in the *διδάσκειν* which brings out its continual exhortation, and its *progressive mission-preaching* to the Church, which according to Acts ix. 31 is progressively *self-edified*. The accordance of *apostolical* phraseology with this, has been shown in the *Keryktyk*, S. 5.

That which *the Lord Himself* commanded and committed to His disciples, is further to be taught and *handed down*, that men may hold it fast and act according to it—*Nothing more*, and nothing different! He therefore refuses His sanction and promise to all ordinances of men which depart from His precepts; although all those *adminicula docendi et ædificandi ecclesiam* which might be pointed out by His Spirit and developed from His word, are included in this *ἐντολή*. But, again, all that was committed to the first disciples, and in a certain sense all that was given even to the Apostles, applies at the same time to all disciples—*Nothing less*! "Whatever we may think of certain prerogatives and specific teaching for His then present disciples—can we suppose Him to regard only these, when He said at His solemn departure, Go ye forth into all the world, and make disciples of all nations? (Disciples are disciples: He never spoke in His Gospel of two kinds of disciples.) Whoever in all nations will be, let him be, My disciple, *like yourselves*! Every commission from My Father to you is also for them; ye shall not keep back from them any one of My sayings and blessings. Give them to keep, *to understand, to believe, to do* all that I have given to you!" (Pfenninger.) Here, therefore, is, as we have everywhere found—an apostolate, and yet no privilege, only the church; an office of teaching, and yet the equal call of all to like knowledge and like performance.¹

¹ A *Theocracy*, indeed the first true theocracy. But, on that very account, as Nietzsche says, "The theocracy of the Spirit is mediated by a *theodidastalia*."

Further, it remains to be observed and made prominent that to this *all* belongs especially the *Lord's Supper*. Baptism, as imparting the principle of grace in order to the keeping of the commandments, is already presupposed; and so also is the perpetual invigoration of the Supper, strengthening in that obedience—even as it is afterwards included and referred to in the great promise, *I am with you*. Finally, it was obviously intended that they should impose the commission which they had *just now* received, as also binding: they were to say to all who followed, and these to continue the word, in His name—*Go ye forth, convert the peoples, baptize and teach!* Every man must in his degree enter into the great work, when and as far as he feels his own interest in it. (Hence in Mark xvi. 17, we read—*Those who believe*; not, by any means—*Those who preach or teach*.) This alone enables us to understand how the Lord could say to *these first*, that is, through them to all in the future—I am with *you*, as long as the world's generations continue! Grotius: "For since this promise extends to the end of the world, but the Apostles were not to live so long, Christ must be regarded as having addressed the successors of their office in their persons." Or, will any man feel inclined to attribute to our Lord Himself the "expectation of a speedy return?"

His *power* preceded as the ground and authority of all; the promised aid of His mighty presence closes the whole. Would He send them forth into all the world, and not Himself be with and in all His messengers, *in all places*? (Mar. xvi. 20.) Thus they were no more in the future to expect His bodily visible presence upon any mountain, or any single place upon earth; but, wherever those who go forth, those who *baptize*, and those who are *baptized*, are found in all the earth, there is He at the same time and in every place. This word, consequently, announces and includes the *ascension*; hence St Matthew, instead of giving the external narrative of the ascension, which from this declaration must have been self-understood to all, closes with this word.¹ He says more to our faith in this manner, than

¹ "This seems so evident, that St Matthew always appears to me more vividly and impressively to have recorded the ascent into heaven than St Luke himself. This was evidently in the mind of the Evangelist himself who recorded it, and therefore he added not another word." (Fogtmann.)

if he had recorded the circumstances of a departure, which as a departure might have been misunderstood. He says fundamentally the same which St John had said in the word to Thomas, and which St Luke, Acts i. 9, had said by his significant words—*And a cloud received Him from their eyes*. Only from the sight of their eyes! And for this the Forty Days, with their intervals of the invisibility of Him who was nevertheless near, had paved the way.

As before Divine *power*, so now Divine *omnipresence* is imputed by the Lord to Himself. But Meyer's note, well-meaning though not prudently expressed, does not satisfy us here: "Christ according to His humanity is gone up to heaven, but according to His Divinity is everywhere present." For the *glorified* humanity, as entirely assumed into the Divinity, penetrated by it, and *inseparable* from it, participates in the same omnipresence. When the Lord says, *Behold, I*—He means His person indivisibly, as they see it now standing before them. When He continues *I am with you*—He speaks now as man the language of God from all antiquity. Grotius: "For it is to be noted that *to be with any one—cum aliquo esse*—is spoken peculiarly of God."¹ How highly exalted is this above that first Nicodemus-view of His person, as of a man with whom God was! But He is with His disciples—for their strength, their defence, their assistance, their light, and their life—in various ways, and by the medium of manifold instrumentalities; yet in all these, and everywhere, as the personal *I*. He is present in His *word*; not only in that which He had Himself spoken, but also in that which is spoken and recorded concerning Him; in the whole totality of His life and testimony in the flesh, as it became the matter of preaching, and Scripture, and preaching again, down to the time of His ascension. In addition to that word, and in that word, He is present by His Spirit, whom He had promised and given; who is one with Himself, and who, in all that He continued to show and to impart to believers, took only of that which was already present in the Son. (Jno. xvi. 14— which must hold good, as we have said before, of infant-baptism

¹ Alford says here: "So that the mystery of His name *ἱμμερονών* is fulfilled—God is *with us*." I would add—the name with which St Matthew set out in his gospel.

also.) By His word and Spirit He makes the collective discipleship of His true disciples, standing in the true faith, and even every individual among them so far as he is such, *infallible*. This infallibility of the Church, teaching and handing down His will, is here most incontrovertibly assumed; though we do well to be on our guard against boasting of or relying upon this truth in any fleshly limitation of the Spirit's power.¹ As to the empirical church of this or that age or place, we may say with Nietzsche—its greatest error is the opinion that it is infallible; but this does not abolish the promise of the Lord—He is present with His truth. He is present with His mighty *defence and aid* against the gates of Hell which would oppose and hinder His Church in the execution of His commands. But, finally, He is present in His invisible *corporeity*, according to His promise and institution; present in *His body and blood* in the Supper for all His disciples.

I am with *you*! Thus does He speak distinctively; although He will be also in the midst of His enemies by His effectual presence. For His presence, the source of blessing and the bond of union with Himself, is of a special and distinctive kind to His disciples. This holds good of every believer, in his own individual person. It is more strongly guaranteed, as it respects the perception of faith, and more mightily testified, in respect to the operation and influence, to every united little company (as He had said already, ch. xviii. 20). But it is most strongly, certainly, and mightily assured to His whole Church, to His entire people among the nations, as essentially fulfilling the Old-Testament promise of Lev. xxvi. 11, 12; 2 Cor. vi. 16. The sublime *I* at the close corresponds with the *to Me* of the beginning: the Almighty and All-present needs no representative or deputy. *Only* those among whom and with whom He is in truth, convert and teach others again, that they may

¹ As Allioli perverts the sublime truth: "The *bishops* assembled under their *head* (instead of—the Church gathered in the name of Christ) are thus infallible, whether assembled in one place, or dispersed over all the earth. St Matthew closes his gospel with the *teaching and infallible Church* (he means—*clergy*); for in her the teaching and sanctifying Christ continues to live upon earth; her doctrine is His doctrine, her spirit is His spirit, her *defence is His defence*. Blessed are all who dwell under her protection!" What a *salto mortale*!

become such like themselves. And thus should it continue—with an *eîmēl* which to Him was equal to eternity, the simple eternal presence of time—through *all the days* which are yet to be, as long as the days of heaven continue upon earth (Deut. xi. 21); as long as heaven and earth, over which He has all authority, continue separate, and the earth has still its days and nights;¹ until His own great day. He was not visibly present with them during *all the Forty Days*; and yet it was plain in His visits that He had been meanwhile always with them:—this was now to be consummated and finally illustrated. Thus various *days* and *times* of great and awful things, good and evil days, were yet to come; for *all* alike He promises—*I am with you!* To the *end of the world's course!* (Ch. xxiv. 3, the same expression.) This means, first: He will be with them keeping, defending, perfecting, so long as they shall need this, and the assurance of it, in the present evil world; for He is speaking especially of this *being with them*. “But after the consummation of this age also,” says Glassius, “there can be no doubt that Christ will be with His Church.” We prefer, however, to say, with Bengel and others, according to the word of Christ and His Apostles,—that *after* the end of the world—*we shall be with Him* for ever, where He is! By this “until the end of the age” it is further assured to *every individual believer* that Christ will be and will abide with him, not only in death, *but beyond death*, through all intermediate times, which still may be called days, and through all intermediate circumstances, down to the last day.

There is an *end*, when this course of the world and of time will pass over into eternity. As certainly as the Lord is speaking of historical days, so certainly does He testify that a historically impending end, a last day, will come. *Till then* avails His—*I am with you!* Thus does St Matthew close. St Mark gives us some more precise words concerning it, which may be regarded as running parallel in their meaning with those which St Matthew records, or to have been spoken possibly *between* the two clauses in Matt. ver. 20. For the “Go ye, therefore, and preach,” beginning anew in St Mark with a stronger emphasis, might well have followed the “I have commanded you” in St Matthew. And the promise of the accompanying signs into

¹ But the nights were to become, in the light of the promise, *days!*

which St Mark's discourse flows, can scarcely be separated from the "I am with you" which followed it:—so that the word concerning the end may well have been still the end of the whole discourse. But this will require more specific consideration.

The words of St Matthew, which we have expounded, are only a *compendious statement*, in a summary which did not record all the words which our Lord may have spoken. But we must not suppose that another place, and another locality, than that upon the mountain, is here to be understood. St Mark now combines the whole still more compendiously, from ver. 9 downwards—the genuineness of which, and its character, we have already examined and settled. It might appear from his account that vers. 15-18 was spoken on the evening of the first day, recorded in ver. 14. (Compare in Acts xxvi. 16 a similar combination of a later manifestation and commission with the first *ὁπτασία*.) But the double narrative of this evening's proceedings in St Luke and St John will not allow any room for such an anticipatory discourse; and then Mar. vers. 15-18 is too plainly parallel with the conclusion of St Matthew to allow any doubt as to its having been spoken in the same mountain-Appearance. We must therefore intelligently notice the scarcely hinting hint which St Mark himself gives us in ver. 19 by his *μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι αὐτοῖς*—by which the *καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς* ver. 15 loses (as most expositors see) all specific chronological connection with ver. 14. After he has, in vers. 9-14, given prominence to three special and first Appearances, St Mark gives us continuously, from ver. 14 to the end of the *ἀνελήφθη*, the main substance of the discourses of Jesus to the disciples between the resurrection and the ascension; and that according to a view of them peculiar to himself, and with a specific meaning in such a peculiar combination. The preachers upon this section, the gospel of ascension-day, are continually required to trace and appreciate this unity in his design. The simplest view is to divide this *λαλῆσαι αὐτοῖς* in a threefold way. At first, He still rebukes His disciples' *unbelief*; secondly, He institutes *the office of preaching and baptism*, which is to be exercised by them notwithstanding their weakness of faith, in order to the creation

of the *faith* which bringeth salvation. Or, this may be otherwise stated; He points us to the *word and Sacrament* which lead to faith, because faith or unbelief will finally decide the matter of salvation. Thirdly, He promises to all *believers* His *aid*, exhibited in mighty signs. And does He not thus continue to speak from age to age? He must ever begin again with that *rebuke*; He continues the same *direction*; but He ceases to bestow the same *kind of consolation*. The upbraiding belongs still to the Lord's *departure*; but not to the "testament" left unto us, as Helferich very inappropriately says.

What specific kind of connection there is between the two accounts of what our Lord spoke on the Galilæan mountain—how little or how much that connection extends to the words—what was the precise order of the utterances—are questions which it would not be prudent to answer positively. Though for ourselves we understand St Mark's words to have followed the others, we cannot prove that it was so. Through the Holy Ghost, who has thus reproduced and delivered to us His word, the Lord speaks to us now both the one and the other—and both are immediately authentic. But the Divine Spirit rather points our attention away from the mere historical and external connection of the individual words. The great object with us should be to appreciate the one design of the whole discourse, and to grasp it in all its completeness of dogmatic import. The *discourses of the Risen Lord* permit, and indeed demand of us, beyond all that preceded, such an elevation above the petty consideration of the historical and exact words—such a manifold, and yet not altering *glorification*.¹

We have, when we collate Matt. and Mark, and supplement the one by the other, three critical points: the authority of Jesus Christ; the commission following from it; the sealing of the commission, or the *promise* attached to it, through the same authority. The first stands in Matt. ver. 18. The second, as

¹ *Yet not altering*: there was no addition of tradition on the part of the Evangelists! It may be safely affirmed that the texts of St Matthew and St Mark may be so collated as to show that the Lord verbally spoke the words of both. We cannot approve of Lange's opinion, that St Mark gives us the same in a more developed form; for much of what he records must be *presupposed* in St Matthew, in order to understand him well.

the middle part of the whole, may be thus subdivided and completed : 1. The *general declaration* : their *office* (Go out—*μᾶθητέυσατε*, *make disciples* through the preaching, and in order to the preaching, of the Gospel); the *range of their office* (all peoples—all the world—every creature). 2. The *specific statement* of the two means by which this is to be accomplished—Baptism and teaching, as in Matt. Finally, the *sealing promise* for the commission is again twofold. 1. In relation to those *to whom* it is sent, there is the connection, in Mar. ver. 16, of their eternal salvation with faith and baptism. 2. In relation to those *who are sent* (but including all who should believe, and therefore would themselves also be sent), there is the general promise of *being with them*, as found in St Matthew, and also the specific declaration concerning *the signs* of that presence.

Go ye therefore is the same in both. *All the world* in St Mark is plainly synonymous with *all nations* in St Matthew. But now the Lord expressly commands the *κηρύξατε*—*Preach*—which must also be included of course, though unexpressed, in St Matthew:—preach, that is, the Gospel; see the same expression without any further addition in St Mark as early as ch. i. 15, and then ch. xiii. 10, xiv. 9. The *Gospel*, the original Gospel, with all its exclusiveness and all its universal comprehensiveness combined; announcing to the hearts of all sinners, without long delay of teaching—which must follow in due course—the comforting tidings of salvation in the comfortable message of the grace of God. Not teaching instead of preaching; like many who lay too much and too premature stress upon the “knowledge of the truth.” The Gospel contains and brings with it a fulness of truth which has never yet been exhausted by the entire Church, much less by any individual churches; the living and vivifying essence of the whole, the condensed sum of all this fulness, must ever be declared first in the form of a joyful message. Preach therefore, whenever the call and conversion of sinners is concerned—and when is this to cease even in the Church?—not *dogmatics*, and least of all *your own*! Further, as Braune very reasonably urges, act not as if the Lord had said—Preach the *confession of faith*! “Confessions are distinctions of importance in the Church of Christ and its truth, which have and must have their funda-

mental point of unity in the Gospel." Even the Roman Catholics, as such, with all their manifold errors, may preach the Gospel of Him who has all power and love to save souls; but in so doing they must cease to be rigid and zealous Papists, mass-priests, and servants of Mary. Even the "Lutheran" Church which so loudly boasts—though not in her purest and most genuine representatives—and among whose errors even *her name* may be sometimes included, should preach the Gospel within her borders, and not Lutheranism; and should labour to found, without her borders, free and new churches through the free word, formed according to the genius and spirit of the people, and not mere affiliated children of a mother-church.

Such preaching of the Gospel—in the spirit of our Lord's command—must emphatically *begin* the great work in every place to which His sent and commissioned servants come; wherever, and among whatever people, the salvation of the Triune God has not been preached, to whom this message of grace has not been openly announced—neither adults nor children are to be baptized. Mark, further, that the Lord's command is not—*Write down* and record My words and My history; but—*Preach!* All that comes in supplementarily, as we shall presently see in Lu. xxiv. 46, 47; and by His new Scriptures the Lord has—as was indispensably necessary—given the certain and all-sufficient text for all Gospel preaching. Yet it is a profound truth, which we should ponder well, that He did not at first and preparatorily speak of or ordain the writing of the Scripture—but connect all with the oral word. Only in the *preaching* Church, which possesses the Spirit, does the letter of the Scripture *live* as a living word, and the Sacraments have their influence and efficiency.

In the Church which possesses the preaching and teaching in addition—and that for little children too in connection with essential family-life—infant-baptism has its validity and power. Thus much is true; but it is harsh and incorrect, to reckon baptism itself as part of the *preaching*, and as being a *testimony* in act:—this gives the Baptists an advantage in their opposition to the rite. The *preaching concerning baptism* belongs to it, but not *baptism itself*. We can preach and bear witness only to those who can hear and accept the preached word.

Preach the Gospel to EVERY CREATURE! What does this mean? The expression seems at the first glance, however striking the sound of *universality* in it may be, only parallel with "into all *the world*" (where the world of mankind is of course meant), and thus similar to the "all nations" of St Matthew. Most expositors have been content to despatch the matter thus, in the style of Grotius' observation: "the Hebrew calls men בְּרִיאָה—the *creation*—pre-eminently, because they are the most excellent work of God." In the Rabbinical writers בְּרִיאָה may be found as a designation of the whole world of mankind; but this we believe on the authority of others. De Wette translates accordingly, here as often following his predecessors Stolz and Seiler,—all *men*; van Ess, still more decisively, all *nations*. Whatever truth there may be in this, we must utterly reject (as most unsuitable to St Matthew's text, and to the matter generally) Lightfoot's restriction to the *Gentiles*, whom the Rabbinical writings sometimes denominate specifically בְּרִיאָה—as being men in the state of nature simply.—*But*, we would ask, why and to what end is this unusual word used, which in itself suggests something beyond, when κόσμος, ἔθνη, ἄνθρωποι offered themselves abundantly, as the customary and legitimate expressions? If the contrast of the natural and actual condition of all mankind, as thus standing in need of the Gospel and salvation, was to be strongly brought out, why was not the well-known expression used, which would best express *this*—all *flesh*? (as the London Heb. N. T. scruples not to translate, לְכָל בָּשָׂר.) And if we compare the similar passage, Col. i. 23 (which seems almost a reminiscence of the Lord's word), we may, if so bent, interpret it merely according to Rom. x. 18; but it is even more striking than here that in that passage πᾶσα κτίσις had preceded in ver. 15, in its common and comprehensive meaning. Finally, we have in Rom. viii. 19-23 a passage which so indubitably declares the *connection* of human salvation, of the redemption of mankind, with a renewal also of the extra-human earthly "creature," that it may be regarded as shedding a very remarkable light upon the Lord's word lying now before us, as well as upon Col. i. 23. We shall not enter afresh upon the exposition of Rom. viii., and prove that a redemption and restoration is promised to the extra-

human, earthly creature corresponding to the freedom and glory of the children of God. This helps us to understand why the Lord will have the Gospel of salvation for men preached at the same time *πάση τῇ κτίσει*. Not, indeed, as in the fish-preaching of St Antony, that the *word* itself is to be carried to the unheeding creature—the *κηρύσσειν* presupposes that men are the only hearers. Nor is it *merely*, as Luther's presentiment expressed the matter in his peculiar way: "And in this commandment He looks very widely around. His preaching is to be as public as heaven, that the blessed sun, every tree and stone might hear it, if they had ears."¹ But, though the rest of the creation have no ears to hear with for themselves, man is their ear; and by means of its connection with man, creation becomes actually partaker of a redemption springing out of man's redemption, after having been through man's fall subjected to vanity and sin:—just as Rom. viii. teaches. Bengel's profound glance had slightly perceived the meaning of Rom. viii., and he remarks here upon the Lord's word: "To men, primarily, ver. 16; to the rest of the creatures, secondarily: *As the curse, so the blessing.*" In Christ the earth and all that is in it is again blessed; as all was laid under the curse in the fall through the sin of Adam. By reason of the internal and everlasting connection of man, and his old or new creation, with nature which surrounds him, serves him, and with him has become wretched and been again restored, this same Gospel applies through him and his mediation to this irrational and lifeless nature—just as the Lord in His promise to Noah and his sons included also the lower animals. Gen. ix. 9, 10. If the old saying—The righteous man is merciful to his beast—attains in the economy of Christ, and under the influence of His Spirit, its full and pregnant meaning;—does not the beast also share in some way the blessing, and partake of a deliverance through the grace that renews all things?² The civilisation which follows in the track of our *Missions* makes the wil-

¹ This co-ordinate idea of the greatest publicity lies already in the *επισημασία* of itself.

² Compare the remarks of Steffens (von d. falsch. Theol. u. d. wahr. Gl. S. 101, and often elsewhere) about the deep-seated feeling of a union with the whole animal world.

derness blossom, and does not the whole earth thus share in the blessings of the Gospel? And, still more, there is a certain confirmation of this meaning in the following word of our Lord, ver. 18; in the same discourse which speaks of the supremacy of His healing power over those noisome and deadly elements of nature, as it now is, which certainly did not have their origin in paradise.

Or, are we imposing the meaning here? Is it a beautiful and true thought, imported from *elsewhere*, that we unhappily affix to the *κτίσις* in this passage? We admit what Bengel establishes from ver. 16, that the Lord also in ver. 15 thought especially of the human world and the human creation.¹ We will without controversy allow every one to interpret *πᾶσα κτίσις* according to the analogy of *כָּל־בְּרִיָּה*; ² because this is in fact the point of connection for that deeper *intimation* which not every one has ears to hear. Nevertheless, *to us* this latter significance seems tolerably certain; and for this plain reason, that the use of the phrase *κτίσις*, in the sense of *ἄνθρωπος*, cannot by any means be established.³ It does not occur in the Hebrew; in the later phraseology there is no evidence that it was used in such a general sense, or in any such manner limited to humanity; and consequently, it cannot be assumed that such a use of it was usual or intelligible in the Lord's time. The learned and exact Buxtorf has not a syllable about it in the article of his *Lexicon* which embraces this subject. But it is in vain to seek in the New Testament a single passage in which *κτίσις* is used for *men*; for Rom. viii. must be rescued from a similar arbitrary exposition. Heb. iv. 13 cannot be made an argument to the contrary; for that passage speaks of man as a ruined *creation*, which its Creator and Restorer must know in its inmost characteristics and impulses. Col. i. 23 must be strictly connected

¹ Here, again, enters Hoffmann's correct remark, that *πᾶσα κτίσις* includes of course the children, like *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*. Only not so immediately for the *κηρύσσειν*, as in the former case for the *μαθητεύειν*.

² For, in the Old Testament *בְּרִיָּה* is found once only, Numb. xvi. 30, construed quite differently with *כָּבֵד*.

³ In 1 Pet. ii. 13 *ἀνθρωπίνην κτίσις* certainly means arrangement or economy, or office: if not, it plainly proves that *κτίσις* alone does not signify man.

with our Lord's words here in St Mark. Finally, in Rev. v. 13 (let it be carefully noted!)—which brings all previous hints, as it were, to a definite conclusion—it is promised that everything created, *πάν κτίσμα* (not merely *κτίσις*)—upon and in the sea also—will give honour to Him that sitteth on the throne and to the Lamb. Much might be further said with reference to the four ζῶα.

Thus of the *earthly* creation or *nature* generally the Lord speaks—of every creature *under heaven*, as the Epistle to the Colossians adds.¹ “If nature is mentioned simply,” says Meyer, “it must be, of course, the present, the old, unrestored, *παλαιὰ κτίσις*.” And again: “To the new creature, to man as partaker of the regeneration, the *Gospel* or the message of salvation needs not to be preached; for they have already received it, and are partakers of its blessings, at least spiritually and in hope. Thus that creature is, first of all, the summary of all unregenerated men; but, by means of the context, etc.” And, as the word of St Matthew is *intensified* in its repetition by St Mark, it may teach us something supplementarily about the meaning of *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*. It certainly includes the Jewish world; but, spiritually adopting and enlarging the phraseology which usually thus denominated the Gentiles alone, it means pre-eminently all that which was yet the *κτίσις παλαιά*, all that was still natural and heathenish in the whole world of men and nations. Of men, therefore, as the *excellentissimum* opus Dei it does not speak; but for all that which needed restoration as being a *fallen, ruined* creation, and man especially, there is promised a *σωθήσεται*. The word *κτίσις* is expressly used, in order to point to the *Creator*, who renews His creation in its original and deepest nature, and proclaims a *καινὴ κτίσις*, a new creation. Berl. Bibel: “The entire Gospel refers to the relation of the *creature* to God; helping it to find its Creator again, and its eternal good.”

A *Gospel* of redemption and restoration is thus revealed and preached now:—and yet in ver. 16 there follows a *κατακρί-*

¹ For, the application to *angels*, which, e.g., Molitor (Philos. der Geschichte i. 109) introduces with allusion to Col. i. 20, is not appropriate on this passage, though in itself a sound thought. The angels sympathise and long for the salvation of men; but they have not fallen with him in any sense.

θήσεται by the side of the *σωθήσεται*, condemnation with the salvation ! This is the final and unchangeable declaration which the Lord gives in connection with His commission to preach ; thus must it begin, thus must it end, this is its sum and its seal. The promise "shall be saved" remains open and free as long as there is one creature who can hear, but who has not heard, and therefore cannot have decided to reject it. But the great distinction between salvation and perdition remains an immoveable fact, and its eternal reality will be made manifest at the end. Luther : "The whole world is thus divided into two portions, and they are separated from each other by a great and vast difference : one goes to heaven, the other to hell ; and no other judgment shall pass at the last day than that upon him who hath believed, or who hath not believed." And what will be preached during the long interval ? Most assuredly nothing new ; nothing even in Hades *but this Gospel* ! And at the outset, in order that no man afterwards may complain, the reason of the decision is given ! It is as if the Lord had commanded them, — rather, they were commanded — "Whithersoever ye go, make this judgment known. Say everywhere and to all, He that believeth and is baptized, shall be *saved* ; he that believeth not shall be condemned." (Fresenius.) At the same time, as he goes on to expound, "The Lord will give His disciples to know what will be the fruit and influence of their preaching of the Gospel throughout the world. Some, He would say, will believe ; and others will not believe." Thus, "Be sure that unbelief will exhibit itself ; and commit the judgment which I have decreed to the last day." This teaches us, therefore, that no man, not even the Apostle who might retain sin (as Peter, Acts viii. 20, appearing *εἰς ἀπώλειαν*) can penetrate, before the great day, the *κρυπτὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (Rom. ii. 16), and with irreversible decision give judgment upon the *πιστεύσας* or *ἀπιστήσας*. The meaning is, as it is connected with the *Futures* — He who *shall then have* believed, or the reverse.

Σωθήσεται — *shall be saved* — is promised through the *High-priestly* authority to bless and save. (Heb. vii. 24, 25.) Heaven is opened by Him who goes up to heaven. *Κατακριθήσεται* — *shall be damned* — is predicted and announced in the *Kingly*, judicial authority of the same Saviour, who will now continue

His *prophetic* office for the declaration of salvation or condemnation through His ambassadors. "*He that believeth not*, saith the Lord, shall be condemned. Let the world think otherwise on this point, that changes nothing. Their unbelief makes them not happy, their opinion is not the judge over heaven and earth, the dead and the living. If it is to thine own mind incomprehensible that all should be made to depend upon faith, take heed to thyself; and, lest another should have to declare it to thee in vain, become thyself a faithful scholar of the word of God, and the light will arise in thy own soul." (Beck.) It might be said with scriptural propriety, that he who believeth not will be judged—because he will not have it otherwise, because he protests against the standard of faith which grace introduces and applies—according to his *works*, and therefore righteously condemned.¹ See, to wit, Jno. v. 45. But, it is equally true, and more entirely pertinent to the question (Jno. viii. 24, xii. 47, 48, iii. 15, 18, 36), that *only* unbelief condemns, and that he who is doomed receives his sentence only upon this guilt, that he believed not! And, in this clear meaning, the *second clause*, with all its frightful threatening, is also nevertheless a *Gospel*:—yea, it is the strongest and most attractive assurance to faith. It is indeed "the most solemn judgment of Jesus Christ, by which He awfully threatens *and yet mercifully warns*." (G. K. Rieger.) For, down to the last the way is left open—Yet *believe*, believe *yet*, and thou shalt be saved! On the other hand, unbelief is in truth the worst, the most essential and the most damnable sin, as the same preacher declares:—"To him who believeth not—all that he does is sin; and sin, not only against the law, but *against the Gospel and against grace*, which is worse

¹ Luther: "For, as the former word opened heaven, and shut up hell, abolished Moses and the terrors of the law, to those who believed; so here another word shuts heaven, opens the wrath of hell, makes death omnipotent, and *Moses an intolerable tyrant*, to all who believe not. It will help thee nothing against all this, if, like the Jews, thou diest in thy zeal for the law, or shouldst perform all good works possible: for here is thy doom—He that *believeth not* is condemned." We would say, moreover, that all "*good works*" of men fall to the ground collectively and individually, if without faith in the Gospel no man, with all his *works*, has anything left but condemnation! That which was afterwards taught in Rom. iii. 20; Gal. ii. 16, iii. 10, etc., was said before by Christ in all its emphasis.

than the sins of the devils." And for this he adduces the too bold and doubtful words of Anselm (*Tract. de casu Diaboli*): "For the devil sins against a God who hath cast him out: man sins against a God who calls him back. The former is hardened against a God who punishes him: the latter hardens himself against a God who meets him in love. The devil acts in opposition to a God who seeketh him not: the sinner blasphemes against a God who dieth for him."

He that *believeth* not—that is, of course, the Gospel *preached by you* under My commission,—so preached that I may approve it to him as My word. That means, further, when compared with Matthew—He that believeth not that to *Me* is given all power; that I, Jesus Christ, am the alone Saviour and Judge appointed by the Father for men. This power and dignity of Jesus Christ is therefore, as long as preaching continues, down to the last day, a *matter of faith*: but, indeed, Acts xvii. 31, *πίστιν παρασχὼν πᾶσιν* is inseparably joined with this. Finally, it is testified and sealed in this utterance, as plainly as if spoken in as many express words, that *without* the preaching of the Gospel going before *no man* can be or may be conclusively condemned; that it may and that it must be preached to all; and that this, if it do not take place in the present life, must necessarily take place after death. Thus, the whole doctrine concerning an intermediate place, and its economy of forbearance and salvation, *down to the full ripeness of unbelief in the whole word*, has here its plain demonstration. It is incomprehensible that so many fail to perceive this, and therefore inveigh against it as doubtful or unscriptural! That *this* unbelief, which is to be finally condemned, is something very different from the Apostles' upbraided unbelief, which grace might nevertheless overcome, and which did not hinder their becoming Apostles—is perfectly plain from a comparison with ver. 14. Pfenninger: "It is the result either of deep malice or miserable stupidity when such a harsh construction is put upon the doctrine of the great Teacher—He that believeth not, is condemned—in a section which has set in so wonderful a light the tolerance of His Spirit towards the weak faith of His nearest disciples. Whenever I meet with this misapprehension and mistake in a deistical book, I am amazed; the book falls from my hands; and I cannot but think that it de-

serves the same condemnation—in company with all those of the so-called orthodox, who neglect to compare with our Lord's anathema the supreme tolerance which the same chapter displays."

Let us now further note, descending from the general to the more particular, the relation between the *believing* and the *being baptized*, so clearly and definitely laid down in the two clauses. To begin with the latter: we miss the corresponding *μὴ βαπτισθῆς* in connection with the *κατακριθήσεται*. It is not said "he that is not baptized shall be condemned." Baptized or not, even *if* baptized, the *unbelieving* shall be condemned! And this must lead us to decide that in the former clause the same holds good: The *believer* shall be saved, even though he be *not* baptized. For certainly after the "preach"—"faith embraces both the beginnings before baptism, and the continuance after it." All anxious misunderstanding of the inseparable conjunction of baptism with faith, as the condition of salvation, is removed by the plain sequel of the clause—But he that believeth not, and *only* he, shall be condemned. Indeed, in respect to those who already *believe*, and who may receive baptism, this obligation of obedience and confession remains, and it is consequently a test of their faith. But we must not think of it as an absolute condition of salvation, for this simple reason, that it is not positively the baptized who is said to be saved, but only the *believing and baptized*. Moreover, this order of the words—as we might perceive by the connection in St Mark alone—does not indicate the order of *time* for every individual to be first the believing, then the being baptized; and all that is said in St Matthew makes this certain and incontestable.¹ The *precedence* given to believing has another and more essential reason than that of marking the time. It may be understood thus, in any case:—He that believeth *also*, even as he has been baptized—not the mere *βαπτισθῆς*, but the *πιστεύσας καὶ βαπτισθῆς* (this is made perfectly plain when we connect St Matthew's words, which had been spoken before). Faith is the essential matter, and "water availeth not." Yea, even that true baptism, which is received in connection with the

¹ Although, e.g., Lutz reproduces the old and superficial way of stating it: "Baptism, according to Mark xvi. 16, follows upon believing!" On the other hand Hoffmann says: "Faith is the end, baptism the means: therefore, the former comes first, and the latter after it."

earliest faith, availeth not; but only the faith which holds fast the grace of baptism, and perseveres to the end. Such a faith alone is, according to the whole economy of salvation and grace, genuine and true.¹ When the preaching of Christ runs thus, *Repent and believe the Gospel*, the first test of faith asks whether reliance is placed upon repentance. Further, it is only a *living* faith which avails, that which produces and exhibits *works*. Nevertheless, it is in the highest degree right that faith alone should have been mentioned; and they are only falsely-taught teachers (as Luther says) who would take Christ Himself to school, and teach what He ought to have said, to wit,—He that believeth *and* performeth good works! For in this *and* there is involved the whole system of folly which is ignorant of the true power of faith as the spring of good works, and would introduce a personal merit into the question; and, moreover, it is a perversion which could only terrify timid consciences,—such as have no consciousness of good works, but might believe and receive gratuitous grace. Therefore should we carefully keep the two apart, as each occupies its right place in the two Evangelists: those who believe and are baptized are to be taught to hold fast and to perform all that the Lord has commanded; but when salvation and acceptance are in question, faith and baptism alone are required, without the intermixture of good works. What is demanded in order to salvation? Faith. What more? Faith. And nothing further? No, nothing but faith. For

¹ And here we may add the emphatic postscript—"which alone decides, whether with or without baptism." Hoffmann, indeed, speaks too strongly: "If we omit this additional remark, the declaration that without faith there is no salvation would be a strange repetition, at the solemn moment before the ascension, of what had been long so well known to the Apostles!" Apart from the error as to the time when it was spoken—would not such a final declaration have been perfectly appropriate and significant? But thus much is true, that the words here in St Mark plainly presuppose and provide for the circumstance that there may be *baptized unbelievers*. These *might*, indeed, be such only as had lost again after baptism the faith which they had had; for such faith might really have been living faith, which does not effectually secure against falling: it is not necessary, therefore, to think of the baptism of "half-believers." And it may thus be proved in argument with the Baptists, and from their own premises, that the Lord means such *also* (they would say—*alone*) as were baptized before they arrived at a conscious faith, that is, as children.

he that believeth will not omit to seek baptism, if he has not already received it; and will also, if he does not cease from faith, perform a thousand times more and better good works (thus to speak foolishly) than if the being saved had been made dependent on works as a condition.

But, inasmuch as only unbelief condemns, the contempt of baptism as the appointed way (Lu. vii. 30) condemns only the disobedient and the unbelieving; the want of baptism on the part of believers, whose fault it is not,¹ and on the part of little children, does not condemn *them*. The opinions as to the perdition of unbaptized children which once were current, but are scarcely to be found now in evangelical Churches, spring from the utmost confusion and misapprehension of all that belongs to the question. It is scarcely necessary, therefore, that we should say a word about the so-called *Nothtaufe* (baptism in emergency)—a combination of words which, to one rightly instructed in the nature of baptism, is altogether meaningless.² Tertullian, indeed, refers (de Bapt. c. 17) to a *casus necessitatis* in which even the laity might perform the sacred office; but his meaning does not so rigidly refer to the ecclesiastical ceremony, as to the relative *necessitas* that any one should exercise the rights of the universal priesthood. “*Baptism* (even that of children) is not lightly to be omitted”—who would not agree with this? But if “*nothtaufe*”—private baptism in case of danger—is made

¹ Certainly, we may conceive of circumstances in which baptism is impossible—such as when a baptizer is not at hand—especially in the missionary work. For to deny this, as Axelsen does, asserting that “he who can preach can baptize also”—is not to the point. There are conversions effected through the Scripture alone; the only preacher may be called away, or die, before the administration of baptism. There may be such a thing as an unjustifiable postponement of the rite, so that a believer may die without it.—Or, is there supposable, in the most extreme case, a right to baptize oneself, and is there any meaning in this? Pistorius is hardly enough to answer in the affirmative, and defend such a self-baptism! (Luth. Zeits. 1848. S. S. 559.) But the notions concerning baptism which underlie this, are not merely overstretched, they are perverted—and somewhat similar to those which give rise to the “self-absolving” of which we read previously.

² Our modern Lutherans seem to have a feeling of this. They would require the midwife to baptize in cases of emergency, and instruct them to that end; but still prefer the old-fashioned “*Jachtaufe*.”

the subject of this sentence, what meaning does that give us? "Nevertheless, a child is not lost, if it departs without baptism, in opposition to the will of the parents." How then, if it departs *by the will* of the parents unbaptized? By the will of parents whose faith and conscience would not allow them needlessly and unseasonably to baptize a *dying* child? A long experience in practical pastoral life, and in a district celebrated for Christian knowledge and piety, has revealed to me the existence of so much confusion, and let me say superstition, in the minds of the people on this question (connected, albeit, with much deep anxiety to comply with the precepts of Christ), that I could not consent to further the views of those who would revive the discipline of private baptism for times of danger. It rather appears to me more and more clearly the duty of the minister to defend his people from superstition, and even under certain circumstances to deny the rite which is demanded with an unworthy motive; at least to perform no so-called *baptism of need* without a plain protest against the notion of its *necessity*. I think we may better, and with more blessed result, uphold the true appreciation of the Sacrament, than by furthering an improper and erroneous value for it. When the ceremony is performed upon a child to all appearance dying, according to the formulary which is the only one in most of our service books, that is with all the obligations of the sponsors, etc., just as if the child were destined to live—what is this but trifling with holy things? In infant-baptism the germ is implanted for *life upon earth*, from which the tree should spring up in the present economy of things; *this* is alone its peculiar significance and justification. But the little children whom the Lord calls to die, He calls by their death (as we are in the habit of saying) most surely and effectually to *come unto Himself*.

John the Baptist said merely—He that *believeth* (Jno. iii. 36): Christ, on the other hand, says—He that *believeth and is baptized* shall be saved. That we may set this former half of the verse in a clear light, we may apply to it two questions: Wherefore is faith required in order to baptism? Wherefore is baptism required as following the faith? The former question—Wherefore is *faith* in order to baptism? is of course easily understood and answered. For, first—Water has nothing to

do with the matter, but regeneration. And that little children, baptized or unbaptized, will have in the other world—as, so to term it, in a *limbus infantum*—a way of *faith* opened to their dawning consciousness, is most certain. Whether a harder or an easier way than here,—may be met with the appropriate reply, Who can penetrate into these hidden mysteries? But the Sacraments were instituted for the way of salvation upon earth, and not for Hades.¹ Secondly—Even the Holy Ghost, the internal and real laver of regeneration, doth not effect it absolutely and alone; that is, with unresisted power; consequently, an accepting, retaining and confirming will must concur and abide to the end—and this is faith. The other question—Why baptism with water after the faith? is a harder one, but the answer may be easily and scripturally given. First, generally, it is for great and small alike, it has been ordained by God in His Church, as the appointed way in which the Spirit puts his effect in the word, as the body and blood of Christ in the Supper. (Quite subordinately to this, and apart from it,—an external sign of those who belong to the Church.) Those who are born in Christendom and for Christianity are appointed to this ordinance at once. Thus, secondly, baptism is in the case of children: 1. the prevenient, essential commencement of their regeneration, the implanted germ of the new life; 2. a firm ground and anchor for their subsequent faith:—I have been baptized, the grace of redemption pertains to me;² 3. to

¹ Munchmeyer's protest does not affect this plain position; we would ask him how he knows the contrary. We do not deny that the inserted germ may be developed in Hades; but we declare it to be a duty to implant it as soon as possible, though so many children die afterwards. As to the absolute necessity of baptism for death, we deny it.

² Hoffmann has laid great stress upon the fact that infant-baptism alone corresponds perfectly to this design—that of giving absolute and immovable assurance, to be retained through all the future, that God has regarded and accepted me in mercy. He, further, insists that in the case of adults who are baptized, their genuine baptism may be matter of doubt, even with their faith and conversion. But we should shrink from a view which would tend to lower the character of adult-baptism. Moreover, in the first place, the tempted soul may certainly be led to doubt about the prerogative of his own baptism in childhood. And, secondly, it is not the *finis primarius*, the great point, in baptism, to afford the sure ground of future faith; its first and most essential character is to be the means of regeneration. A vain

their parents or other educators a similar ground of assurance of grace, so that they may with confidence endeavour to train up the tender plant, the seed of which is sown. Thirdly and finally, in the case of adults, who believe through the word and are baptized, it is : 1. The means of grace, in which God will give Himself to their desiring faith, to make it living and fruitful through the spirit of regeneration and renewal, to establish their fellowship with Himself as the Triune God ;¹ 2. the confirmation at the same time of this initiatory faith, coming thus to baptism, as the *confession* of the Crucified, the Risen, and the Ascended Lord, who will thus be openly avowed by His disciples before the world, even as He was and still is openly rejected in the world by others. And it was perfectly in harmony with this, that the early Church allowed validity to the death of unbaptized martyrs, as a *baptismus sanguinis*, a baptism of blood.²

But after these many words of our weakness, let us turn to a new utterance of our Lord, in which He promises in few but most mighty words—vers. 17, 18—the *signs that should follow* believers. The *καὶ τέρατα* (wonders) which is usually connected with *σημεῖα* (signs), and which is found afterwards at the first fulfilment of the promise (Acts iv. 30, v. 12 ; Rom. xv. 19 ; 2 Cor. xii. 12)—is wanting here in the promise itself. This we

reliance upon baptism, as independent of this regeneration, its living effect. is that superstition of unbelief in the living God which leads to condemnation. But thus much is true : it is only by a delusion that the Baptists argue how much more influential is a hortatory reference to a baptism which has been consciously received by the adult. By no means, for a grace that came freely at the first in baptism must be a much more stimulating and encouraging argument. It is a lamentable thing that ministers and teachers omit, so much as they do, all appeal to that early baptism.

¹ Accordingly, we are not satisfied with the view of Gerhard, which stops short of the truth : "To adult believers baptism serves *principally* as an *obsignation* and attestation of the grace of God ; the purpose of furthering their renewal it serves more subordinately." Oh, no ; this is to invert the order !

² The two points which we lay down upon the baptism of adults, mean much more than what Calvin expresses as the object of their baptism : "First, that it may subserve our own faith ; then, as a confession before men." For, the former is left too vague and unsubstantial ; and the latter would seem to include only the mere *nota confessionis externæ*.

simply mention now, it will be referred to again as an element in our final interpretation. The *signs* which should *point* to something else, are the matter of real importance; to give such signs is the first object of these miraculous endowments. The several *δυνάμεις* (powers, Acts viii. 13, 7) were intended to show that the *δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ*, the power of God which is alone the true power, supreme over all, and which would show itself to be great (see there, vers. 9, 10)—was with these messengers and witnesses of *Jesus*, these servants of the most high God who showed unto man the way of salvation *in the name of Jesus*. (Acts xvi. 17.) Thus this word of our Lord connects itself very closely and plainly with the promise *I am with you* in St Matthew, as being a specific voucher, so to speak, for the fulfilment of the altogether general, and all-comprehending promise. It is as if it ran—Signs of My being with you, of My *working* with you through them; that is, while you preach according to My commission the word concerning faith and unto faith, the condition of eternal salvation. This promise, as given here in its specialising character, refers especially to the *Preach*; as the Evangelist himself, ver. 20, expounds it of the confirmation of the *word*: compare Heb. ii. 4. The *παρακολουθεῖν*—*accompanying*—consequently refers to the *πορευθέντες*—their *going forth*—as ver. 20 again establishes: the signs were everywhere to follow those who went forth; they were to accompany them in their way of embassy and testimony throughout the whole world. The emphatic *παρακολουθεῖν*, equivalent to *accompanying*, abiding with them, *alicui præsto esse* at all times, is exchanged afterwards by the Evangelist for the equally, though in a different sense, emphatic *ἐπακολουθεῖν*;—which means *subsequi*, to follow in their footsteps, and at the same time to serve and obey them. We can say only in a very limited sense that the signs—which excite attention, astonishment, and a bias to believe, which stimulate to questioning, and earnest diligence in hearing—*go before* the messengers of the word, as it were paving their way. For, such an influence, though it may be a concomitant, was not the Lord's design; and therefore He speaks of such signs as *following*. Who, then, and what goes before? The believing preacher, with the word of the Gospel. This is Bengel's meaning, when he passes by the more obvious sense, and rightly

deduces from ver. 20, by a penetrating exposition—*Verbum, et fides præcedit signa*, The word and faith go before the signs. And obviously so: for that which was to be confirmed and sealed as coming from God, by these *signacula*, must have been spoken beforehand; the mere *signa* could have a preparatory signification only through the symbolical character of their operations. Signs and wonders without the word have no value attached to them throughout Scripture; everywhere among men the testimony must be uttered in word, and that must go first. And so also must *faith*; for although we have already said that the sealing promise was given “in reference to those who were sent,” yet that refers only to the *promise* itself, which would invigorate them for their mission by making more specific the assurance—*I am with you!* The *signs* which afterwards follow, are, properly speaking (as it is said of the tongues in 1 Cor. xiv. 22), not for those who believe, but for those who believe not. It would be a great perversion to suppose a missionary first to strengthen his own faith, and encourage himself for the work of preaching, by the assurance that he could work miracles; indeed, it would be a thing impossible, for he must have faith in order to work those miracles.

Thus—to those who believe! This is directly taken from ver. 16; and it appears at first to include all who should in future believe, and be baptized unto salvation, after having heard the preached word. In this there is a certain truth; but it is presupposed (just as in Matt.) that those who believe in the future will also, like the first, go *forth* and *preach*, in order to lead continually and for ever souls unto salvation, *throughout all the world*. Let us now carefully look at this *πιστεύουσαι*, which is stated with the same generality as *πιστεύουσας*, ver. 16,—to those who have thus become believers. Both the one and the other apply to ourselves down to the present day, and indeed for all future time. “Every one applies the first part of this saying to ourselves; teaching everywhere that faith and baptism are necessary in all ages to salvation, and that unbelief in all ages excludes from it. But what right has any one to separate the words which Jesus immediately added, from His former words? Where is it said that these former words have reference to all men and all Christians; but that the promised signs,

which should follow those who believe, referred only to the Christians of the first age? What God hath joined together let no man put asunder!" (Salzmann.) If later history shows—as it does—that the fulfilment, or rather the first kind of fulfilment of these promises, that is in their external letter, appertained pre-eminently to the first establishment and foundation of the Church—this gives us no authority to limit the word of Christ (certainly not spoken to the *Apostles* alone, and, by the testimony of history, not limited in its fulfilment to them) to any long past and ended period of Christianity. The words, as they run, most decidedly oppose this. Thus it is not, as the otherwise superstitious Sepp remarks, that "these things referred to the destinies of the years immediately to follow, for which He prepared His Apostles!" *Faith* has from the beginning (Heb. xi. 33, 34) demonstrated its power by miraculous victories over nature; and can we suppose that it would lose its energy in the New-Testament economy, or after a brief interval of exertion, lose *this* evidence of its power? Bengel writes here with great truth: "*Non fuit habitus alius, quo salvatus est Paulus, alius, quo miracula edidit.*"¹—Paul was saved and wrought miracles by one and the same attribute of faith. So also in our day the faith of every believer has a latent miraculous power: in fact, every result of prayers is miraculous, although that may not appear." This remark we would carefully ponder, while we supplement, and, in some degree, correct it by another. The only limitation, or rather condition, which the Lord attaches to the universal promise of performing miracles, is *faith*. That is not, however, in this connection, simply and distinctively the faith which procures salvation, but (as we elsewhere abundantly learn, *e.g.*, Mark xi. 23; Matt. xvii. 20) at the same time the specific faith on each occasion, that such miracle will be done in the power of God, a sure confidence that one *may* do it according to God's will, and *should* do it for His kingdom. (Concerning which we have said enough in Vol. iii.)

Thus, the appropriation and use of this promised miraculous power is itself made subordinate to the confidence, knowledge.

¹ But, let it be carefully noted: The true believer performs the wonders in the same faith; but the converse is not true, for the wonder-working faith is *not of itself* the faith that saves.

and wisdom of a faith which, whether for self or for others, seeks only salvation. For the rest, there is no limitation of the promise to persons or to times. Observe the uniform and simultaneous mention of those evil things in which the blessed power that accompanies *the word of salvation* should symbolically display its power in expelling, thwarting, and healing. Powers of evil are mentioned which run through all ages, and belong necessarily to that nature which is to be delivered from its *φθορά*, its ruin; and, preceding the mention of them, a phenomenon which to refer to past ages alone, simply because it was mentioned first, would be obviously incorrect. As long as serpents' poison, and things deadly may be drunk, and sicknesses exist, *devils also are to be cast out*; and all the more (as we shall see presently) because *all* that is named in ver. 18 preserves its connection with the power of Satan. Believers in the word and in the authority of Jesus may certainly hold fast the faith which even Grotius held: "Wherefore, if any one should declare Christ, as He would be announced, to nations ignorant of His name (for to them¹ miracles were strictly speaking to be subservient, 1 Cor. xii. 22), I doubt not that the promise would hold good. For *the gifts of God are ἀμεταμέλητα*. But we are too much in the habit of casting upon God the fault of our own sloth and unbelief." We have been taught already by *πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει*—to every creature—that the Gospel has a reference to all *nature*; consequently, that the power of God accompanying its preaching will and must demonstrate its might upon the demonic energies which penetrate nature, or rule over it:—demonstrating that might either naturally or miraculously; or, to speak more correctly, through the slow mediation of its healing, renewing influence, or by instantaneous and extraordinary interventions altering its course. In this first and most obvious meaning compare 1 Cor. xii. 28, the *δυνάμεις, χαρίσματα, ἰαμάτων, γένη γλωσσῶν*. And this will further show the force of the remark of Grotius—*non omnibus omnia*, according to 1 Cor. xii. 4. The *ταῦτα following after* does not mean simply these and no other signs; but, these and the like, in the sense of *τοῖα, τοιαῦτα*, the individual

¹ But *this* limitation in the exposition is certainly too restricted!

signs being mentioned *by way of example*, and for concrete assurance. Although, indeed, the idea of the *charismata* or gifts is something different from this, and includes the gift of miracles as the *less*, yet there is even in respect to the former an analogous *diversity of operations*.

In My name! With this the individual detail begins; and it does not mean in an external sense,—through the utterance of *My name* (as the sons of Sceva, Acts xix. 13, misunderstood it). May we suppose the utterance of the *name*, as a formula of help, to have occurred in the case of the unhurtful, and probably unconscious, drinking of the deadly thing? And yet the expression in the forefront refers certainly to all, and not merely to the first promise, where indeed the *naming* of the name before which devils fly is obviously to be held fast. If this ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου is placed in conjunction with the εἰς τὸ ὄνομα in St Matthew, the reader will observe all that we cannot now pause to develop. Among the miracles which our Lord Himself performed, the *casting out of devils* was the first, the most mighty, and the most convincing sign (Matt. xii. 25 seq.): the Lord therefore places it now first, and says by His “in My name” no less than this—Ye shall perform the same works which I Myself have performed. Satan’s power confronts and opposes the coming kingdom of God: how then could anything but this promise stand in the forefront—this prominent sign of the Stronger than he? It is well known to the learned that from the time of Justin and Irenæus onward, and down to the fourth century (not to go further), the Fathers, and especially the Apologists, referred with the utmost confidence of challenge to the actual fact that the demons were constrained to retire before the name of Christ. But something of the same time continues throughout the whole course of history down to the present day. The speaking in new γλώσσαις, new tongues, languages, expressions, in such a manner as to evidence a higher power and inspiration, began with the day of Pentecost, continued for a while in Christian baptism, and now takes various and other forms. We take it for granted as proved that the Corinthian *glossolaly* was not of the same kind as the Pentecostal miracle; and that generally the speaking with tongues, or in a tongue (γλώσσαις and γλῶσση λαλεῖν) occurs

in very different manifestations, though with a unity of meaning embracing them all in one. We must be excused, however, from the full investigation of this matter in this place; it is one of the most difficult of all subjects, and nothing very satisfactory could be said upon it in few words. But we must reject the almost obsolete view—occurring here and there in the pages of orthodox writers—which Pfenninger, for instance, so confidently maintained: “speaking with new tongues—how otherwise could they go forth into all the nations?” For, although on the day of Pentecost *languages* quite strange were spoken, or heard and understood, yet we have no indication in Scripture that even one Apostle retained the *permanent* power of speaking among barbarous nations their own tongue. The subsequent glossolaly, or speaking in tongues, had a quite different significance: this at least has been surely established by recent investigation.

We further remark preparatorily that, not without reason, the matter of *speaking with tongues* follows immediately after the *casting out of devils*: how both are inseparably united will be seen when we look into the subject more closely. In the same way the serpents and the deadly thing drunk are united; the two are even bound together in one by *and* (though otherwise the clauses follow *ἀσυνδέτως*), the “shall not hurt them” (*βλάψῃ* or *βλάψει*) being thus the complement of the taking up of serpents also. The words, that is, refer now to the noxious things, the poisons, the deadly elements in nature, which, like the *serpents*, point in the entire symbolism of Scripture to the *δαιμονία*, and have a certain connection with the power of the devil which has penetrated nature. From that originates, and in that finds its root, everything which is called, or which leads to, death and destruction; the creature at the beginning was very differently constituted. Wisd. i. 13, 14. The concentration of these deadly elements is life-destroying *poison*. But this comes upon us either *from without*, through the serpents, as it were the living personification of the murderer; or (through the cunning and violence of men, through the agency of secret enemies, or in any other way) is conveyed *inwardly* as an ingredient of even the inanimate creature. We thus see that the examples are not fortuitously given; they have their connection

and progressive meaning, including everything of the same kind which may befall us; and this must dispose our minds to expect some deeper meaning than that which is merely external. But we must hold fast this external one also. "Οφεῖς ἀροῦσι: that is, they should take up serpents (the connection explains this of poisonous, life-destroying serpents); they should lay hold of them, and, as the combination with the following clause shows, *without hurt*. This is expressed more strongly than if the meaning referred to their not biting, or to the unhurtfulness of their bite: the promise is that they should not merely suffer such *θρῆλα* to come near them, but that they should in cases of necessity be able to lay hold on them, cast them away, destroy them. Thus much is true from the connection, and it is confirmed by the remarkable narrative of Acts xxviii. 3-5. But the simplicity of the customary expression (in which the laying hold demonstrates of itself that the creature is overcome, and can do no injury), leads us to doubt whether the ἀροῦσι is intended to mean a "casting out," or throwing away, which should correspond with the ἐκβαλοῦσι before. The passive οὐ μὴ βλάβῃ appears here to be enough; the casting away would enter too expressly into the externality of the sign, and (in opposition to the parallel, Lu. x. 19, 20) involve a too bold antagonism to the demonic and hurtful elements of nature itself—in the manner of the contest which the religion of Parsism exhibits with the powers of evil in nature. The θανάσιμον—*deadly thing*—reminds the reader of Scripture of 2 Kings iv. 40, 41; but that *drinking* and not eating is spoken of (though the latter is not excluded), is accounted for by the circumstance that poison is more easily, and therefore is more generally, intermixed with the drink which conceals it so well. And, accordingly, we cannot but think of poisons designedly used by enemies in stealth; (or, as some have supposed) of the so-called "philtres" and deadly potions of antiquity. This last is applicable enough to the *first* ages; but such special interpretations must not be allowed to interfere with the general meaning and validity of the sign. Eusebius (iii. 39) gives us a pertinent example of the innoxious drinking of a deadly liquid; and such doubtless often occurred (and still occurs), or the Lord would not have made it so prominent. (St John's caldron of oil in the so-called "legend" is something

very different from this!) But it is self-understood in all this, that believers should experience the fulfilment of the promise only where their testimony for God might render it imperative that they should claim that promise; they must never, without the express call of God, venture thus to take up the serpent, or drink the potion. (Wesley: But not by their own choice. God never calls us to try any such experiments.) Finally, the series closes with *healing of diseases*, not by medicine, but by the name of the Lord, accompanied by the usual imposition of hands—which our Lord Jesus Himself employed—as the conductor of the miraculous power.¹ This last sign was to all appearance the least. At the same time it was that one which, according to Jas. v. 14-16, was to be most ordinarily realised in the Church itself; and thus it was the most *permanent* sign even for literal fulfilment. Thus it is in contrast with the *casting out of devils* which began the series; nevertheless, the circle returns into itself; for possession and sickness are strictly connected, and the *healing* unites them in one. To the rightly understanding mind it will need no proof that all *sickness* is in its inmost principle connected with sin and the power of evil; and how many forms of bodily unsoundness point us involuntarily, by their tormenting appearance and character, to their affinity with the demonic power over man. St James associates with the mighty power of prayer the symbol of *oil*, which the weaker faith of the disciples had once employed unbidden, Mark vi. 13; but the same St Mark, who recorded that circumstance, has not added the word here—he simply records now what the Lord actually said. His disciples were to lay on their hands, as He had done. Their *hands* also should have a miraculous power of blessing; even as their *mouths* should speak a new language.

Such would be the signs, which the Lord mentions and promises as examples of much else similar; yea, the fulfilment overpassed the promise, as Bengel remarks, in their *raising the dead*.² Yet, the selection and the order is here, as everywhere,

¹ See Numb. viii. 10, xxvii. 23; Deut. xxxiv. 9; and in connection with the sacrifices, Lev. viii. 14, etc.; with which we may compare, in Heb. vi. 2, the laying on of hands by the side of baptizing.

² For this addition in Matt. x. 8 is spurious.

significant. If we take, as before observed, the unhurtfulness of the two hurtful elements in one, we have at the beginning and the end two signs of helping power, as exerted upon others. Between them come the two signs which should have their demonstration in *themselves*—the active sign of their miraculous speaking, the more passive sign of their not coming to any harm. As it respects others, all should be pure benevolence and *doing good*—as in Acts x. 38 it is said concerning the Lord's works—no miracles of condemnation and judgment are referred to. In certain exceptional cases we find the Apostles acting as it pleased not the Lord Himself to act. St Peter, in spite of his own will, doomed by his word of power to a fearful death the liars against the Holy Ghost; and St Paul designedly blinded Elymas, and imposed sicknesses as the discipline of the Church;—but those actions have nothing to do with these words of universal application. The Church, Acts iv. 30, in their supplications to God against the threatening of all their enemies, asked only for the Divine signs of *healing*.

To many of our modern critics this whole discourse of our Lord appears very suspicious; and some with absolute confidence declare it to be a later interpolation of a miracle-loving age.¹ But we adhere to the testimony that He did thus speak, though we would endeavour to understand Him better than if He had said merely *τέρατα*. His *σημεῖα* refer us necessarily to their interpretation and *meaning*. It is the *power of the Spirit of God* which should, and which did, approve itself as the *power of signs and wonders* (Rom. xv. 19); and in these signs the Holy Ghost *symbolically* showed forth His spiritual energy and operations (as was the case with our Lord's miracles)—those spiritual influences and operations which should be for ever the best demonstrations of His presence. When St Paul appealed to the *signs of an Apostle*, he placed *patience* first, and not till after that the *signs and wonders and mighty deeds* (2 Cor. xii. 12). That which Christ had spoken in Jno. iv. 48 concerning the

¹ See, for instance, the remarks of the author of "*Δὲς μοι τοῦ στῦ*," etc. (Berlin 1841), to the effect that St Mark here gives a "harsh, apocryphal, and most unhappy supplement to his gospel." But the present writer looks at it with very different eyes; and sees that in it which tests whether a man has any spiritual sight or understanding at all.

only relative value of external miracles, He could not have forgotten, or retracted, in these His final words. It is not possible—however it may seem—that He meant only, and *nothing more than*, those wonders which, while under some circumstances they might lead to true faith, in many cases might be used only to bewitch the people, or cause the performer himself only to be wondered at (Acts viii. 9, 13), and which certainly were not intended to be of permanent necessity to the Church. Even an Iscariot might cast out devils, and heal the sick; that is, through a certain faith in Jesus which he had not altogether lost. But this (not isolated) example modifies still differently our observation concerning the unity of the saving and the wonder-working faith. And the faith which, with all power and *patience* of waiting, *preaches* in order to the *salvation* of others, needs not necessarily any external performance of miracles. Thus, we admit that the Lord named the external miracles, of which He literally speaks, as miracles in external nature which should actually take place, and continue to recur according to the need of the kingdom of God—for how can we suppose Him to have made an unreal thing the type of a reality? But a deeper understanding of His words, and that which alone is correct, must regard Him as having meant and promised, under this figure, *those mighty influences of the Spirit especially* which correspond to these *signs*, and should ever abide in the Church, as being much more important and essential than they. Or, can we suppose that the lack of miracles would be an essential deficiency? Were His *believers* to look for such miracles as were performed in the beginning, as being essential to their preaching and extending everywhere the Gospel of grace? Would such miracles have absolutely helped on that Gospel, in such times and circumstances as ours?¹ Is it not, rather, true—as it has been discerned by many from the beginning—that the withdrawal of the external working of miracles has been connected with a *progression* of the Church and her missions into the domain of the Spirit alone? We may refer to what was said upon Jno.

¹ “Even while the assistance of miracles remained, most (rather all!) still rested upon faith in the word. *Believe* thou the word confirmed by the miracles, and thou wilt have the blessing of previous and latter times in one.” (Rieger.)

xiv. 12 (and with specific reference to this parallel passage), and deduce once more from the fact that the Lord derives His expression from these outward demonstrations of power, the great truth—"Whatsoever believers shall in all ages do in My name will be as wonderful as these things are, and will be the essential realisation of these *signs*."

Thus it was understood in very early times. St Bernard on this passage encounters the doubt whether true faith can be present where these signs are wanting; and he introduces the spiritual interpretation with good effect. We have already made some quotations from antiquity, in our remarks upon Jno. xiv. Hefnerich has taken pains to show how "these notes of the working and influence of Jesus, divested of their miraculous (that is, their external) character, are valid for the Church of all ages;" but he does not develop the details with sufficient precision. Lange's view of the "more general symbolical meaning of those promised miraculous signs" is much more excellent; though with that we cannot altogether agree. Let us now look at the whole in this light.

The casting out of *devils*,—which, as *πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας* (Eph. vi. 12), are everywhere present in the world, where sin and death reigns,—is and must be the first thing. Satan's power, exerted through the agency of many spirits belonging to him (all the more mighty, because bodily possession has receded), must be broken, and his powers must retire before the Spirit of God. Even the exorcism, which was in early times connected with baptism, contained a deep truth in its fundamental idea. But the devil, as St James teaches us (ch. iii. 6–8), has especially the *tongue*, man's words, in his service—by this those possessed by him show themselves! Then the great point is, that those who believe should drive first out of themselves all evil, and all the devilish nature. Satan must be overcome by the *word*, by a *new* and mighty *Spirit-word*; this explains the conjunction of the second with the first sign. And here comes in the expression "*new tongues*,"¹ the true understanding of which required to be deferred till this point was reached. It is not merely *other* tongues, which would correspond rather to the first and external

¹ For it is of no weight that it is wanting in a few MSS., which introduce instead the inappropriate *ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὁφείας ἀποῦσαι*.

demonstration given by the sign. The profound expression is used *only here*; and we may compare with it Ecclus. li. 29, where the addition *new* belongs to our translation, though added in strict conformity with the Greek text. Olshausen is certainly in great error: "the γλώσση λαλεῖν had been sometimes understood as a language of angels; *therefore* it is here called a new tongue;" for, apart from the strangeness of this latter expression, are we to interpret the word of *Christ* according to the notions which were afterwards in vogue among the people? The Lord sets His *new* tongues in opposition, first, to the tongues with which sinners had spoken; and, then, to human tongues generally;—but as *the new Spirit-word*, full of self-demonstrating Divine power, such as was miraculously impressed upon it, though only at the first, in the glossolaly or "speaking with tongues." The taking hold of serpents He means also in the same profound and comprehensive sense which we have already, on Luke x. 19, found in this symbolical word, which Old-Testament use had already sanctified.¹ We do not agree with Lange in thinking that in the drinking of *deadly things* the more general symbolical character of this promise comes into most emphatic prominence. That character shows itself in them all; each individual sign connects the internal meaning with the external, as is plain enough even with regard to the *devils* and the *serpents*. If any one of them points more evidently than the rest to a spiritual interpretation, it is the speaking with *new tongues*. All the hurtful elements of nature, as all the hurtful elements in the spiritual kingdom, are derived from the fall; and the power of Christ arms us against them all alike. He preserves our real life still from the philtres and poisonous potions of the spirit of the age and its literature, as certainly and as miraculously as preservation from bodily harm is here attributed to His power. Finally, how much *sickness*, and how many hurts, of the souls of men are still healed by the blessed and blessing agency of the hand and power of Christian men! True it is (as Lange says) that the saving and restoring might of the Spirit of Christ exerts His power instrumentally—generally

¹ Helfferich understands here also a *casting out* of all barbarity and wildness of nature, etc.—the true cultivation which the Gospel introduces. But this is far below the meaning of the saying.

and in specific cases—"in the sphere of human bodily life;" but how much greater and more gloriously miraculous are His influences in the abolition of sin and its sicknesses!

Καὶ καθὼς ἔξουσιν—*they shall be healed*—all to whom the hands of believers may bring the benediction of cure! Thus St Mark closes his Gospel:—in a manner seemingly strange, and yet quite in harmony with the original character of his composition, which concisely notes individualities everywhere; and, moreover, quite consistently with the brief style of his final compendious conclusion. With *this* termination of his gospel he connects the Ascension. It is indeed in sharp contrast with the sublimely comprehensive final word of St Matthew; but if we receive the one and the other with all becoming simplicity, we shall understand both according to the meaning of the Spirit,—the Spirit through whom Jesus spoke, and St Mark thus closed his gospel. And then shall we cry to the Lord—Ah, strengthen and bless Thou the hands of Thy believing messengers, that they may rightly lay them upon men; and that, before Thy coming again, Thy promise may be abundantly fulfilled: *They shall be healed! it shall be well with them!*¹

FURTHER EXPLANATION AND PROMISE.

(Lu. xxiv. 44–49.)

St Luke also gives us a compendious selection of our Lord's words before the ascension; a summary suitable to the funda-

¹ The significance of this concluding word, which with all its specific character includes a universal and profound meaning, is quite sufficient reason for rejecting the customary parallelising of these clauses. There is no need for resorting to Lange's strange expedient, who refers the *καθὼς ἔξουσιν* to the disciples themselves, as a promise that they should always enjoy perfect soundness! The promise, regarded as spoken to the healers themselves, was never fully fulfilled. Timothy was often sick; St Paul, whose hands were so mighty in healing, himself suffered from infirmity and the thorn in the flesh. And in the lower analogy the physician is not always himself sound in health.

mental design of his Gospel, before he speaks further of it in the Acts of the Apostles (see Acts i. 3). Writing in the Spirit it impressed itself obviously upon his mind, or was a direct suggestion of the Holy Ghost, that in the brief and epitomising reference to these discourses of our Lord—which, as His resurrection and ascension sayings, already anticipated His pentecostal promises—the *when* and the *where* should be lost sight of, as comparatively unimportant. Thus the Risen Lord appears throughout as already ascending before our eyes; and the Ascended Lord appears to be already speaking to us from heaven. We find *this* characteristic of the first construction of the Gospels common to all the three Synoptics, differing as they do in other respects. St Matthew has given us only the beginning and end, as it were, of Christ's manifestation after the resurrection; the proper conclusion of the history, the visible and actual *ascension*,—which the Evangelists who were not Apostles specifically record in their lower standing-point,—he presents, in the genuine apostolical style, only in such words of our Lord as make it self-understood; and the "mountain" itself on which those words were spoken he leaves altogether indefinite. *In this* (that the ascension is not recorded) St John is one with him. He also closes with the following or remaining until the ascended Lord *should return*; although he was directed to report with strict historical accuracy the place and time of many other signs, appearances, and revelations. The relation of the whole matter which we have thus exhibited is not understood by our diplomatic critics; it is but too little apprehended by our orthodox expositors, and hence their misarrangement of many of these particulars.

Although ver. 44 in St Luke's narrative appears to be a strict continuation of ver. 43, ver. 50 presently afterwards shows us the impossibility of so reading it. For, apart from the too anticipatory character of this whole discourse as located in the first evening (including, to wit, not only the glance backwards, and the enlightenment of their understandings, vers. 44-46, which might be suitable; but also such instructions and promises as befitted only the close of this intermediate period, vers. 47-49)—it involves too great a hiatus, and a too violent leap in the record, amounting even to historical untruthfulness, if we make the

"led them out" follow immediately on the first evening. Moreover, the same St Luke elsewhere manifests his acquaintance with the Lord's manifold discourses concerning the kingdom of God during these Forty Days!

We must, therefore, decline to read the *Εἶπε δὲ αὐτοῖς* of ver. 44 in strict historical connection; St Luke's customary use of the *δέ* imposes no necessity of doing so. We cannot—as we have already shown—make the other account of the Appearance of this evening, in Jno. xx., agree with that which St Luke here adds. Others, *e.g.* Lange, would connect only ver. 44 with what precedes, and introduce the division at ver. 45; thus making the *τότε διήνοιξεν* refer to the "*then* of a continuous presence of Christ, who began to speak to them on that evening, but continued throughout the whole of the Forty Days." But the introductory words of ver. 44 equally well suit this idea, and it is therefore needless to separate it from ver. 45; while, on the other hand, ver. 46 seems to be connected in the strictest manner with ver. 44. Finally, the supposition, found most frequently in practical and uncritical exposition, which makes the division at ver. 49,—placing all that precedes in the first evening, and making ver. 49, on account of ver. 50, a final appearance before the ascension—is altogether forced; for, the *καὶ ἰδοὺ*—*and, behold*—of ver. 49 evidently continues the discourse, and intimates, as we shall see, a strict connection.

Schleiermacher: "Ver. 44 begins a later and more summary postscript, which is independent of time and place, and reports only that which was essential in the conversations of the Redeemer with His disciples. And thus it appends a very summary notice of the departure and ascension of Christ." In the fundamental idea he is right, but only in that. We cannot see any reason for a supplement here. Whether St Luke,—who, according to Acts i. 3, knew much more than he reported,—was not accurately acquainted with time and place in these things, or whether it was merely his design as a writer to leave all undetermined, is a question which may very reasonably be entertained. And, finally, the summary notice is again resumed and completed in the Acts of the Apostles as historically exact. Grotius perceived the truth clearly enough to say upon ver. 44: "The sum of the discourses follows, which during the forty

days," etc. Ebrard decides also for such a *résumé*, understands the *τότε* as "then," adding to it ver. 44, and asks with much force whether on this *evening*, which began before the Two returned from Emmaus to Jerusalem, there had been time to expound the Scriptures, and—to go to Bethany. This last, that is, is directed against the criticism which first arbitrarily understands the Evangelist in this way, and then quarrels with him for it.—Von Gerlach comes to the right conclusion, that there is here a combination of our Lord's discourses; he thinks it quite *natural* (though not for the *deeper* reason which we have given) that all the manifestations and words of the risen Lord should be combined together "in their tradition:"—but our views of this *tradition* are different from his. We would rather adhere to the expression—in the first *construction of the Gospels*—for we assume that in the three collective gospels, which do not follow any fixed plan of tradition, each of the writers had a specific knowledge of all particulars, and made his selection according to a conscious and designed plan. This last is established, as it respects St Luke, the most removed reporter, by his own statement in the Acts of the Apostles. Consequently, he did not so much mark prominently the "essential matter" generally, as that which he proposed to give according to the plan and sphere of his own particular Gospel. But the Lord did actually *speak*, with more or less literality, that which is recorded with the express *ἐπε*; St Luke does not hand down a merely fabricated or "developed" discourse of the Lord Jesus.

When, then, and where did He thus speak? Bengel, followed by many, supposes that the whole, including ver. 44, was spoken on the day of the ascension, and therefore at Jerusalem (vers. 47, 49), from which He led them out, ver. 50. But this would assign too late a period for the opening of the Scriptures to the disciples. Moreover, it is questionable whether the *ἐξήγαγε*, ver. 50, is in direct historical connection; indeed, we may understand this hardly conceivable *leading out* as merely intimating His fixed appointment that they should go thither.¹ Lange

¹ Even Rieger, who is generally so tenacious of the letter, says: "The leading out to Bethany meant some such *appointment* as that which had lately taken place in respect to the mountain in Galilee."—That He led them out, as Lange says, "in the manner of former times, to the Mount

refers vers. 45 seq. to the Appearance on the mountain in Galilee; and regards the words as spoken explanatorily *between* vers. 18 and 19 of Matt. xxviii. Certainly, Lu. ver. 49 does very appropriately prepare the way for the "Goye forth;" but, on the other hand, we must not consent to separate vers. 18 and 19 in Matt.; and, finally, the $\epsilon\zeta\omega$ (which there is no sound reason for omitting) *appears*, even if the *leading forth* was not meant literally, to indicate that the place of our Lord's last discourse was not Galilee, not a mountain, but the city of Jerusalem and a house within it.¹ Suffice it, that we cannot and must not arrange with confidence the external When and Where of this matter; we must receive the word in faith which the Spirit has preserved for us in its indisputable truth. Only on account of the emphatic *farewell-character* of the whole have we placed it by the side of the record of St Matthew and St Mark, as a repeated explanation and promise before the ascension, given in another gospel.

The entire section combines in its first and second portions the two fundamental characteristics of the earlier and later Appearances, as they are seen in their distinction in the case of Thomas' faith (compare the remarks made on Jno. xxi.). It points *backwards* first, and then *forwards*, both references being strictly connected in the middle, vers. 46, 47. This is the difficulty which leads to the supposition of St Luke's account being a summary; though it might, on the other hand, be assumed that there was an especial Appearance (over and above the ten), in which the Lord Himself thus summed up the whole. However that may be, we have only to receive and expound with all simplicity what is recorded; and in doing so it is our duty to discover both unity and order in the words. And, by way of preparing the way for the detailed exposition, it may be asserted that the Evangelist *Luke*, purposing to give his compendious close, gives us, from ver. 36 onwards, like St Mark, from ver. 14 onwards, His resurrection-conclusion of our Lord's words, as they lead to the ascension; and that he gives it as one whole, in the unity of the fundamental thoughts which guide

of Olives," has its difficulty, on account of surrounding beholders. And it did not take place in the *night*!

¹ Dräseke thinks it was the house of John! Compare *see* Jno. xi. 26.

him in his selection. As a perfectly appropriate introduction to the Acts of the Apostles, which in this *πρώτος λόγος* he already had in view, he sums up the words and acts of the Risen Lord as a *preparatory encouragement, instruction, and appointment* of the disciples, and especially the *Apostles*, for their *office of witness*. This general design of the whole is made prominent in ver. 48. We may be permitted once more to give our analysis ; which, while serviceable to the preacher, will be found, it is hoped, strictly in harmony with the text.

I. The consolation embraces, 1. The *greeting*, ver. 36. But, because this did not lay hold on them, 2. The *demonstration* follows, that He had risen and now stood before them in bodily presence. And this in three ways : *a.* by the gracious, well-known word of ver. 38 (in which an *αὐτός ἐγώ εἰμι* is understood) ; *b.* by the evidence of His visible and palpable corporeity, vers. 39, 40 ; *c.* by that of His eating before them, ver. 41-43. II. The *instruction* follows (not historically in immediate sequence, but thus connected with the preceding) ; to wit, that He had been thus promised in the *Scripture*, and the opening of their understanding gave them to know this.¹ He is obliged to convince His weak Apostles by His encouraging words, before He can give them instruction :—an inversion of the order in which He dealt with the disciples on the way to Emmaus!² He shows them : 1. The accordance of His previous and now-fulfilled sayings with the *Scriptures*, ver. 44 ; 2. He thus opens their *understanding* to comprehend these *Scriptures*, ver. 45 ; and 3., draws the comprehensive *conclusion* of ver. 46. It is the actual accomplishment in fact of the whole economy of salvation through Christ, as a fulfilment of the word of prophecy ; the summary of all that had hitherto taken

¹ Olshausen's remark, that the manifestations of the Forty Days had *not* for their end the communication of new instructions, is only very partially true. If the emphasis is laid upon the "*new*," there is some truth in it ; for the Lord certainly referred back to His former discourses. But the opening of their *understanding* as to the facts which had occurred, and the *Scriptures*, and His former discourses in their unity, was certainly *new instruction* ; and only thus can we understand Acts i. 3.

² So that we might be disposed to say—How well prepared must those Two have been, to deserve and to be capable of this ! But they were not so *profoundly* cast down—as the *Apostles* were.

place, corresponding to St Luke's own *πεπληροφορημένα πράγματα* in the Preface. It is not now added—And thus it behoved Him to ascend into heaven; but this is understood in the transition to what follows, as it had been spoken of already in ver. 26. III. We have the appointment of the Apostles to preach these facts, and this plan of salvation, according to the Scripture. . And here comes, 1. The *preaching* of this, as a *new* word to be carried to all the nations, ver. 47; 2. The *office* of the Apostles, as called to be the first and most special *witnesses*, ver. 48; 3. The reference of their expectation to that *power from on high*, the Holy Spirit whom they were commanded to wait for, ver. 49. (And this is the point of connection for the Acts of the Apostles!)

Ver. 44. The reader will remember what was said upon ver. 37 concerning superstition, unbelief, and a true faith. The *faith* in His resurrection which was here demanded of the Apostles, on the evidence of their seeing and touching, would have itself retained some element of the first of these three, if the Lord's instruction had not followed. But this opening of their understanding makes it the faith of *knowledge*, grounded upon the well-understood accordance between the living words and acts of Christ and the prophetic Scripture. This last was the decisive element in their instruction, as it presented, in the wonderful fulfilment of prophecy, a higher reach and contemplation to their faith. As the angels in the sepulchre had referred back to the words of Jesus, vers. 6-8, so does the Lord Himself here refer to them: it was a continued conviction of the identity of their former and their present Lord—only in a higher degree, and with reference to His *spiritual* personality. The reading *λόγοι μου* may very well be genuine, as bringing this into prominence; and also as in contrast with the words of Moses and the Prophets agreeing with them. The *ὅν σὺν ὑμῶν* (other than the promised and future *μεθ' ὑμῶν* in Matt.) Grotius well explains—"quotidiano scil. convictu, nam tunc tantum κατ' οἰκονομίαν illis aderat." Bengel lays the pointed emphasis upon the *ἔτι* (yet), as transposing them into the time when His departure was to them an impending calamity, when He was *still as yet* with them. His meaning would be tenderly and affectionately to say,—“Ye do not now wish My former being

with you back again ; the matter is different now ; My victory over death is your greatest joy ?”¹ The Lord now speaks, also, as *no longer being with them* (οὐκέτι), as if already in heaven, and united to them in spiritual fellowship. These anticipations of that state, which pervade the whole of the Forty Days, were not introduced at a later period ; they are characteristic evidences of genuineness in the narrative :—thus and not otherwise must the Risen Lord have spoken before the ascension, if the history is true. “Οτι δὲ is translated by Luther very vaguely, after the example of the Vulg. *quoniam necesse est* (see, nevertheless, also in ver. 46, *quoniam* ; Erasmus has rightly corrected it into *quod necesse foret*),—that it would be necessary. The Lord had constantly told His disciples *that all must be fulfilled*—beginning to tell them more specifically in Matt. xvi. 21, Lu. xviii. 31, and continuing it down to Gethsemane. Why was it then that they did not believe and hold fast this truth, but forgot it ? Because they understood it not ; nor could they understand it, as being utterly inconsistent with all their expectations of the Messiah and His kingdom. That which man understands not, he believes and retains not. But the notions which prevented them sprang from a false understanding, or an entire ignorance, of Scripture : the bar to their understanding was, as Jno. xx. 9 says—They knew not yet the Scripture. Thus they also must hear that exposition and opening of Scripture, for which the report of the Emmaus-disciples had *prepared them*. Not only had the Lord Jesus said all this before it came to pass ; but all was the counsel of God, long ages before written concerning Him !

The Lord mentions, after the law of Moses, not only the prophets (as Lu. ver. 27 had said), but expressly in addition, the Psalms : this, however, was not intended to signify that the historical books, not named, were in any degree excluded.² But it is true, and meant here also, as Lange says, “that the promise and typifying of the resurrection of Christ (but not that alone, for see vers. 46, 47) pervades uniformly *all* parts of

¹ So do we understand Bengel's brief hint : *Res tristis erat auditu, antequam fieret ; nunc lætissima, ut facta est.*

² Wesley here for once errs : “little being said directly concerning Him in the historical books.

Holy Scripture." If in ver. 25 "the prophets" signified the holy, collective body of prophetic writers, and Moses in ver. 27 took the lead as the first prophet; the Lord now means (as τὰς γραφάς ver. 45 at once shows) the entire body of Scripture, and mentions it solemnly and formally by its then customary title—תּוֹרָה נְבִיאִים וְכַתּוּבִים. In connection with the *law* of Moses, therefore, the term "prophets" includes the נְבִיאִים רְאשִׁימִים; and the *Psalms* are set, by an obvious abbreviation, as being the commencement of the *Hagiographa*, for the whole of the third section of Scripture.¹ Compare in 2 Macc. ii. 13 the specific καὶ τὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ. Nevertheless, we must hold—with Bengel, who introduces it as included in the Lord's meaning—that the Lord significantly referred to these *psalms* which He had so often quoted as especially prophetic and typical of Himself; those *psalms* which He understood and expounded, and will have us also understand and expound, in a manner so different from that of our modern critics! Those *psalms* in which so many, like de Wette, find, notwithstanding all their practical and devotional exposition, no direct prophecies of Christ! These exegetes have obviously yet to wait for the "opening of the understanding to perceive." De Wette pushes the Jewish distinction between the inspiration of the prophets and that of the *psalms*—a distinction which they intended in a quite different sense—to such an extreme as to say that "the *psalmists* bear no public character, but utter the feelings of their own hearts, and often touching circumstances in their own personal history." And yet—as if to obviate this misunderstanding—our Lord ranks these *psalms*, as bearing witness for Him, by the side of the תּוֹרָה, the law, and the prophets. David (whom we must not place merely among the "*psalmists*") was, according to his own declaration, 2 Sam. xxiii., and the assurances of the Apostles who had learned it from the Lord, also a true prophet; his *psalms* were for the most part used in the service of God in their "public character" as the "*psalms of Israel*;" and what Christ asserted concerning him in Matt. xxii. 43–45 we have considered upon that passage. If Pss. ii. xvi. xl. lxxii. cx. are not, with all their adherence to

¹ Compare Hävernick, Introduction Vol. i. Whether, however, ψαλμοὶ has the same signification in ch. xx. 42; Acts i. 20, is another question.

the typical characteristics which pervade the entire Old Testament, to be called *direct* prophecies, as direct as any other part of the prophetic Scriptures, we understand not how the word is to be understood. In fact, the broad foundation of all later Messianic prophecy was laid in the psalms—to wit, on the ground of the promise given by Nathan in 2 Sam. vii.; and it is from the psalms that we can best understand the character and mission and glory of David's Son. We contradict Christ and His Apostles, yea, the dying David himself (2 Sam. xxiii. 3), if we say that this David had not yet received the later developed "idea of the Messiah." That idea was never developed, in the sense in which the word is thus currently used; but it was given by the will of God from the beginning, and comes out into more and more prominence as a revelation till the full time was come. As it regards the more or less direct, the more or less typical, utterances of the entirely and universally typical personality of David,¹ the solution of the question is not to be found in the fact that "the poet transposed himself into any specific condition—that the type produced in himself the conception of the prototype or antitype," and so forth. But the Spirit of God chose and overruled the psalmist, and spoke through him.

Ver. 45. How vast the wisdom of God in this *Scripture*, which first prepared Israel before the manifestation of the Lord in the flesh, and then accompanied and confirmed the Spirit's preaching concerning Him:—How vast the wisdom of God in these *Scriptures*, manifold and yet one. Without these Scriptures, even the way of faith of the God-man Himself, which He pursued only in their light, would not be conceivable. Without them there would have been no point of connection for His coming and testimony—*I am He!* Yea, without them there would be to this day (as our theology and preaching show, in their rejection of the Old Testament as the ground of the New) no perfectly intelligent, and firmly grounded, faith, either for preaching or hearing. Israel preserved this Scripture;² but

¹ Which the succeeding prophets themselves understood and so exhibited: see Olshausen, *über tiefern Schriftsinn* S. 53, 54.

² Thus the Masoretes have preserved with the most rigid care, and with the most spirit-less letter-spirit, the exact text of the Scriptures for us.

its kernel, that which Jesus was the first fully to penetrate, remained hidden from them. They knew and they recited the histories : but who understood their meaning and their end ? They were exceedingly zealous for the Law : but its testimony concerning grace and redemption, and its secret influence tending that way, was concealed from most. The masters in Israel knew not that Moses designed to awaken that deepest and inmost sense of need for which the Lord raised up would bring the grace of salvation. Cleaving to the idea of the King, but not discerning the Saviour and Redeemer, they understood the prophets only so far as to hold fast this truth, that there was *One who should come*. And yet this was enough at the beginning of His coming itself : when He had now died and risen again, He could interpret in the light of fulfilment what had been predicted concerning Him. And this He did to the *Apostles* most certainly, even as He had before done to the Two ; the Apostles would afterwards be able to do the same for others. It is recorded in Acts xvii. 3, according to the common translation, that *Paul*, who (as he assures us in 1 Cor. xv. 3, comp. xi. 23) received the same instruction from the Lord, "opened" the *Scriptures* themselves to the Jews ; and we may understand that literally—for what is a book and a word without understanding ? Comp. Isa. xxix. 11. But, properly speaking, the *διαβολῶν καὶ παρατιθέμενος* in that passage unitedly refer to the opened substance of the Scripture, the matter which follows with *ὅτι*.¹ The proper opening must be in the hearts and minds of men, that they *may be able to read* the book, no longer sealed. (Isa. xxix. 12.) Compare and ponder Ps. cxix. 18, 130 (פִּתְחוּ לִי וְיִשְׁמְעוּ וְיִפְתְּחוּ), Eph. i. 18 ; Acts xvi. 14. Therefore we have here *διήνοιξεν αὐτῶν τὸν νοῦν*, which certainly refers to them personally, and not to the Scriptures or things written ;—for, it follows, *τοῦ συνιέναι τὰς γραφάς*. The opening did not take place externally in the Scripture, but inwardly in their hearts, as on the way to Emmaus. It was partly the result of the light shed upon the word, and its *now* intelligible accordance with what had taken place ; partly of a preparatory, pre-Pentecostal influence of the Spirit, which proceeded from the Risen Lord.

¹ Not *αὐτάς*, as Luther supplies it twice : opened *them* and expounded *it*.

But this was very different from that which a pious man describes in the colloquy with the Emmaus-disciples: "He *related* the story of His passion, of His bloody death upon the cross (which they themselves well knew already!), and illustrated it out of Scripture." (Albertini, with his customary Moravian colouring.) It was not in that way that He opened their understanding. He gave the reason and the explanation of the dark history; He gave proof for its "*must be*" from the Scripture; He united the death and the resurrection together in His exposition.¹ He had never, even to the Apostles, pointed out the great connection of Scripture, and the perfect concert of the details of His life, death, and resurrection with the prophecies; He had only given isolated hints, and quoted individual passages. It must of course be understood that this "sharpening of their intelligence to apprehend the great whole" (as Hess says) was not a specific exegesis of all the individual passages, but rather the placing of a strong light in the centre, revealing the one object, and the perfect harmony of the entire mass of Scriptures. The one central point was the understanding of the humiliation and exaltation, the sufferings and the glory, of Christ, in their unity, their foundation, and their design.² But, notwithstanding the fundamental clearness of the view which they now received, it was still possible—until the day of Pentecost perfected their knowledge, or at least made it infallible in their office—that they should have questions to put, such as that in Acts i. 6 concerning the establishment of the kingdom for Israel—and even that they should mistake in specific circumstances, as Peter did, Acts i. 20, concerning the successor of Judas.

¹ "To say that Jesus was guided by the Jewish manner of exposition darkens, instead of illustrating, the subject. He manifestly understood the doctrine of the Messiah, and the Scriptural passages which referred to it, in an altogether different way from that in which the Jews of His own time interpreted or rather misinterpreted." Hess.

² Thiersch (die Kirche im apostol. Zeitalter, S. 48, 49) seems to border on the notion of an, as it were, esoteric instruction concerning the abundant fulness of which the Evangelist maintained an intentional and prudent reserve. According to Matt. x. 27, however, we find that this concealed instruction was to be disclosed in all the preaching and instruction of the Apostles.

Vers. 46, 47. We doubt, as has already been said, whether these specific words were spoken at the ascension, and therefore belong to Acts i.¹ The discourse goes on so uninterruptedly, the "thus it is written" points so directly to what preceded, that we are constrained to receive all as spoken at one and the same time. *Thus* it is written—*thus* has it come to pass! This declares at the outset the clear concordance of all with what had been written. But then this emphatically redoubled "*οὕτως*"—*thus* in the Scripture corresponding with *thus* in the event, *thus* in the event corresponding with *thus* in the Scripture—brings out the distinctive meaning, *Thus* and *not otherwise*:—though man's understanding may not be able to apprehend much that is involved in it; and man's wisdom might be tempted to condemn; or his prejudiced mind might at least be disposed to wish some things in it otherwise. Out of the "it is written," as the sure expression of the Divine counsel, follows here, for the last time in the lips of Jesus, an irrevocably decisive and final εἰδεῖ as to all that was past, and consequently also a δεῖ for all that was yet to come.² This sacred δεῖ, this *must* of the Divine will, and of the Divine wisdom—and, as the expression of it, this sacred γέγραπται (it is written)—is and must ever be the *limit of understanding*. Wherefore was all *thus*? Because so written! Wherefore was it *thus*, and *thus* only, written? Was it *thus* decreed? This Christ does not say; the Spirit gives us hints and fragmentary declarations concerning it, but after all there abides for ever the limit of the impenetrable δεῖ, where creaturely knowledge ceases, and creaturely desire to know should cease—in that mystery concerning sin and redemption, where *faith* alone is to avail. "This holy *must* is set by our Lord against all their (and our) ambitious and staggering thoughts." (Rambach.) By this it is not meant, however, that every single γέγραπται must impose a limit upon our reason;—for, an error of the received text, condemned by all the rest of Scripture, might assume that form and authority;

¹ We cannot on this occasion agree with Bengel, who remarks—*quam sapienter Scripturas produxit*.

² For the words καὶ οὕτως; ἵνα are certainly genuine; the express emphasis which characterises the whole passage would not allow them to be wanting.

nor are we prevented from adjusting individual points in it by means of a thorough understanding of the whole. But this much is for ever true, that the sure and plain Scripture cannot be broken; and that we may humbly hope and pray for and expect a further *opening of our minds to understand*, wherever there yet remains obscurity around that which is *expressly written*. The believing desire of humble study will never be disappointed.

Not only the sufferings of Christ, but also the *οὕτως* and *ταῦτα παθεῖν*—the suffering *thus* and *these things*—are found in Scripture. Not only the resurrection generally, but also the resurrection on the third day was predicted (and this may be an example which should confirm to us other such instances)—whether we can find it there or not. But the *ἡγερῆσαι* and the *ἔδει* hold good also of the *preaching* and its *οὕτως*—to which the Lord now passes in the same clause—it includes the *extension* and the *substance* of this preaching (Acts xxvi. 23); for, although the preaching itself was then, as yet, a *δεῖ* in the future, the Lord nevertheless embraced *everything* under the same *ἔδει*, His all-comprehending glance regarding all as certainly fulfilled. He passes at once, in ver. 47, from the past to the future which should immediately follow upon it, and spring out of it; for it could not be but that these great Divine events should be announced, the accomplished work of redemption must be proclaimed to all mankind without delay. Rambach shows us here *four* future characteristics of the preaching of His kingdom which the Lord indicates. It should now be preached; the substance of that preaching should be repentance and forgiveness of sins; that this preaching should go forth to all nations; and that it should begin in Jerusalem. Salvation must be *preached*, announced, and offered everywhere, though it may not everywhere find acceptance. Further, it must be preached, not only as a *οὕτως ἔδει*, but also as a *οὕτω ἡγερῆσαι*:—that is, it must be preached *according to the Scriptures* (1 Cor. xv. 3, 4); the Scripture must be carried with the preaching to *all nations* and to the Gentiles! All we can do here is to repeat—What profound wisdom in this ordinance of God! and how great the power of the Spirit, through whose influence the faith of the nations would be won, in the way of free acceptance, for this

preaching and these Scriptures going forth to them from Jerusalem and the Jews!¹ *In His name*, by ambassadors in His place, after He had ascended: this, therefore, says once more—Soon shall I be no longer with you, as now! *In His name*—this is also connected with repentance and forgiveness; as if it would say—Through faith in Him, His person, His salvation; only through Him and in Him. The one only *name* stands irremoveably firm, from which salvation can never be sundered, besides which there is no other given! “The name of Jesus opens the door for repentance and remission of sins”—says Rieger. In Mark xvi. “*the Gospel*” is added to the “preach;” it is here silently included in the *κηρυχθῆναι*, and it is further explained and paraphrased by the two great words which point back to ch. i. 77, and iii. 3, in St Luke’s own gospel. All the prophets until John, and John with them, preached and offered to man both; yet the end of the Old Testament was rather repentance, the New Testament first brought in the reality and full assurance of the remission of sins. We may say, indeed, that repentance itself, in the name of Jesus, New-Testament repentance, has now become something new, something different from what it was before. By the *passion* of Christ repentance is now preached in its evangelical strength; by His *resurrection* forgiveness is offered and pledged. And the New-Testament preaching of repentance is itself a Gospel. For, the message of grace does *not merely* bring “the *incentive* to repentance, and the promise of forgiveness:” God *gives* to those who hear and believe repentance unto life. (Acts xi. 18.) The union of these two words—repentance and remission—is full of encouragement to the weak in faith, who may say:—As certain as I am of my sincere and earnest repentance, so certainly may I appropriate the grace which the Lord has thus connected with it; for He has taught His servants to preach that true repentance should ever avail and be accepted. It is full also of encourage-

¹ “After the *foundation* of our salvation in the redemption which was effected thus by Christ, nothing is greater and more gracious than the way and the terms of the preaching of that redemption. In bringing the world to faith through such preaching He has shown as much power and love, as in His sending His-Son into the world.” So says Rieger, in fundamental harmony with Eph. i. 19, 20.

ment and attraction even to the unconverted, as long as they hear these words; for the only end and aim of repentance is to prepare the way for the forgiveness of sins! If we examine Acts ii. 38, v. 31, xx. 21, we shall perceive that *faith* in the name of Jesus, though it is not here, as in Mark xvi., mentioned and made prominent as all-decisive, is included and presupposed as the condition of this forgiveness. (Acts xiii. 38, 39.) Where there is *remission of sins*, there is resurrection-peace and resurrection-power, there is life and salvation. To seek and find this one thing, in which all terminates, through the one means of penitent faith, is the living *fruit* of all *right understanding of Scripture*, even in the case of the preachers of salvation taught by Jesus Himself, who themselves need and enjoy it. And this one thing is ever, to all who hear their preaching, the way and the key to their own understanding of Scripture also.¹

Beginning at Jerusalem. The ἀρχόμενον (instead of which, false readings correct ἀρχάμενοι, ἀρχαμένον—Vulg. *incipientibus*—Erasm. mending it *initio facto*) belongs as Acc. abs. to κηρύτθῃναι,—as it were, ἀρχαμένον τοῦ κηρύγματος. Or, according to Winer, as an absolute and impersonal participle, instead of the whole clause—When and so as it was begun. Suffice, that the meaning is perfectly clear. These Apostles (and many after them) can only *begin* the preaching to *all nations* generally; but not only must they in the first age, all their successors also must in every age, as far as it may be, begin from *Jerusalem*. The word of this commandment has an immediate meaning, and a meaning also which extends very wide. The first and obvious meaning was, that they were not to commence their preaching in a corner; but that “the victorious power of truth should be demonstrated precisely where men would most gladly have extinguished it.” (Braune.) Thus, it is strictly connected with the direction of ver. 49 to remain in the city, until the Spirit should come; a direction which, as Lange rightly observes, plainly proves that *this* discourse of the Lord must be placed at a later period after the return of the disciples from Galilee, and consequently not upon the mountain. But then, on the other

¹ “The ground of all faith in Scripture is sincere repentance of the heart.” This was the axiom which contained our earliest testimony, in the preface to the 1. *Sammlung* of the *Andeutungen*.

hand, ver. 49 receives from ver. 47 an intenser meaning than the literal sense that they were to remain where they were:—Ye must, afterwards, when the time of your preaching comes, retain your place in the holy city, not yet given up,¹ until the power from on high shall lead you further forth into all the world. The history leaves it shrouded in obscurity, how and wherefore the disciples, whom St Matthew and St John represent as being in Galilee, whither they had been appointed to go, should have returned to Jerusalem, where they heard these words, and in the neighbourhood of which the ascension certainly took place. But we know that the narrative is far from recording all things that transpired, and we must apply what is wanting by our own suppositions. (Acts i. 4, συναλιζόμενος gives us a hint.) Suffice, that as yet—so we understand it—Jerusalem was not rejected; the missions promised in Matt. xxiii. 34 should first be received and refused. The grace and mercy of Jesus must there first, and now in the plenitude of its obtained fulness, be offered where He had been crucified! Finally, it was quite in harmony with the theocratic dispensation and the typical relation of the city to the future, that the King who was set upon Zion (Ps. ii. 6) should also stretch out the sceptre of his kingdom for the first time from this mount Zion over all the nations (Ps. cx. 2)—even as His word will a second time, and in the last days (Is. ii. 2, 3) go forth in its utmost power from restored Jerusalem. This is the city of election, the everlasting metropolis, which must yet give its name to the heavenly city. The theocratical economy of the old covenant remains firm, and retains its high dignity. There was, indeed, at first, an appointment of the disciples to go away to Galilee, and this was the destruction of every hope of a kingdom in Jerusalem such as their thoughts had shaped it. But then, again, and with another meaning, they were appointed to return and abide in Jerusalem; and this intimates to ourselves that we must never give up a fallen Christian people, which is not yet utterly rejected. They must continue their preaching to those first called, paying honour to the desolate sanctuary, until God had made it fully desolate. (See ver. 53, in the temple!) This is the most far-reaching

¹ Ebrard understands it of a further requirement that they should continue dwelling in Jerusalem.

sense of the word, including an internal and spiritual truth in the historical and actual figure; and it is thus expressed by Schmieder: "We must ever begin our preaching and testimony in the place where we are, to which God has appointed us." Even if the Name which we preach is reviled; and the salvation which we offer is rejected!

Ver. 48. *Ἑμεῖς* means here, according to the teaching of St Luke's account, and consequently according to our Lord's intention, the *Apostles* especially—though a wider application is not excluded. The *αὐτοῖς* and *αὐτῶν*, etc. goes on to the end from ver. 33, where not alone the *Eleven* were, but yet all the others were only *with them*. (Comp. the prominence given them by *οἱ*, Acts i. 3; while afterwards it is in ver. 6, *οἱ συνελθόντες*.) Accordingly, the words will not suit the great Galilæan gathering. "Ye are witnesses," is generally explained as being instead of "ye shall be," in Acts i. 8. But while the future is perfectly appropriate in the Acts, the present tense is properly used here; for they are already the *witnesses*, who had been long called, and now were instructed, and during the Forty Days had been again and again pointed to their future mission. They are *witnesses*, a word which recurs in Acts i. 8 as especially applied to the Apostles. It is not the Lord's will to appoint and send forth orators or enthusiasts, or even simple teachers—and this He shows at the very outset in the typical character of His first Apostles—but, before all, and in all, *witnesses*! And the word is further explained by the *τούτων*—witnesses of these *facts*, primarily; so that the idea contained in the words of Lu. i. 2, "which, from the beginning, were *eye-witnesses*, and ministers of the word," is here found once more. Eye-witnesses and ear-witnesses of My life, of My discourses, and of My works, while I was with you (Jno. xv. 27), of My sufferings also, and now especially of My *resurrection*, as ye shall soon be of My ascension. The resurrection is naturally made prominent in Acts i. 22, ii. 32; and afterwards, in chap. x. 39, their calling to bear their testimony, as eye-witnesses, to His former life is added—compare ch. xiii. 31. But that is not all: with the *fact* of the resurrection, and all that was surely obtained thereby, is connected also the opening of their understanding. Consequently, "*these things*" include the "it is

written," and "thus it should be," that is, their beholding these *facts in the light of Scripture*; and also every commandment and commission which they had received (*τούτων*, of these things, of these fulfilling events, of these prophesying Scriptures, and of these commandments which point to a yet outstanding fulfilment). So it is in Acts v. 32; and in chap. iv. 20, every commandment of the Holy Ghost, all His enlightenment, appears to be included in the seeing and hearing. In this last sense, every man is analogously a witness, in whose heart the Spirit has glorified and sealed the life and the words of Jesus, making their spiritual perception of these equivalent to an eternal seeing and hearing.

Teschendorff represents the Apostles as here crying in holy fervour—"We are witnesses!" If they did so, which is not probable, the commandment that they should wait with their testimony was all the more significant. It is as if He had said—Ye *are* indeed witnesses according to the Father's counsel and Mine; but, with all your present *experience* and *insight into Scripture*, ye are not yet fully endued and prepared for your actual beginning in Jerusalem. In this there was a great truth, which cannot be enough pondered! The *preaching* of the Christ crucified and risen, which was to begin with the word and testimony of the Apostles, was based:—1. Upon the sensibly certain experience of these first, and in this sense most proper, witnesses (who could say—*We have seen it!* and handled); 2. Upon the sure understanding of the Scriptures, communicated to them first, and by them to be communicated to others (for they might say—*Thus it is written!*); 3. And, finally, upon their internal reception of the power from on high, through which alone the Spirit most essentially *testifies* that the life and the words are truth.¹ This last foundation of their preaching could not be left wanting. The *Scripture* stands in the *middle*; for, to understand its word is *more* than the seeing and hearing of sense (hence Christ led the Apostles *onward* to this); but the *power from on high* again gives *more* than the understanding of Scripture, which in and of itself is not sufficient.²

¹ See the remarks upon Jno. xv. 26, 27, Vol. vi.

² Richter's Family Bible remarks upon it, as very observable, "that the Apostles, who saw and knew the Redeemer, who heard Him speak and were

Ver. 49. Now first is added the *power*, promised with an express and emphatic—*And, behold*. The remaining at Jerusalem has already been spoken of; καθίζειν, like שׁב in its familiar meaning, is used here *primarily* of their not departing, Acts i. 4. The addition *Jerusalem* must be removed from the text; *in the city*—the whole emphasis lies upon that word itself. This was communicated by the Apostles (and whosoever were then likewise present) to all the disciples; and it was regarded as the Lord's direction that all who believed in Him should gather together in the city, and wait there till the feast of Pentecost. For this "tarry" at the same time commanded them all to wait and expect in stillness; and not to go forth with the great mystery of salvation *until* the Spirit should come.¹ It was remarked by Lange, in opposition to Strauss, that the impatient question of Acts i. 6 may be referred to an impulse in the disciples' minds to proclaim at once the great and mighty things which were committed to their keeping; and he went on to say: "It is, and has always been, a notorious evil in the Church of Christ, that many disciples of Jesus are disposed to hurry out into the world before they have received in waiting prayerful humility the equipment of the Holy Ghost." Oh, that we all might *learn to wait* like little children; and lay to heart the important lesson that, after all the teaching and discipline which the Apostles had gone through, the last school of preparation before the day of Pentecost was a further *waiting* of ten days! "God is a God of peace and a God of order; He requires patient waiting as much as swift obedience" (Braune).

Behold *I send*:—this ἀποστέλλω (Var. ἐξαποστέλλω),—used only of *persons*, and thus here of the personal Paraclete (although He was first indicated as a *promise*, and then as a *power*), has therefore been well translated by Hasse, *I appoint*—is, in connection with the ἰδοὺ, *behold*, precisely the same realisation of the future in the present which we found in the "I ascend" spoken to Mary Magdalene. The time is left altogether indefinite; it

reminded by Him of His former discourses, yet were thus expressly referred to their *Bible*." But the Scriptures alone were not sufficient even for them!

The Berlenberg Bible says, in its characteristic way, and with internal truth: "Sit still, and remain sitting—ye must learn to sit still, before ye go out into all the world." Even, before ye *commence* in Jerusalem.

was not till afterwards, Acts i. 5, that a term was placed—nearer or more distant, as it may be understood—to their impatient and anxious waiting. The “until” which accompanies the promise of the Spirit’s coming and baptism,¹ forbids us to suppose anything like a gradual and natural increase of light and strength in their minds, which reached its consummation at the feast of Pentecost. The Lord speaks here, even according to St Luke, as if He would once more comprehensively refer to His discourses concerning the Comforter which St John records. There can be no doubt, in general, that *ἐπαγγελία* (promise) stands frequently for the promised good itself: see throughout the Epistle to the Hebrews, but especially a direct parallel in Gal. iii. 14, where the *promise of the Spirit* is, as it were, the last, greatest, and most comprehensive promise of all that had been promised of God in Christ and through Christ to the nations. Compare, further, Eph. i. 13; 1 Jno. ii. 25. The Lord says here—the promise of *My Father*; because He had said at first—*I send*: thus, as in St John, the Trinity is included. Hence in Acts i. 4 it is once more changed—*Which ye have heard of Me!*² This resumption must not be understood according to the strange interpretation of Grotius: “The *promise of the Father* is the gift of the Holy Spirit promised of the Father to *Himself*, that He might bestow it upon His disciples.” Where did the Lord ever say, and how can we impute the saying to Him, that the Father *promised* the Spirit to *the Son*? Even John the Baptist, Jno. iii. 34, 35, speaks differently. So also in Acts ii. 33, where Peter at the great fulfilment speaks still in the same sanctified expression, we must understand him to mean,—not that the Risen Lord, exalted by the right hand of God, received the Holy Ghost Himself, with whom His humanity had been already anointed at His baptism—but that He received

¹ Alas, even Braune exhibits some measure of participation in this view: “Their internal impulse to bear witness should *increase* (?)—until all uncertainty in the inmost of their minds was destroyed; and the external opportunity which they desired would not be wanting when the necessary degree of strength from on high had been obtained.” This is not ill meant, but the matter is not rightly viewed.

² Even Neander says here: “The comparison with Acts i. 4 leads us to think of a promise given by Christ in the name of His Father; and this would refer to the last discourses of Jesus, as recorded by St John.”

authority and the power to pour out the Holy Ghost. The Spirit was given into His hand and power as a promise, to be fulfilled, which had been given to mankind. For if He Himself *pours out* the Spirit—as *God* had promised, in the prophet Joel, I will pour out of My Spirit—certainly the same Spirit was not given to Him by the Father as He was afterwards given to other men. The Spirit is the promise of the Father; that is, most assuredly, had been promised by the Father through the earlier words of Christ and His present word—I will send Him down upon you. For as, according to Jno. xiv. 16, 26, the Father sendeth Him in the name of Jesus, at His prayer and through His mediation, so in Jno. xv. 26 we hear again—Whom I will send unto you, as from the Father. The Lord now refers to *that* earlier word, which He had spoken while He was yet with them (so that ver. 49 coincides with ver. 44); and this is further made plain by the ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, which belongs to the ὑμεῖς of ver. 48. Consequently—upon *you* as My *witnesses*; so that the whole discourse of Jno. xv. 26, 27, is brought to their full remembrance. But all this does not *exclude* (as Neander thinks) the reference to all the ancient promises of God in the *Scriptures* (Gal. iii. 14). The expression ἐπαγγελία is, as it were, the summary of all extant and not-yet-fulfilled promises; and is the continuation of the keynote struck in vers. 46, 47. That which God, the Father of Jesus Christ, had promised from the beginning as the last and highest gift for the great time of fulfilment, is the same promise which the Lord gave to His disciples in words harmonising with the ancient Scriptures. This great *promise* was *now* in the καὶ ἰδοὺ (*Behold!*) to become living and real; it was to be sent as the living and personal Spirit Himself.

The ἀποστέλλω was plain enough; the Lord therefore may connect with it, without any danger of misapprehension, other and seemingly impersonal expressions concerning the Spirit. He gives to Him *two* such designations: the one looks back upon the former promises, as was most appropriate here; the other, with equal appropriateness, indicates His influence, or the need which was to be supplied in the disciples. They were to be endued with *power from on high*. If the Father, the Almighty, Matt. xxvi. 64, is Himself called ἡ δύναμις—*power*

—why may not the Spirit be so termed, who is specifically His active energy? See, for example, Micah iii. 8, and similarly Ecclus. xi. 21, ὑπὸ πνεύματος δυνάμεώς σου. See also in the New Testament, Acts i. 8, x. 38; Rom. xv. 19, etc. And, finally, Eph. iii. 20, *according to the power* (κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν) *that worketh in us* (ch. i. 19), where we have a like designation of the Holy Ghost; for in vers. 20, 21, there is the same combination of the Sacred Three which there was in vers. 14–17. So in St Luke, ch. i. 17, in the *spirit and power* of Elias; and in ver. 35, *the power of the Highest*—δύναμις ὑψίστου—as the parallel name of πνεῦμα ἁγίου, the Holy Spirit, who came upon Mary. So here it is, still further, *power from on high*; partly, it may be, to remind them of the ancient “promise,” Isa. xxxii. 15 (comp. Ecclus. ix. 17), thus speaking in a prophetic expression; and, partly, because the Lord once more speaks as He who is already above and *sendeth down from on high* what should be necessary for earthly infirmity, and what could come only from above through the Spirit of God—that is, *power*. Thus here we have once more the prolepsis of the ascension! On high, ὕψος, מָרוֹם and מְרוֹמִים—the well-known expression for heaven, from Job xvi. 19 down to Lu. i. 78, and beyond. Presently He will ascend above, and receive gifts as man for men, Ps. lxxviii. 19. It is further and finally confirmed that He speaks in echoes of the Scripture, by the remarkable ἐνδύσθησθε, which in the Old Testament was the constant expression for a sudden and temporary afflatus of the Holy Spirit, and which is now assumed into the New Testament as consummated into a *permanent* impartation. As לָבַשׁ frequently occurred with a similar meaning, for instance in Isa. li. 9, לָבַשׁ-עָז; as in Ps. cxxxii. 9, 16 (2 Chron. vi. 41) the priests are spoken of as clothed with the salvation of righteousness (the enemies, in ver. 18, with disgrace; and Judas, Ps. cix. 18, with curse); so the Spirit (of the Lord) came upon or clothed Gideon, Amasai, Zechariah; Judg. vi. 34, 1 Chron. xiii. 18, 2 Chron. xxiv. 20. It is quite needless that Gesenius should demonstrate the meaning *implere* (clothe *inwardly*) for these passages (and for Lu. xxiv. 49, which he adds from the New Testament), by going so far as the *formula* Syra concerning Satan, כְּסָנָא לְבַשָּׁא, in Ephraem. It is much more obvious to refer to the putting on of

Christ, Rom. xiii. 14, Gal. iii. 27, with which the being clothed with the Spirit in our present passage is strictly parallel. For with *power* we can only inwardly be clothed. Olshausen says, quite correctly: "It is to be understood of the entire, internal penetration and actual possession,"—just as the *baptizing* of Acts i. 5 is an internal reception of the power spoken of in ver. 8. Thus it is not merely inadequate, to resolve the *figure*, so called, into no more than an "equipment, or furnishing, etc.;" such an explanation is most superficial, and robs the words of their profound meaning. Bengel gives his suggestive interpretation in two words—*subito*, *prorsus*, *suddenly* and *entirely*. In the *subito* lies the analogy with the Old Testament formula—"The Spirit came upon him" suddenly and for the time. But the *prorsus* intimates the distinction which is also found in the turn of the expression—Ye shall be endued, or clothed. Bengel goes on to say—"We are naked without virtue from heaven;" and this is the profound truth. The nakedness of the Fall is here first fully reclothed; the last need of our weakness is here provided for by this *amictus*.

With *this* we might have appropriately connected the appointment in the first two Evangelists, *Go forth*—(but *then* ye shall go out into all the world)—were it not that the observations we made at the outset oppose such a conjunction. We cannot decide upon the time and the place of these words, because nothing is specifically recorded (how easily might a single sentence have explained the whole!)—but we can understand why *St Luke* should thus close his Gospel, as a preparation for the Acts of the Apostles. We may also close with the prayer:—Endue us too with Thy power; but help us to *wait*, until Thou sendest it!

LAST WORDS AT THE ASCENSION

(Acts i. 4-8.)

At the *Ascension*! Would that we could assume that all our readers received this word in the simplicity of the understanding of faith! And must we still pave the way, and once

more remove the impediments of unbelief, in approaching the *last* words of our Lord?—We will not concern ourselves with the superficial and barren stupidity which has not yet learned the alphabet of the word which speaks of the power of God, and which therefore cannot free itself from notions of gravitation and corporeal weight, even in the case of Him whom the winds and the waves had obeyed, and who, as the Conqueror of death, had effectually burst asunder the bonds of “matter!” Nor will we enter into discussion with that wilful criticism of Kinkel which would escape from difficulty by imagining an essential contrariety between the ascensions at Bethany and at the Mount of Olives recorded by the same St Luke.¹ Nor shall we exhibit its shame by giving prominence to the wisdom which has represented the Lord of glory as “disappearing Lycurgus-wise.” Nor shall we drag from its obscurity the “Essene lodge.” All these are faded speculations, which only haunt the regions that are external to true science. Lutz and many others are able to tell us of the origination of “a notion and legend of a removal to heaven amid the circumstances which Luke reports.” Such readers we leave to their speculations, if they have not been brought by our whole exposition back to another style of thinking, until the Scripture and the power of God bring them to a higher and more correct intelligence. Nor will we enter into controversy with those who, while they admit an assumption of the Saviour into the upper world, will not admit it to have been *visible*, will not receive it as recorded in that Scripture from which alone we learn all that we surely know concerning Jesus and the heavens. A few positive words, however, we must speak, for the sake of many whose views of the ascension are still beclouded, and that we may, as heretofore, exhibit clearly the scene of the words which we expound.

The ascension of our Lord, as we now contemplate it in order to hear the words spoken in connection with it, is inseparable from His dignity, His work, and His whole manifestation: it is the only conceivable and befitting consummation of His earthly history and visible appearance. The ascension *in itself*, in its

¹ Not to mention his ridiculous perversion of the text; according to the Gospel they assembled in the temple after the ascension, in the Acts they tarried (all the ten days) in a *ὑπαρῶν*.

substance so to speak, is, on the one hand, the goal and reward of His personal human life, as being a glorification and exaltation ; and, on the other, it is the condition of His still continuing Divine-human influence and government. (Eph. iv. 10 : that He might fill 'all things.) But the *visible* ascension, as the last historical circumstance that the eyes of men witnessed in connection with Him, is, to speak briefly : 1. The most befitting, and naturally to be expected attestation of His heavenly origin) Jno. iii. 13, vi. 62, xvi. 28)—for what could more clearly, sensibly, and decisively testify, that this man who thus miraculously ascended to God, was also miraculously born into the world ?¹ 2. It was the final and most evident—for the first witnesses indispensable—exhibition of the truth, that the kingdom of Jesus should be established by the Spirit from heaven, and yet through this same Jesus.² 3. And finally, it is even to us the most assuring guarantee and pledge of His heavenly power, of His heavenly being, and of the certainty of His return to consummate ourselves, and establish His kingdom upon earth. For He who ascended above all heavens in the highest power, *can*, when it pleaseth Him, come down to this earth again.

St Peter announces the ascension by a *προφητεία* (as the historical foundation for *ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ*) 1 Pet. iii. 22. St Paul similarly, if we read him aright, *disertis verbis*, Rom. x. 6 ; Eph. iv. 8-10 ; 1 Tim. iii. 16 ; Heb. i. 3. And what of the two Evan-

¹ Here belongs the beautiful conclusion, by which Neander redeems so much that is deplorable in his life of Jesus : " We make the same remark upon the ascension of Christ as was before made upon His miraculous conception. In regard to neither is prominence given to the special and actual *fact* in the apostolic writings ; in regard to both such a fact is presupposed in the general conviction of the Apostles, and in the connection of Christian consciousness. Thus the end of Christ's appearance on earth corresponds with its beginning—Christianity rests upon supernatural facts ; stands or falls with them. By faith in them has the Divine life been generated from the beginning.—Were this faith gone, there might, indeed, remain many of the *effects* of what Christianity had been ; but as for Christianity in the true sense, as for a Christian Church, there could be none."

² Wesley closes St Luke's Gospel with the words : " It was much more proper that our Lord should ascend into heaven, than that he should rise from the dead, in the sight of the Apostles. For His resurrection was proved, when they saw Him alive after His passion ; but they could not see Him in heaven, while they continued on earth."

gelist who were eye-witnesses? Herder said formerly, "they think not of a visible ascension!" But who can thoughtfully read their Gospels without finding the exact reverse? Let any one carefully read St. John, ch. iii. 13, vi. 62, viii. 21, 23, xx. 17, and he will find in these passages the future visibility and historical actuality of the *ἀναβαίνειν* and the *ὑπάγειν*. St. Luke, however (who more closely explains St. Mark's *ἀνελήφθη*), relates to us a *πράγμα πεπληροφορημένον* in this, as in all things which took place before—a fact and not a myth. He defines in Acts i. 2 the *day*, the fortieth after the resurrection, that last day down to which he had brought his Gospel, as the day of the *ἀνελήφθη*—records that, and in what manner, the *εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ* (Lu. xxiv. 26) became an *ἀνάληψις* (ch. ix. 51). He defines the *place* twice, with apparent deviation, but with real agreement; for it is otherwise certain that Bethany lay, and still lies, on the Mount of Olives.¹ We have already given our opinion as to where the words in the Gospel, ch. xxiv. 44–49, were spoken; and have preliminarily shown that the statement of ver. 50 is altogether independent of this uncertainty. But are we to interpret *εἰς Βηθανίαν* of an entrance into the village, as Hess did, *e.g.*, who thought of a brief visit with which our Lord honoured Mary, Martha, and Lazarus? Certainly not, for the *ὥς* itself gives the *εἰς* a somewhat different tone: it was not altogether into the place, but so far as the point where Bethany came into sight; and with this is connected the interpretation which we give to the *ἐξάγειν*, for this in its strictly literal sense is scarcely supposable. The disciples, going to Emmaus, were accompanied by the Lord in another form:—but are we now to suppose that he journeyed out of the city to Bethany, discernible to the Apostles and those who were with them, but unknown to or altogether withdrawn from, every other eye? This would certainly not harmonise with all His other appearances; and we shall presently find in St. Luke a hint for another interpretation. Should we even grant that He

¹ Tischendorf (Reise in dem Orient) has lately decided for the Mount of Olives against Robinson; since Lu. xxiv. only gives the measured distance from Jerusalem, not the exact locality of the ascension. Braune expresses it well: "at the point where the country of Bethany was divided from the city."

in person led them out—must we (with Ebrard) assume that “a few minutes before entering the place He stood still and began to ascend,” or “if not in a public road yet in the garden?” All this has so strange a sound that we must take refuge in St Luke’s own supplementary interpretation in the Acts, especially as it is in full accordance with his *πρῶτος λόγος*. For *ἕως εἰς*, if genuine, is not meant otherwise than Lachmann’s substituted *ἕως πρὸς*—toward Bethany, on the way thither.¹ The mention of Bethany has its own affectionate and easily-understood meaning when we remember the significance of this final journey to our Lord. But as He ever selected *mountains* for every pre-eminently sacred transaction; as it was upon a mountain that He contemplated the glory of earth, and yet devoted Himself wholly to heaven; as His transfiguration took place upon a mountain; should not the *Mount of Olives* in the immediate neighbourhood, in the very region of Bethany, be the selected place of His ascension? St Luke expressly declares that it was. And how significantly symbolical was this, according to the analogy which has been seen directing all these events! Von Gerlach says, inappropriately, “There, in the precincts of the holy city, within sight of the temple, would He go up to heaven;” for, the city and the temple had sanctity or significance now only for the testimony of the Holy Ghost which was hereafter to commence upon earth. The ascension, to speak more precisely, should rather take place where the humiliation of the passion had already taken place, and yet not upon Golgotha:—the place of external scorn and redeeming death must retain its own peculiar sanctity. But *Gethsemane* and the ascension—are most harmoniously related, in regard to the *Person* of the Redeemer as reaching its consummation: “At its feet He had wrestled in the bitterness of death, at its head He now stands as the victorious Prince of Peace.” (Braune.) Yet more pertinently Hofacker: “In the selfsame place where His deepest abasement had taken place before His disciples, should His glorious exaltation be attained in their presence. And with this another

¹ Baumgarten has correctly remarked that Bethany in the Gospel refers back to the earlier life of Jesus, while, on the other hand, the Mount of Olives points prophetically towards the distant future. But we shall find a reference to the past in the Mount of Olives also.

aim was blended. The disciples must see exhibited before their eyes the nature and the process of Jesus Christ's kingdom of the Cross,—that sufferings lead to glory." Yes, verily, this Mount of Olives preaches now for the whole earth, and all who dwell upon it, what in Acts xiv. 22 is declared to be the ordinance for all the followers of the great Forerunner.

However much we might wish to know the *time of the day*, this is not indicated to us. But, since everything has up to this point been significant and subservient to a pre-arranged whole, we may conclude that the principle holds good here too; and, so thinking, we have already in Vol. vi. referred the ascension to the bright noon, the culmination of the day, the "might of the sun." With this agrees an ancient tradition; and we may at least regard it as unsuitable to refer this event to the *going down* of the light of the world,—more appropriate to the passion; or to recur to the early morning of the rising day,—already appropriated to the resurrection. The former notion belongs to the fantasies of the Koran;¹ but why Teschendorff should so unsymbolically assert that "the sun was near to his going down," we cannot tell. Others have chosen the obscurity of early morning, scarce brightened out of night, in order that the Lord's course (He *led* them out) might be concealed from other witnesses.² But we think quite differently of this; and have far other notions of the propriety of the whole.

Finally: Were the Eleven alone witnesses of the ascension, or are we to suppose others present with them? It is as good as certain that St Paul's "of all the Apostles," 1 Cor. xv. 7, refers to the ascension-Appearance, but that decides nothing. Dräseke says in his sermon: "The connection leaves it to be inferred that the Eleven only were there," citing further Mark xvi. 14, Luke xxiv. 33, 44, Acts i. 2, 4, 6, and especially ver.

¹ See in Sepp v. 154, where there is mentioned also a great feast in Bethany preceding.

² So Pfenninger, who incorrectly takes the word Acts i. 8 as spoken in the city. So Hess: "Probably in the night or early in the morning; at such a time of night or day as He might most unobservedly lead them forth!" Dräseke: "In the first and holiest morning, He will Himself lead them out to *His own triumph* which is also theirs; this He would by no means have done in the day-time, and before the eyes of the people, who were to see Him no more."

13. But Mark xvi. 14 signifies nothing for the closing Appearance, and even as to the Appearance on the first evening Luke xxiv. 33 teaches the contrary. It was very natural that in the Acts of the *Apostles* the Apostles should be made prominent; but even here chap. i. 22 (just as ver. 2) seems to presuppose other witnesses of His assumption. Let us now look more narrowly at the statements of the Acts. The Lord had assembled together the Apostles on the last day; He had told them previously the time and place of a general gathering;—for this is the only valid meaning of *συναλιζόμενος* ver. 4.¹ It is not to be supposed, as Sepp thinks, that they would of themselves have assembled so early for the Pentecost. But was that a penultimate assembly in Jerusalem, or actually the last? The answer depends upon the question whether the word of Jesus in ver. 4 is identical with chap. xxiv. 49 in the Gospel, the thread being taken up from there, and ver. 5 being recovered and appended in this more circumstantial report. This might assuredly be the case, and *then* we should have first in *συνελθόντες*, ver. 6, the final assembly of the ascension. *But*—and this might import much!—the following *συνελθεῖν* is manifestly connected by the *οὖν* with the preceding *συναλλεσθαι*: when those who had been thus summoned together had obeyed His direction and were met. Certainly, we cannot admit Bengel's idea that this was a sudden concourse of the Apostles, for the purpose of a united request. (*Facilius putabant conjunctim se impetraturos*

¹ We need neither the correcting readings *συναυλιζόμενος* or *συναλισκόμενος*, nor Hemsterhuis' conjecture *συναλιζόμενοις*. But the Vulg. *convescens* (corrected into *convivens*) is certainly false. (Although it is thus in the Syr. ܣܘܢܠܝܙܘܡܝܢܐ—Ar. Æth. Chrys. Theoph. Ecumen. comp. Symm. Ps. cxli. 4.) For while this derivation as from *ἄλς* is incorrect, such a *convesci* is altogether inappropriate. Hesych. explains—*συναλισθείς, συναχθείς, συναθροισθείς*: Bengel follows him, and interprets—When He was in their assembly: so de Wette—Assembled with them. But this is not probable or befitting; for He could not *here* be thus incorporated with the Apostles, and we naturally expect an *ἐτάξατο αὐτοῖς*. But we have *ἀλιζομαι* Midd. for *ἀλίζω*, with a trans. signification *colligere, congregare* (see the Lexx.)—hence rightly Erasm. *congregans in idem loci*, so Grotius and others down to Heinrichs and Kuinoel. The *αὐτοῖς* is wanting only because *αὐτοῖς* occurs immediately.—We doubt whether, as Hasse thinks, the word as connected with *ἄλς, ἄλῃς*, has a special signification of “collecting together with toil.”

esse responsum.) But whether it be taken as the sequel of ver. 4, or as a separate final gathering, in any case it seems to us that the expression *συνελθεῖν* throws much clear light upon the *ἐξήγαγε*, as not literally to be interpreted in the Gospel, for we cannot interpose between ver. 6 and ver. 9 any further *journey*; and yet *οἱ μὲν οὖν συνελθόντες* cannot be interpreted of any going with Him, as if He had led them forth. Suffice, that if we hold firmly to the *οὖν*, vers. 4 and 6 do not refer to two different assemblies (which Olshausen thinks he plainly detects). Consequently the words of vers. 4, 5, are not one with the sayings in the Gospel, but constitute a *reiterated* injunction of the Lord that they should wait in Jerusalem for the Holy Ghost; and then the *ἠκούσατέ μου* includes that penultimate saying, with all which had preceded it. Such a repetition might be almost necessary to the disciples under their impulse to depart elsewhere, and in no case was it unsuitable. This fully explains to us, further, the indirect construction which now occurs, on the repetition of the former word—And commanded them (*once more*) not to depart, etc.; as well as the transition with *μοῦ*, because there was now added a new and distinctive word. St Luke in the Gospel, vers. 50, 51, recorded no *sayings* of Jesus, but recalls them here, as if he had reserved them for this place; and he thus gives us a new intimation that he does not relate everything in detail, but in every case that which was appropriate to his plan.

In ver. 2, *ἐντειλάμενος* may indeed embrace the collective appointments and intimations of the Forty Days; yet the *ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας* preceding makes it belong particularly to this last day; and thus it becomes a preparatory indication of vers. 4, 5. And now one word upon this, that is, on the *διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου*. Though many unite these words with *ὁς ἐξελέξατο* (Olshausen goes too far when he says that this is the general acceptance), such a transposition is intolerable to us. We say nothing of the impossible connection with *ἀνελήφθη*. But apart from the harshness of the construction, it may be said—Is a recurrence to the first election of the Apostles, by *the Holy Ghost*, natural at the beginning of this book? This is, rather, presupposed in the *πρώτος λόγος*, and sufficiently indicated in the *ἐξελέξατο*: the addition that it took place then by the Holy Ghost would

be a marvellous one, for the πνεῦμα ἅγιον belongs to the immediate prospect. Ἐντειλάμενος might, indeed, stand quite absolutely, as Luther has it in the marginal gloss (though he takes it with διὰ),—"had commanded what He would, namely, that they should be His Apostles and preach to all the world." But it retains this sense, if we take διὰ πν. ἁγ. in connection with it—the only course left to us. And what does this mean? Seiler and van Ess translate—Instructions for their conduct, or orders in connection with His coming. Gossner (with whom Sepp ignorantly concurs): with a view to the Holy Spirit. But can διὰ with a genitive have this meaning? Grotius explains it as compendiosa locutio: mandavit, quæ agere deberent per Sp. S., postquam scil. quum accepissent. But is not this ellipsis too artificial? In such case we should find τὰ διὰ πνεύματος. Others understand the previous preparatory impartation of the Spirit (Jno. xx. 22), in the sense of Erasmus' bold paraphrase: postquam impartitus in hoc ipsum Sp. S. mandata dedisset. Verbally this is imaginable: as it were, in imparting the Spirit, with the Holy Ghost. But this meaning will not suit here, where in vers. 4, 5, the Spirit is yet to be waited for. Thus it must be referred, as by the *per* of the Vulg., to Jesus, who already stood replenished with the Holy Ghost, and spoke and gave His instructions through or out of the Spirit. Bengel is at first most correct, "He Himself, who gave the commandments, had the Holy Spirit"—but He then adds that "He gave this as the earnest of Pentecost;" we would prefer to say,—He had the Holy Spirit, but they had Him not.

Ver. 4. There is but little additional to be observed here; the words are merely a connected repetition. It is now "ye have heard of Me," in order to refer back distinctly to Lu. xxiv. 49. Instead of "tarry ye" it is stronger—"that they should not depart"—in order to render precise and most pointed an injunction which might appear startling or harsh. "Nothing would have been more obvious than to retreat from Jerusalem, if the disciples had looked only at themselves, their position and relations to the enemies of Jesus." In this we agree with Richter; for their expectation of the coming of the power of the kingdom, ver. 6, attached itself, as we shall see, to the great promise once more given with "not many days after;" but their precipitate

impulse as witnesses might have soon driven them away from the hating Jerusalem, for instance, into Galilee. There is additional strength also in the *περιμένειν*, which gives prominence to the great reason of the injunction: they were to remain and *wait, wait out* the promise. (*Ἐπαγγελία* cannot be translated, with Ebrard, that they were to "receive a message from the Father:" this is an unusual signification of the word, and foreign to Scriptural phraseology, which has it only in some uncertain readings of 1 Jno. i. 5, iii. 11. On this we have already said enough.) But He *once* more, and for the last time, by a similar expression gives to the Father His honour, who had promised the Spirit from the beginning and through Himself; Thus He distinctly brings before them again His *late saying*, but adds a very distinctive and specially significant word, which goes back to the Baptist's promise, on the border between the Old and New Testaments.

Ver. 5. The *promise* which ye have heard of *Me*: and now *John the Baptist* is immediately referred to,—after this appeal in His own last word to the words which He had spoken just before, after this condensation of all His discourses (Lu. xxiv. 44) into that one word which was the end of them all. It might be said that this was not unexpected to the Apostles; that this repeated reference to the not yet fulfilled promise of the Spirit would naturally bring to their minds that earliest word of the Baptist. But this recollection of well retained words, this right summing up of past promises, is not so obvious and usual a thing even among us; and the Apostles themselves were most probably surprised by this sudden remembrancer. We may find in all the four Evangelists, Matt. iii. 11, Mark i. 8, Lu. iii. 16, Jno. i. 26, 31–33, this first and fundamental word which pointed to Jesus, by which the fulfilment of the conclusive promise of the Old Testament was referred to the agency of Him who had now come. Thus the Lord leads back His Apostles' minds to the beginnings of the new economy, in order to establish firmly in their understanding the *waiting* which He had commanded. "He refers them back to the original feelings and dispositions with which they had entered the school of John the Baptist; and the anticipations and earnestness of a new life which they had then received." Lange says the

same, and spiritualises the word of the Lord thus: "He promised them a new experience, which should be as sublimely elevated above the inspiration of their first spiritual awakening, as heaven is above earth; they should now be immersed into the full flood of the Spirit of God," etc., etc. This is quite correct; but the *water*, the *mere* water speaks more of their former *lack*, than of their former inspiration;¹ the *baptizing*, which was still in arrear, must be taken in its strict and proper sense, because they had just before heard from the Lord, according to Matthew and Mark, that such a baptism there should be. John had said that *Jesus* would baptize with the Holy Ghost; and He had also said—ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς: but He does not go on to add—Ye shall be baptized of *Me*. Nor does He say—and with *fire*: He leaves this to be demonstrated by the Holy Ghost Himself, when His Divine life of love should bring in the discipline which would *save* from the wrathful fire of the last judgment, in the power of *sanctifying* and glorifying fire. (Isa. iv. 4, lxvi. 24.)

Concerning the *baptizing* with the Holy Ghost, Theophylact rightly said—"It signifies the outpouring and abundance of the bestowment;" for it is so far equivalent to the *shedding forth*. But we must be on our guard against removing entirely from the βαπτίζω the co-ordinate idea of the external sign, from which the word takes its rise; and so, regarding it, like the Quakers, as an expression which abolished the baptism of water in the Church of Christ.² For the Lord had, not long before, appointed a *baptism* (certainly with water, as we have seen). The Apostles thus understood Him, and acted accordingly; they offered the gift of the Holy Ghost under the condition of the baptism with water; and, in the house of Cornelius, they even required the water in addition, after the baptism of the Spirit had taken place. Would they have so entirely misunderstood and perverted the Lord's meaning, at

¹ As Baumgarten urges the sense to be that the entire Old Testament history had not attained its end, the sanctification and purifying of the people; and that *now* first what had been then a sign should be realised, the Holy Ghost would come in the place of water.

² In Barclay's Apology this passage figures as the proof that water-baptism was not to be perpetuated, and that Matt. xxviii. 19 must have another interpretation.

the very time when the Holy Spirit came?—Oh no: the one consists well with the other; and the Lord here defines the essence, the spiritual power of *His own* appointed baptism of water for all futurity (as the contrast with John's implies):—that it should be, at the same time, essentially and internally a baptism with the Holy Ghost.¹ From this πνεῦμα ἁγίου we must certainly distinguish the special gifts, the visible and miraculous effects or signs of His reception, such as the tongues and the prophesying which accompanied it in the beginning; the universal promise embraces all baptism in the name of the Three-One to the end of time.² The extraordinary gifts and the miraculous signs retire; the power from on high, the certain internal grace, abides, though it may be in weaker and slower operation. The Lord, speaking with ὑμεῖς δὲ especially to His Apostles, to those who were then assembled in His presence, promised that gift *not many days hence*. (No more after *many of these* last days of preparation and waiting. It is not a “remarkable change” of expression instead of οὐ πολὺ μετὰ ταύτας ἡμέρας or οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις μετὰ ταῦτα. Winer very properly compares the Latin ante hos quinque dies, and something similar in the Greek classics; but he does not bring out the distinctive meaning in which these passed or still passing days are thus designedly mentioned.) That the promise, however, was not intended merely for the beginning at the day of Pentecost, but stretches onward to all times, is plain from the *universal* promise of the Baptist's word, which the Lord re-echoes; from the reference to this present “ye shall be baptized” to the appointment to baptize among all the nations; and, finally, from the express apostolical assurance of Acts xi. 16, 17. We may be sure, therefore, that all we who have been baptized with the true baptism of Christ have

¹ This exegesis may not be strictly according to Lutheran dogmatics. Many theologians understand Matt. iii. 11 and Acts i. 5 only of the Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Ghost. But we think that the Baptist unconsciously prophesied; and that Christ, explaining His words, spoke expressly of a parallel and actual baptizing.

² Lutz very improperly regards the baptism of Philip, Acts viii., as a *false* baptism, in which all reference to the Holy Ghost was wanting. We understand that passage quite differently, but to explain our meaning would require a long note. Philip did not baptize Simon rashly.

thereby received the first fruits and earliest influences of the Holy Ghost: we have only to stir up, to use, and to increase the gift of God which is in us. The simple and absolute *waiting for* the Holy Ghost cannot be predicated of those who are thus baptized; the children of the New Covenant and of the great fulfilment have nothing to wait for absolutely but the consummation of the kingdom of God (in themselves and upon earth), and the second coming of the Lord. When, in John x. 24, the Jews in their hypocrisy were offended at Christ, because He kept their souls so long in uncertainty, the answer might have been—Ye keep your own souls in suspense, ye repel the Spirit who has been with you and in you, since your baptism! We may with confidence preach to every baptized person:—The fire from heaven has long been present; only prepare the sacrifice, and it will be kindled;—the fire will consume it, if not now directly from heaven, yet it will begin to burn from within after thy own long restraint.

But the question arises,—What of the baptism of these first disciples, if water was a necessary part of the true and spiritual baptism of Christ? It must be observed that the Lord does not say—To you, who have not been baptized with water, the Spirit shall be a baptism. Could He have so spoken to them? Is it not, rather, inversely true that they had already received the water, but not yet the Spirit? Thus we have here a very simple answer to the idly-developed questions which have been raised about the character of the sacramental baptism of the Apostles, and of the little Pentecostal company generally. A perfectly idle question, however, it is not; at least for those who hold the sign in some honour, when they deal with sacramental institutions. The Lord commanded them—*Baptize!* And were not they themselves baptized? The Lord has established it firmly—*He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved;*—and could the second of these two be wanting in their own case? But they had been already once baptized of John, with the water which God Himself appointed at the first. Assuredly, no believing and obedient Israelite would have neglected that ordinance, or despised this counsel of God; and certainly the Apostles, who bore such a character before their call by Christ,

did not condemn it.¹ Very many, the greatest part of Jerusalem, had been already thus baptized with water; all from every part of the land most assuredly who had entered the discipleship of Jesus, not out of a state of absolute indifference or rejection, but in the spirit of a prepared devoutness. Hence it has been thought (and the opinion is now and then found among the ancients) that the three and the five thousand who were converted at the beginning were no other than strangers, foreign Jews who had come up to the feast; and that their baptism *added them*, not so much to the one hundred and twenty of Christ's flock, as to the whole community of those believers in Jesus who, in and out of Jerusalem, had been already prepared by John's baptism of water. But this asserts too much; for there were many unbaptized, who had become disciples after John had ceased His baptism, and when Jesus no longer baptized; and there were many who had hitherto been despisers in Jerusalem, and whose hearts were pierced by the words of Peter. They must have been, according to the plain commandment of Jesus, baptized for the first time:—not only the newly converted, but the disciples also who had not previously received the rite, the Divine sanction of which it was necessary to maintain. Those who had been already baptized with *water* received at once the Spirit in addition, without any repetition of the water-ordinance, that the progressive unity of the commandments of God might appear in living connection.² Thus it was necessary, here at the beginning, that the two elements of the Sacrament, which were henceforth to be strictly united, should be separated; the water of John and the Spirit of Christ, in succession and in connection, was and should ever be the true baptism. "For, in fact," says Bengel quite truly, in *this* sense, though otherwise the baptisms of John

¹ Allioli's Bible suggests, even, that the Apostles had received the Holy Ghost already in the baptism of Christ, John iv. 1, 2, only not yet the visible gifts! But that baptizing was a transitory and transitional continuation of the baptism of John. He who had received this was not again baptized; certainly the Apostles did not baptize each other anew! Such are the strange things which find their way into the expositions of the infallible Church!

² Whether the re-baptizing, or rather the first true baptism of those whom John had baptized, was absolutely *necessary*, Chemnitz leaves undecided.

and of Christ are not to be confounded, "it was one baptism, which Matt. iii. and Matt. xxviii. refer to. Otherwise we should not have in John the *beginning* of the Gospel; and the holy Supper in Matt. xxvi. would be of earlier appointment than the baptism of Matt. xxviii." Would it then be at all supposable, that at the *first* descent of the Spirit, which must needs take place in a manner so absolute and convincing, the Apostles would have *once more* baptized each other with water? We may therefore say, in respect to *none* of these first-fruits, that the *baptismus flaminis* took the place of or represented the *baptismus fluminis*. But the last word of Jesus concerning baptizing, which also contains His explanation of the transitional character of the first baptism, must be understood in this sense, as it regards them:—John has already baptized *you* with water, therefore ye need to wait only for the Holy Ghost. Strictly considered, there is here no abolition of the water (with which, by God's commandment, John had baptized!), but rather a confirmation of it: its absolute connection with the Holy Ghost in the rite is implied—the water will no more be wanting.¹ That the scriptural regulation was afterwards introduced in all its completeness,—which only the first transition did not tolerate—we find not merely in Acts xix., where the ignorant men are rebaptized who had forgotten the word of John as if they had never "heard" it, but also in the baptism of the later-called *Apostle*, Acts ix. 19, xxii. 16. Thus all seems so far clear.

A new topic now claims our attention. The Apostles, after this promise, come forward with a striking and urgent *question*²—the last which they could now put to the Lord. (The reading *ἐπηρώτων* seems to us better to suit their penetrating inquiry than the mere *ῥηρώτων*.) It was, indeed, free to them to put the modest questions which sprang from a desire to be taught, as long as the Lord was still with them, although we cannot suppose them to have put many questions to the Risen Lord (this one and that of Jno. xxi. 21 are the only examples we find). But still their present questioning was not the *waiting* which had

¹ In comparing infant-baptism, it is wrong to say that the Spirit came afterwards, while the mere water went before!

² On the way, Ebrard thinks; but this does not suit the *συνελθόντες*, as we understand it.

been again and again impressed upon them, it failed somewhat of that becoming and quiet submission to the great word which they had received. Here once more, we might almost say, they are entangled in that which was human. But we can understand what that was, and what it was not, only when we understand *what it was which they asked*. First comes the reverentia: *κύριε*, and then the particle of interrogation (*εἰ* like *DN* is so used even in an indirect question): Dost thou at this time establish (again) the kingdom to Israel? But here we must reject this "again;" and, in order to obviate misconception, must rightly understand the *ἀποκαθίστημι*. The word is indeed used elsewhere, and in classical Greek commonly, for *restituo* in *pristinum locum et statum*; hence it occurs for restoring to health—Matt. xii. 13; Mark iii. 5, viii. 25; Lu. vi. 10. Yet this is not its only or original signification; certainly not in the Scripture. We said upon Matt. xvii. 11, and repeat it now more plainly: *καθιστάναί* or *καθιστάνειν* means to *establish*—*herstellen* or *hinstellen*—to order, arrange, set right, as the proper expression of organising, setting up, or consummating any system or constitution, and therefore specifically a kingdom; the *ἀπὸ* which is added does not by any means introduce the *again*, but simply signifies *perfectly, entirely* (as *ab—, aus—, or ver—*, in German combination). It therefore only strengthens the idea of establishing or setting up. It is true that the Sept. employs the term for *נָתַן* (Jer. xvi. 15, xxiv. 6, l. 19; Ezek. xvi. 55, and especially Mal. iv. 5, where Lu. translates *ἐπιστρέψαι*), but we must seek our parallels in the New Testament. As occurring in Matt. xvii. 11, with *πρῶτον*,—before the Lord Himself comes and consummates all things—it cannot mean the proper *restitutio in integrum*, but the preparing, the regulation, and the arrangement of all that pertained to the office of Elias the forerunner. In Heb. xiii. 19 it is very questionable whether a return, or restoration back, is meant; and not rather the mere—"that I may be given to you." As to Acts iii. 21 (the most decisive parallel of our passage), that which God had *spoken* and promised may indeed be established, and exhibited in its fulfilment, but certainly not be restored; and to force upon the passage a "restitution of all things" is altogether out of harmony with the connection, as well as opposed to the meaning of the word. Thus, in our pre-

sent passage, εἰ ἀποκαθιστάνεις is not a question concerning the restoring *again*:¹—in that case, it is probable that τοῦ and not τῷ Ἰσραὴλ would have been used; comp. Heb. xiii. 19. The question cannot have referred to such a kingdom as had been from the beginning; for, the explanations of the Lord had certainly taught the disciples so much as this, that the Holy Ghost would be in that kingdom, and that all nations would be added unto it. They must have contemplated and expected τὴν βασιλείαν in a very different sense from any which the word had hitherto borne. Ἀποκαθιστάνειν means to set up at once, in the sense in which it was promised, and is yet in the future: compare Acts iii. 22, ὑμῶν ἀναστήσει—ver. 26, ἀναστήσας. If the promise is fulfilled, then that which was promised is seen to be really established and confirmed. But ἀποκαθιστάνειν includes also the idea of *fulfilment*; for, when the kingdom is established, the goal of all is reached, nothing more is to be expected.

After this preliminary disquisition, we shall be able to do justice to the meaning of their question. The *Apostles now*, after all that they had heard from the Lord, could not possibly have retained those thoughts about His kingdom which they betrayed in Lu. xix. 11, and xxiv. 21;—indeed, even in this latter passage, their hope is not to be interpreted, as we have seen, in an entirely carnal and Jewish sense. But, alas, almost all expositors so interpret it, as with one consent! Lightfoot thought it necessary to evade such an improbable assumption of error on the part of the Apostles, by the ridiculous perversion—Surely Thou wilt not restore to wicked *Israel* their kingdom! But in other writers we read to satiety about “earthly views of the Messiah”—“carnal sense”—“Jewish, carnal, and false expectations.” The excellent Hofacker enters so fully into the predominant exposition as to magnify the Lord’s patience with these slow-hearted Apostles, who, after the teaching of three years, could thus in the last hour put questions savouring so entirely of their old Jewish prepossessions. But all this we absolutely deny! It is true that, as Ebrard says, this question—

¹ Vulg. *restitues* in the sense of appointing *again* to Israel. So Stolz: bring back the kingdom to Israel. So, unhappily, in the Heb. New Testament יָשִׁיב instead of the preferable יִשְׁתָּבֵן.

ing of the Apostles is "of moment in characterising their *stage of knowledge at that period*"—but that stage was at that time an elevated one, their perception about the matter itself was correct. Even Herder says that "the crucifixion must have removed the scales from the eyes of the disciples; and when the Lord rose again they must have felt that there was to be no earthly kingdom there and then." Very true, if this "earthly" is understood to mean their old and carnal suppositions; but if it was intended to deny the final external and glorious kingdom of the Israel of God in this world, it is but the opposite error of spiritualism which disbelieves the prophecies. Such a misconception of the disciples certainly would have been repelled; but can we suppose them to have actually erred in this? They had received the instructions of the Forty Days, by means of which, as ver. 3 intimates, the true and real *kingdom of God* had become the centre and focus of all their views, of all their insight into *Scripture* and the great economy of the Divine counsel. And can we suppose them, *after this*, to have remained in ignorance as to what kind of kingdom that would be? In that case, on the one hand, this preparatory instruction must have been in vain and superfluous, and the Lord would have done better to begin at once with the Pentecost; or, on the other hand, even the *Holy Ghost* could scarcely have removed such thick scales from their eyes. We can conceive that they might have misapprehended and misinterpreted isolated passages of *Scripture*; but such a total misunderstanding we cannot conceive. Olshausen lays the emphasis very correctly upon this, that the Lord had told them *τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας*, that is, "that He had confided to His disciples all that remained to be told them concerning His kingdom;" but that does not admit of their retaining any such fundamental error as to the relation of that kingdom to Israel as would be inconsistent with its spiritual character. Ebrard supposes that "they still and continually thought only of a *visible* kingdom"—but did the Lord ever, in His interpretation of the Prophets, speak of a kingdom which should *not* be "visible," neither now nor in the future? Oh, that the Lord's rebuke on the way to Emmaus might still extricate men from their confusion upon this subject! Did He not lay open the *Prophets*, and confirm their predictions? And do

they not undeniably everywhere speak of a kingdom of Israel which should finally be visible ;—do not all their visions and promises end with the plainest assurances to the covenant people of God, the seed of Abraham, upon this earth—such as have been vainly wrested into a mere “spiritual” application by an incorrect orthodoxy? The annunciation to Mary, Lu. i. 33, speaks of nothing else ; Gabriel had not carnal-Jewish ideas, nor did he for a time accommodate his expressions to any such. Limborch, indeed (in the Comm. upon Acts), makes the Risen Lord still accommodate His words to prevalent opinions ! He clings to the incorrect notion of the ἀποκαθίστασθαι, and *thence proves* (groundlessly, as we have seen) that “the Apostles did not understand the erection of a heavenly and spiritual kingdom. When they ask about the *restitution* of the kingdom of Israel, they seem to mean the same kingdom which had been broken up. But it was the *external* kingdom of Israel which was thus broken up.”¹ He then goes on, “The Lord *indulged* their infirmity, and spoke to them in such a manner that He might not altogether cut off their hopes”—“the disciples received in a carnal sense the words which the Lord had spoken concerning His kingdom in accommodation to their expectation of a Messiah”—and “Jesus thus tempered His words,” as to leave them still in possession of these notions ! O no, most assuredly no ! For a long time past He had spoken to them openly and plainly ; He now answers without any reservation ; and this very answer, as we shall see, will not allow us to find in the question of the disciples any fundamental error as to the *matter of the kingdom in itself*.

The Apostles did not ask as “patriots longing for freedom”—according to the brief remark of J. v. Muller. They did ask, indeed, as patriots filled with that sacred patriotism for *Israel* which the prophets justified, which the Lord Himself showed to the end, and which was again exhibited in Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles, which the entire Scripture requires from all the faithful of all nations grafted into Israel. They were not, however, longing for *freedom*, but for the *dominion*

¹ Nor is this absolutely true ; for was it not rather the *spiritual kingdom of God*, as the great design of the Theocracy, which was fallen and must be restored ?

of God and His Spirit through Christ; that is, for the kingdom of God in and for Israel. It is better said, and almost with perfect correctness, by Rothmaler: "They were not satisfied with the renewal of their own hearts. Their wishes and longings went forth after the promises of the Lord in the Old Covenant." We would add: They were not satisfied with the conversion of the nations without; their looks and desires were turned toward *Israel*, and rightly so. As Bengel says: "The disciples thought no longer of a worldly kingdom in such a Jewish and carnal sense as many expositors unjustly attribute to them; for Christ had given them by this time ample instruction as to the true character of His kingdom. They only regarded the full glory of that kingdom, as depicted by the prophets, to be probably very near at hand." In truth, they understood far better, when they put this question, what the kingdom promised to *Israel* was, than these condemning expositors themselves, who do *not* believe all that the prophets have spoken. They probably think of the thrones promised in Lu. xxii. 30; they desire not, however, the establishment of the kingdom for their own sakes, or for the sake of those thrones, but for the sake of wretched, fallen, and ruined Israel. Whatever that may mean, the thing itself *they presuppose* (let it be carefully noted!) as something concerning which they *now*, quite otherwise than before, are agreed with the Lord, and the Scripture which He has taught them to understand:—and the Lord's answer completely confirms their view. "Their question is not a sign of their misunderstanding ignorance, but a proof of their right knowledge. The artificial expedients of modern exposition, which resolve those promises concerning the kingdom and the people of Israel into a kingdom of the Spirit and a church of the saints, were quite unknown to these Apostles." (Baumgarten.) "That they desired no external or unspiritual kingdom of Israel is made evident by this, that they *deduced* the promise of the kingdom *from the promise of the Spirit*." In this Lange is incontestably right;¹ for who can venture to

¹ Though not in his other remark, that the Lord's public and confidential walking with them, such as had never taken place before since the resurrection (the supposed leading them out), led their thought to such high expectations.

detach their question from those preceding words, and make it an abrupt interjection from an altogether opposite point of view? They do not ask about the *restoration*, but only about the *time* (as the Lord's answer also shows); so that we must bring Matt. xxiv. 3 into comparison. Moreover, they connect their hasty "at *this time*" with the word which He had just given them—*not many days hence*. "Is it for this end that we are to remain in *Jerusalem*? Wilt Thou, not many days hence,—ah, that it may be so!—establish here *the kingdom*? Will not the *power* from on high bring also the kingdom and glory of God?" And it is not to be overlooked, that they do not arrogate to themselves this authority of the Spirit: they do not say—Shall *we* then establish? but—Wilt *Thou* set up, in Thy power over heaven and earth, the kingdom by means of our instrumentality, Thy unworthy instruments?

If there was *curiosity* in this, it was not a very blameable curiosity. Was it *impatience*? Scarcely in any degree; but rather a holy desire, as justifiable as it was natural. The only misunderstanding, the only failure in knowledge, which it betrayed, was *this*, that while they regarded this "establishment" as possibly to take place in a very sudden manner, they could not have been as yet acquainted with the spiritual, internal process of the course of this kingdom, and its slow and gradual preparation in the spiritual nature of men through the ages of time.¹ But is not this more or less the case with all who prematurely long for the bringing in of the accomplishment of God's work? Will not the final consummation be a sudden interposition, before the eyes of all, of the Divine power unto victory?

Concerning the *time*, it appears, the Lord had very little, if at all, spoken, in His final discourses upon the kingdom of God; nor does He (any more than the other Scriptures) give any further explanation in His final answer. Thus, the question of the Apostles is—as they were led by the Holy Ghost to put it to the Lord, in order that the true answer for all ages might issue from His lips—actually the *last question* which remains, at the ascension of Jesus: it is the last great question of long-

¹ "Thus their disposition of mind still clung to the thought that the kingdom of God would be set up *at first* with *external* victorious power." This view of v. Gerlach is correct, and the reply is quite consistent with it.

ing and of faith, which continually urges His disciples with desire to know the *time* of the consummation of His kingdom. The *answer* of the Lord is the most befitting *final explanation* with which He could depart, *opening* to them, or rather *closing*, the mystery. "For, His departure declared to them, as an actual fact, that a great gulf must intervene between the outpouring of His Spirit and the manifestation of His kingdom." (Lange.)

Ver. 7. "With thoughts of tenderness and mystery" He replies. His answer is as decisive, in its plain revelation of what was hidden, as was possible in this most gracious farewell word. Far be it from us to interpret *this* word as Limborch does: "The Lord made use of a declining reply, neither affirming nor denying anything with certainty, lest He should trouble their minds by altogether cutting off their hopes." They who entertain such an opinion of the Lord's reply altogether forget the crisis of the ascension, and do not rightly appreciate the relation between the *instruction* which they had hitherto received and the *power* of the pentecostal effusion. This is the case with Braune, when he represents the matter as if *light* was promised from on high, and as if the mistake of the inquiring disciples involved at once *impatience* and *error*. But why, if that was so, was there not a word of *light* given to oppose the error which resulted in such impatience? Instead of this, we are required to assume that "He seizes the impatience of the disciples alone, and repels it. He says not a word about their carnal expectations." For ourselves, we prefer to draw the conclusion that nothing was said concerning it, because it did not exist in their minds. "But the promise, that they should receive the *power* of the Holy Ghost, is repeated by Him: that would extricate them from their *false* expectations. Therefore He further represents to them that they should be *His witnesses*. While they were making Him known the scales would more and more drop from their eyes. Their love, their simplicity, their joyful testimony in the power of the Spirit, would lead them onwards." On the contrary, we think that such a *docendo discere*, such a learning while they were teaching, is a very doubtful supposition as it respects the Apostles and witnesses of the kingdom which was to be waited for. We ask, Did not the Lord in Lu. xxiv. 48—after vers. 44–47—attribute to them by the *μαρτυρες*

τούτων a perfect insight into the manner, the process, and the goal of the kingdom, at least in all essential respects? Was it not power merely to which He further referred their expectations, and by no means additional illumination, in order to their testimony? Must not the *beginning at Jerusalem* have its reason in the permanent vocation of this *Israel*, which is to be confirmed at the end? Are we to suppose that only in the commencement of the apostolical testimony, when they had not yet been "led further," the Jewish element still crept in; and interpret accordingly such words as Acts iii. 20, 21, 25; xv. 15, 16; xxviii. 20? Was St Paul imperfect in his views, and only revealing his own delusion, when he wrote Rom. xi. 25-29? Such questions we may ask, as based upon the New Testament alone, and without appealing at all to the prophets. Assuredly, if there was no "establishing of the kingdom of Israel," as the Apostles here meant it, reserved for the future, then there would have been necessary here a final protest—Ye err, and have *not yet* rightly understood the Scriptures! But, instead of this, what does the Lord answer and testify? He does not say *No*; He confirms that which the question took for granted. He does not, properly speaking, rebuke or blame their questioning at all. He does not say—"It is not your privilege and your duty to ask"—and so far Bengel is right. His answer refers only to the *time*; but He confirms what they took for granted, that there was in the future such a final ἀποκαθιστάειν. He replies that the preparations for that kingdom would continue long, and that it was not needful or befitting for them to *know the times* of this. And how can any one say, after this, that He answered *declinatorie, nec affirmando nec negando*!

As all that is hidden and reserved is referred everywhere to the Father (comp. Matt. xx. 23), so it is here. Ἐθετο may be translated, with Erasmus, by *constituit* (as ἐστήσεν ch. xvii. 31); and that makes Bengel's argument all the more forcible—"therefore the *thing itself* must be firm, else there would be no *time* for it." The same, however, is established by the χρόνους ἢ καιρούς, especially if, with the Vulg., we understand it *posuit in sua potestate* (ἐν for εἰς)—He has placed it in *His own power*, and *reserved* it by His own authority. (And to this the intensive ἰδίᾳ might lead us.) But, further, what is meant

by these *times and seasons*? Must it be popularly expounded as expressing merely the superficial sense of our "time and opportunity?" Certainly not; because, at the very outset, the intentional *plural* was designed to correct the too hasty *singular* of the question:—That for which ye ask will take place only after many days and times! Luke xxi. 24 had already spoken of the *καιροῖς ἐθνῶν*—the *times* of the Gentiles—which must first be accomplished; see the exposition of that passage. But the *twofold* word (as it recurs in 1 Thess. v. 1, certainly with allusion to this intimation of our Lord, at least with like meaning and emphasis) cannot be interpreted as a double expression for the same thing, since ἢ (*or*) comes between. Such a phrase is not used of mere "longer or shorter" periods. *Χρόνος*, rather, marks the proper *space of time* extending forwards; while *καιρὸς*, on the other hand, means a *period of time* appointed for anything, which, indeed, may include a longer time with all its circumstances. The Vulg. translates the latter by *momenta*; Erasmus by *articuli temporum*; van Ess by *Zeitumstände*; Bengel, in harsh and inappropriate German (which was not his forte), by *Gelegenheiten*. It is fundamentally the same which we call in history *periods* or *epochs*; the first עֲתֵידִים and the second מִצְרִיִם, though the Heb. N. T. has improperly inverted these two words. Acts vii. 17, 20, does not apparently distinguish so accurately; but we may, even there, understand the first time the issue or running out of the *χρόνος*. Acts iii. 20, 21 most plainly coincides, where the *καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως* are shorter, definite *points of time* in which the refreshing breathings of the Spirit are consciously felt; while the *χρόνοι ἀποκαταστάσεως* are longer *spaces of time*, which the full realisation of all that had been promised alone makes manifest.¹ Finally, we find the same combination of the phraseology in Wisd. viii. 8, with which we may compare Dan. ii. 21. Sept. (In ch. vii. 12 the same Chaldee expressions are not so precisely translated.) Thus the Lord means, first, the spaces of distance intervening between the prominent epochs which would each exhibit a stage in the consummation of the kingdom; and then, secondly, the times of fulfilment thus in each instance come. Lange's ex-

¹ See my *Reden der Apostel* i. p. 95; and in p. 96 that *ἀχρι* is not equivalent to *in*, but—*while, as long as*.

pression very aptly gives the *sense*—"Times of concealing or of fulfilment." And, concerning these χρόνους ἢ καιρούς He finally and absolutely refuses to us any knowledge, just as He had spoken in Matt. xxiv. 36, Mark xiii. 32, of the day and the hour of His return. Moreover, by thus referring back to His former declaration, He gives us to understand that the establishment of the kingdom for Israel would be connected with His (first) return.

Did He not Himself yet know that of which He here speaks? Did He not really know the times and the periods "in His present, *still humanly-humbled* contemplation?" Must we, because He speaks of the *Father*, think that even now He knows not as the Son, as He knew not in Mark xiii. 32? Hase scrupled not to regard it as *possibly* intimated here that "He retracted, on a clearer view, earlier expressions in which He had closely connected His return with the then present generation, and the approaching destruction of Jerusalem." This, however, he also is good enough to retract afterwards; and we, who have better understood the Lord's earlier sayings, need not spend any time upon it. We think that if He did not even yet know, He would have said so, as on that former occasion. His κένωσις—His state of humiliation, as *having emptied Himself*—is now at an end, and therefore He emphatically begins by saying, "It is not *for you* (οὐχ ὑμῶν) to know: so, though He knew full well the day of Pentecost, He consulted their good by leaving it unrevealed for their waiting. But new questions immediately arise—Does this declaration hold good *merely* as it regards the Apostles and first disciples?¹ And therefore may *we* expect to know the times? And did an Apostle know at a later period? Is not the *Apocalypse* argument for this? And was not the *Apocalyptic reckoning* here excluded? Bengel was very naturally constrained to seek this refuge; and we find in the Gnomon: "*Not for you*, He says; whence we must not infer that it would not be for others afterwards to know. The things which it was not for the Apostles

¹ In our Teacher's Bible we find it written, as if the Teachers likewise must not be prevented from knowing: "Because the disciples were not to *survive* to the time when the kingdom promised by the prophets should take its beginning, *they* needed not to know the time." Was it, then, that they might *hope* to live to see it?

to know, were afterwards disclosed in the Apocalypse. This more general announcement does not militate against a subsequent more specific revelation." Similarly in the *Ordo temporum*: "He did not say that no man *should know*, but that no man *knows*. He Himself was about to know (?)—and when He had obtained the knowledge of the day and the hour, He could give the knowledge of it to whom He would and when He would." This Hengstenberg in his Christology quotes with approbation, and many continually follow in the same track. Father Lambert even paraphrases (Meyer says "not amiss," but we altogether demur), "The knowledge of which the Father hath reserved till He shall think it right to give that knowledge." Oetinger maintained boldly: "If we hold firmly fast the directions given by the enlightened Bengel, and interpret the Revelation thereby, we are in the great point (really the great point?) more enlightened than the Apostles, who possessed not the Revelation of St John." And again: "That which was denied to the Apostles is a gift—*charisma*—of our times." Richter's Family Bible says, "This reserved knowledge Jesus Christ obtained for us, Rev. v." We shall not enter into this great subject more fully now, but simply avow that we think otherwise! We cannot understand the promise of Dan. xii. 4, 10, as having reference to this reckoning of the seasons; we are convinced that all the *numbers* in prophecy are either symbolical, or so uncertainly set forth as to the *terminos a quo*, etc.—and this even in the Apocalypse—that no proper *knowing* of the times is ever to be supposed possible. We admit that there may be observations of them in general, and approximating marks may be discerned; but it is very remarkable that when chronological dates for the future have been determined with precision by even learned and far-reaching and devout men, they have notoriously gone astray. We, for our own part, remain fixed in the humble assurance that "*It is not for you to know*," spoken by the Lord even to the Apostles, was still more expressly spoken to all the believers of a later age, whom He here as ever regarded as represented by them; that it was spoken to all whom He leaves still upon earth until His coming again, and with whom He places Himself in contrast as the ascending Lord by this great *ὑμῶν*. (Himself therefore most certainly knowing!)

This *not knowing* of the times, thus positively declared, is the end and the limit of His prophetic office, beyond which the Spirit revealeth nothing; St Paul in 1 Thess. v. firmly holds fast this. The Lord might have said—*This I reserve to Myself*; but, because with this there would have been necessary—*Even the Spirit shall not reveal it to you*, He mentions it only as a thing reserved of the *Father*. And here we must quote an excellent remark of Allioli, whom we so often condemn: “Only the Eternal perfectly knoweth time, for it is the development of eternity.” But we cannot fail to discern the *wisdom* of God in thus concealing the times from us poor children of men; as Häfeli says: “Behold, the Lord cuts the threads of our curiosity, whatever pure and affectionate longing may enter into it; He knows full well into what abysses and into what snares of error it may lead. Curiosity is a flattering serpent, which promises us the wisdom of God, and cheats us out of a blessed paradise of happier, childlike *waiting*.” They should *wait* for the promise of the Father—*wait* for the promises made by the prophets. The former waiting would soon come to an end; the other would have no end until the specific *καίρος* should arrive in each case after a *χρόνος*. Thus speaks He, and so speaking He goes hence. The kingdom of Israel is not established to this day; yea, the *kingdom of God* in the power of the Spirit seems to tarry yet with it for the final demonstration of Divine victorious might. We stand and ask, with more or less of impatience mingled with our pure and justified longings of faith and love—When will it be, O Lord? Will it be *now*? And the promise remains firm; the prophets cannot deceive; their testimony has been confirmed by the Lord Himself. But He still answers the question concerning the times as He answered it at first, in the words which we have just heard, and in those which we shall now hear. “He puts down the fingers which *calculate* about these things; He commands them to be still Who says—It is not for you to know the times, which the Father hath put in His own power.” (August. Civ. Dei. xviii. 53.)

Ver. 8. These words introduce a consolation which should compensate for the repulsion of their question. They are even, in a certain sense, an answer, so far as we are ever to have an

answer to it; at any rate they belong necessarily to the reply which had been already given, and help to interpret it. "They should *prepare the way* for the new kingdom by their testimony; and as far as it lay in them, *bring ever nearer* the time and the hour." (Rothmaler.) This also was said to us as well as to them. *At first* the kingdom must be *internally* grounded and fully prepared for, through the patient never-failing testimony preached for the acceptance of faith throughout all the world. *Be that enough for you!* By this the Lord plainly intimates that the kingdom of *Israel* will come when the testimony has run its course throughout the *nations*. To direct the Apostles to this, He uses now (repeating the *promise* of Lu. xxiv. 49, as He had previously repeated the *commandment* then given) the more simple, and yet in a certain sense stronger, expression *λήψεσθε*: as if He would say, *This* receiving should suffice to you. We might take "Ye shall receive power" alone, and regard the *ἐπελθόντος* as a Genitive absolute. So Bengel translates—Ye shall receive power, when the Holy Spirit shall come upon you. And Baumgarten, in like manner—When the Holy Ghost will have descended upon you. But this "receiving power," standing alone, appears to us too feeble; nor does it correspond to the parallel "power from on high." *Ἐπελθόντος* is placed emphatically *before* the article, as the ground of the *δύναμις*; but here, as in Lu. xxiv., the article is wanting to the *δύναμις* itself, because the word is as it were the name of the Holy Spirit:—the *power* of the *Holy Ghost* who will come upon you. And it is not without emphasis that it runs, *ἔσεσθέ μοι* (or *μου*) *μάρτυρες*, Ye shall be My witnesses; for it says, with majestic condescension—Is not that enough for you, without knowing the time? *Witnesses* of the present (by no means merely of the departed, as Olshausen says)—but not, properly speaking, prophets of the future; this is the higher honour of the New-Testament vocation of the Apostles, which does not, however, exclude a certain prophesying of the yet outstanding future. Thus, as witnesses, the *servants of My kingdom*—not at once princes upon thrones: instead of this, yet in order to this, they must be the strong, joyful, and diligent labourers upon the building; thus helping to bring in the longed-for, and in its time certain, goal of accomplishment. Which would ye

explanation as to the distant futurity of His kingdom ; but He graciously gives them all that they need to know as to its nearer process, and their own official duties as His ambassadors, marking out to them prophetically the course of their testimony. *Καὶ ἔως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς* :—is this final, and sudden, and all-comprehending station of their way, meant concerning the Gentile world ? Thus, does it (according to Ebrard) correspond to *Rome*, as the final station in the history of the Acts of the Apostles ?¹ Most assuredly, for it is obvious that after Samaria the nations of the heathen must be intended ; and that *all* those nations must be included, as it respects the successors of the Apostles. But, nevertheless, it seems to us quite consistent with this that the immediate reference of the expression *ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς*, like the equally ambiguous *אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן* in the prophets, is to the horizon of the limits of the holy land, which typically-prophetically represents the whole earth.² For Olshausen's objection—"any reference of the words to Palestine is altogether inadmissible, since the divisions of the land had been already mentioned"—is robbed of its force by the circumstance that Galilee, which would so obviously occur to the "men of Galilee," which had been so pre-eminently prepared by the personal work of the Redeemer, and which had been indicated by the prophet (Matt. iv. 14-16), is *not* mentioned, and appears to be forgotten or passed by. Moreover, as we already remarked on Matt. x., "down to the destruction of Jerusalem, Israel was more especially the appointed sphere of the labours of the Apostles of the circumcision." Accordingly, we may interpret the last prophetic word of the Lord according to the usual phraseology of the prophets. The more immediate meaning points to the three divisions of the land, Judæa, Samaria, Galilee,—Samaria not being to be swiftly journeyed through for the sake of reaching Galilee. But the wider meaning em-

¹ So Rome was the final point in the plan of apostolical history ; as we established it in our "Reden der Apostel." So Baumgarten gives it prominence in his work.

² We find the same in Sepp : "*Ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς*, as here standing by the side of Judæa and Samaria, is the literal translation of Galilee ; that is, the border of the land, with the further universal reference." But this etymology may be contended against.

braces the ends of the earth, the circle of all nations, as referred to in the former commission. The name of Galilee, גליל הגויים points to the same thing.

Thus does the Lord depart and the *Acts of the Apostles* begin : that which He began, and finished in the foundation, proceeds now onwards in its development toward the goal of the kingdom—Israel, however, and not Rome.¹ In the first verse of our chapter we must not briefly say that *ἤρξατο* is redundant ; but, rather, with Olshausen—"the earthly work of the Lord is opposed to His later invisible operation." Not, as von Gerlach explains, that *He began* is to be supplemented by *and continued* (as Matt. xx. 8). But the apostolical history brings in a δεύτερος λόγος or continuation of this ἤρξατο of our Lord upon earth until He ascended to heaven : compare in St Luke's gospel, ch. iii. 23, the ἀρχόμενος. As it is in the apostolical word and testimony of the Spirit that we have the developed, and so far consummated, Gospel of Christ, which He Himself could not as yet preach—so also the Church after Pentecost is the first continuation of His work. He fulfilled all, and yet there is another beginning. The *ascension* stands in the middle ; it closes the first and begins the second book ; but the second again is continuously written in history down to the last day. As to Himself and His own person, the end was now attained ; but for us, in order that the consummation might be consummated in us, this end is a new beginning. *Therefore the Lord at His ascension points to the Holy Ghost.* He does not speak like a departing teacher : *Keep My words*, remember My instruction, and so forth.² To teach words without power, spirit, and life accompanying—is to baptize only with water. He does not speak like a departing man : *Consecrate My image*, follow My example, or the like ;—for His work is to be continued yet further. And this He means not *as a man*, who makes a beginning to which others afterwards are to contribute their part ;—like Luther, for example, who has left much re-

¹ Simeon, Lu. ii. 32, predicts that the light of the Gentiles, and the salvation of the ends of the earth, *will be again the glory of God's people Israel.*

² On ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, ver. 1, Chrysostom says : Οὐδὲν διδασκάλου ὑπὸντιον ἐν λόγοις φιλοσοφούντος μόνον.

formation for others to accomplish; but His *ἡρξάτο*, His *beginning*, has been a *creative* beginning, and all that followed was to be only the fruit of His own power, already obtained and to be from Him abundantly poured forth. (Gen. ii. 3, Sept. *κατέπαυσεν ὡπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὃν ἡρξάτο ὁ θεὸς ποιῆσαι*.) He is now no longer among, but with and in, us. No longer in one place, but everywhere. His ascent into heaven becomes a *descent* into our hearts. As a tree grows up from the earth towards heaven; so His kingdom, His temple, His spirit-pervaded body grows downwards from heaven to earth. (Eph. i. 23, iv. 16.) Pentecost is come and ceases no more; it goes on to the ends of the world—as St Matthew says; till He comes again—as St John closes all. His messengers go forth and preach; the Lord makes the word mighty, confirms it, as St Mark says, anticipating the Acts. And it goes on, with wonderful slowness to the waiting and inquiry of His people, but with unceasing speed, nevertheless, through the “times and the seasons” hidden from us, from seedtime through all the stages to the final harvest, the summer of the kingdom. When the peoples of the earth, like the cities of Israel, have been gone through,—then will He make manifest His kingdom, and beginning in *Jerusalem* again, prepare the end.

“*And saying these things,*” we read in ver. 9; consequently we have heard His *last* words. According to the Evangelist He lifted up His hands to *bless*: on which Bengel exquisitely says,—*jam non imposuit manus*—there is now no laying on of hands. Herberger follows the Fathers in their ingenious allusions to the Redeemer’s opening the fortress of heaven with the key of the cross, and so forth. But, abstaining from all such fancies, let us rightly consider the *blessing* of His hands. In the words which He had just spoken He had spoken as a *Prophet*; as a *King*, with authority over heaven and earth, whose province it was to establish the heavenly kingdom upon earth, He had appointed their course and their duty to the servants of His sway; and now as *High Priest*,—for intercession and blessing would be for a long time preponderant over His kingly sway—*He lifts up His hands*, as the typical practice had ever been, and, with this final *gesture* after the word, thus wit-

nesses the fulfilment of the Old Testament! (Lev. ix. 22; Eccclus. l. 20.) The Epistle to the Hebrews is the commentary upon this. The marks of atoning suffering already begin to be glorified in His hands. This *εὐλογεῖν* is not as it were an interim or departing blessing, with a specific limitation; but it is the interpreting sign and pledge of that *power from on high*, which His hands would soon pour out, and never again cease to pour out. He continues to bless—a departing and yet remaining Lord: “And it came to pass *while He was blessing them*, *ἐν τῷ εὐλογεῖν*,—not *μετὰ τὸ εὐλογεῖν*, *after He had blessed them*,—He was taken up from them.” We can think of no words in connection with this, as some have imagined—How could the disciples retain and record *these* words which they had heard! He did indeed afterwards *speak* many times—in personal manifestation by His Spirit—directly from heaven;¹ but here we have the end of His words, which He spake while “yet with us.” And with them ends our exposition—though there is still one afterword.

The cloud²—corresponds still *prophetically* to that cloud in which He will visibly return. (Luke xxi. 27, *ἐν νεφέλῃ*.) Not suddenly vanishing, as at the close of His previous appearances, but *βλεπόντων αὐτῶν ἐπήρθη*—He was taken up while they beheld Him: thus and thus alone must His *ἀναφέρεισθαι* and His *going* into heaven take place, for a testimony. It brings to our minds the words which He had spoken before, the *first* word which we have from His lips—Wist ye not that I must be in that which is My Father's? But we must not say with Dräseke, concerning the disciples, “*This they had not expected*”—for since that first announcement “I ascend,” every successive manifestation must have taught them to expect and anticipate such an ascension before their eyes. But when it now took

¹ And to expound these “Words of the Lord Jesus from heaven” is a design which, if it please God, I shall yet accomplish.

² According to many (as Sepp, alas, can quote from Stäakind's Magazine) the final residuum of corporeity. Even Dräseke shrinks not from saying: “Probably it was this cloud into which the earthly matter of the body, demanded again by the earth, was resolved by the will of the Almighty.” O that we could only learn to *leave off* at the right place! V. Gerlach is not much better: “It concealed the invisible consummation of the glorifying of His body.”

place—what was their feeling, their thought, and their act? Α προσκυνεῖν αὐτόν and ἀνελκεῖν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν together, worshipping and gazing in one; although St Luke divides them in his two accounts, assigning the former to the close of his Gospel, and the latter to the more exact narrative which gives the full particulars. De Wette can here, after the διέστη and the ἀνεφέρετο, foolishly translate, like Stolz—they fell down before Him!! But in the whole Gospel of St Luke we have this προσκυνεῖν only on one other occasion, chap. iv. 7, 8 (compare in Matt. πρὸς ὡς as distinguished from it), and then used concerning the honour which is due to God alone. Similarly, in the Acts it occurs only, and in the same sense, chap. viii. 27, xxiv. 11, vii. 43, and x. 25, 26, where, though Cornelius did not so intend it, it was rejected by Peter as only a *man*.—And what was His *worship* by His escort on the way, and at His reception above! (Ps. lxxviii. 18, 19.) But the men of Galilee below, still gazing earnestly as the form was taken from their sight by the clouds, forgot everything at that moment besides *Him* and *heaven*; and they might long like statues thus have stood. Then is there a new καὶ ἰδοὺ which lightens their return to their earthly life: *two* men in white raiment become visible from among the thousands on thousands of angels, and, it may be, first-fruits of the resurrection which were there invisible.¹ They speak one word more after the words of the Lord, to which we may well give ear in conclusion. Not now again, as in the sepulchre—*See* the place, where the Lord *hath ascended* who once lay in the grave! Nor is it—*Look up* to the place which He has gone to prepare for you! But they *dismiss them* from the standing still and the upward looking of all idle expectation and forbidden questioning, and utter their word, as alone became them, altogether in the spirit of the last word of the Lord—that they may repeat, and stamp *that* upon the disciples' minds, and seal it by the final announcement of that future *return* which the Lord had left to their hopes. As the men of heaven they speak to the men of

¹ Were these the angels of the resurrection once more? Or Moses and Elias, the witnesses of the first glorification? Or the future two witnesses, who speak to these present ones? Or were they chosen in heaven for this crisis?—It is not revealed.

earth : they remind them of their *Galilee*,¹ and point them back from heaven to their own earth :—There lies your office of witness, your way of obedience, your *place* of hope ! For thither will this Jesus *come* back ! (But they do not say once more—*come back*.) “O earth, thou grain of sand on the shore of the great ocean of the universe of God, thou Bethlehem among the princes of the regions of heaven, thou art and thou wilt ever be among ten thousand times ten thousand suns and worlds the loved one, the elect of the Lord ; thee will He visit again, thou shalt provide Him a throne, even as thou gavest Him a manger ; thou shalt rejoice in the splendour of His glory, even as thou drankest His blood and His tears, and mournedst at His death. On thee He hath a great work yet to accomplish.” (Häfeli.)

They say not—Ye shall see Him ; but yet—*This Jesus* will come ! and οὐτως, ὡς πρόπον, altogether as ye have now seen Him—AS YE HAVE SEEN HIM GO INTO HEAVEN. This is the sealing conclusion of all. And they worship Him, this Jesus : the word “Rabbi” or “Teacher” no longer is heard from their lips. Even that which He had said retreats for a while before the *new word* which the Spirit gives to these witnesses. But we have *His word* in the utterance of His ministering servants, explained and unfolded by His own servants in whom the Spirit witnesses :—may our weak exposition of that word be also a *testimony* to the Christianity of this unhappy day !

Then returned they to *Jerusalem*—and with great *joy*. They were always in the temple, joyfully magnifying and blessing God—*God* in Christ. May God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ give the joyful and confident Spirit also to us, as *witnesses* who believingly wait for the kingdom and coming of Jesus ; that, in the temple of Christendom and in the face of all enemies, we may praise Him, to Whom be glory in the Church which is in Christ Jesus, to all ages, world without end ! Amen.

¹ “Of Galilee ! Faithful angel-word, reminding them of the low place of their testing probation, from which to the city of God the pilgrim-way of humility alone conducts.” So Lange, in his beautiful and suggestive poem on the Ascension.

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